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THE

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REVIEW.

VOLUME XIII.

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1899.

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

WE have received the following *communiqué* from Mr. John B. Shipley, Chexbres, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland:—

‘The eminent Dalmatian savant, Prof. Dr. Luka Jelić, whose researches in the Vatican Archives have thrown great light on the Norse colonization of North America, proving that the Papal Court and Europe generally possessed full knowledge of the existence of these colonies in 1492 and even earlier, is now about to proclaim to the world perhaps the most remarkable cartographical discovery that has ever been made, and one which will entirely change preconceived notions and settle innumerable obscure and disputed points as to the geography of the ancient world, both Greek and Roman. He has discovered an exact ancient copy of the maps of Ptolemy of Alexandria, A.D. 140, hitherto believed to be irrecoverably lost; and he has proved that these maps are themselves not the original productions of Ptolemy, but that they preserve to us the almost unchanged work of Eratosthenes, B.C. 200 or earlier, modified only by Hipparchus a century later, and by the slight changes added by Ptolemy, of political rather than purely geographical character. The maps are absolutely free from all detail referring to a later date than that of Ptolemy, whose rendering of Eratosthenes’ work has thus come to us intact, and now, after having been lost for centuries, has been identified by the learned Dalmatian Professor.’

At Oxford the Board of Literae Humaniores have, at the instance of Prof. P. Gardner, appointed a committee to consider the possibility of recognising classical archaeology in the final classical examination. Mr. L. R. Farnell has circulated a pamphlet arguing

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for a three years’ classical course and a single examination. At Cambridge the Board of Classics is about to re-issue its report (summarized in our November issue), probably with some modifications in detail.

In this connexion it may be pointed out that a phrase in a paragraph of the *Classical Review* for October has been not unnaturally misconceived. When it was said that ‘your true Englishman was a dilettante in grain,’ no imputation of superficiality was brought against the race. A ‘dilettante’—has the Society of Dilettanti passed so much out of our knowledge that we need to be reminded of it?—is an epicure rather than a dabbler in art and literature. And it is, speaking generally, an English trait to devote ourselves unreservedly to a pursuit so long and so far as its interest does not fail.

Prof. F. M. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, writes:

In his observations regarding the condition of classical studies in the United States (*Classical Review* for October, 1898), Mr. Lindsay makes reference to the graduate work. It may be of interest to notice that the development of the Graduate Schools in America has already had a marked influence upon the attendance of American students at German Universities. A correspondent in Berlin has just sent me a record of the attendance of American students at the University of Berlin for the past four years. The figures were furnished by the Secretary of the University, and are as follows:—

1894–95.					
Winter semester	...	...	...	...	191
Summer semester	...	...	...	...	153
Total	...	...	...	...	344

1895-96.						
Winter semester	...	...	...	...	...	179
Summer semester	...	...	...	...	...	153
Total	...	...	...	...	...	332
1896-97.						
Winter semester	...	...	...	...	...	180
Summer semester	...	...	...	...	...	127
Total	...	...	...	...	...	307
1897-98.						
Winter semester	...	...	...	...	...	150
Summer semester	...	...	...	...	...	118
Total	...	...	...	...	...	268

The new Platonic Lexicon appears to be getting under weigh. The editor, Professor Lewis Campbell, who is at present in Italy, but will return to England in the spring, has planned the work and drawn up a practical set of rules for the guidance of contributors. The Zurich edition of 1839 in one volume is to be taken as the basis of reference, but other editions will of course be taken into account. The *Lexicon Platonicum* of Ast will provide the starting point of the new lexicon, which, however, is intended to be much fuller, more correct and comprehensive. Help, whether in contributions or subscriptions, will be welcomed for this laborious and costly undertaking.

Prof. A. Gudeman has succeeded in obtaining a collation of the unknown MS. of the *Agricola* referred to in the *Classical Review* of October and December last.

That sympathetic interpreter of classical literature, Mr. J. W. Mackail, has published privately what appears to be a novel experiment in the translation of Homer. The seventh *Odyssey* is rendered into four-lined stanzas, of which the first, second, and fourth lines rhyme, and the third is rhymeless. The version of lines 103-107 is as follows:—

Within doors fifty serving-women sit;
Some turn the mill and grind bright corn
in it,
And others weave at looms or twist the
yarn,
While, like the leaves of a tall poplar, flit
The glancing shuttles through their finger-
tips,
And from the close-warped web the thin oil
drips.

The metre seems well fitted to catch the peculiar charm which clings round the first romance of the Western world.

Apropos of translations, Mr. John Edgar, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, opportunely calls attention to a metrical paraphrase of Aeneid I. and IV. by Sir Wm. Mure of Rowallan (1594-1657), which has now been published for the first time among the works of the 'laureate of the covenanters,' issued by the Scottish Text Society and edited by Mr. W. Tough. It is in six-lined stanzas and three books, the 4th Aeneid being divided into two. It is a youthful work: the author speaks of 'myn infant muse | To twyse two lustres scarce of yeirs attained': and if it professed to be a translation, it would be far too free. But as a working up of its original it is not without merit or poetical interest.

Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt are excavating on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the north-west of the Fayûn. For the last month they have been at Kasr el Banât, a Graeco-Roman town inside the desert, which they have identified from papyri found on the site as the ancient Euhemeria, in the division of Themistus. They have hopes of also discovering the position of Dionysias, the site of which has been the subject of much dispute in connexion with the extent of Lake Moeris.

A flutter of excitement has been caused by the announcement, for which we may refer to another column, that the celebrated *lapis niger* has been disinterred in the Roman Forum.

Modern Greek as such hardly comes within the purview of this journal. But the appearance of *Erevna*, a Neo-Hellenic periodical, at Oxford deserves a passing mention.

New light has been thrown upon the remarkable fragment of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* referred to in a paragraph in our October issue (where Heliodorus was written by a slip of the pen for Appianus) by Prof. G.A. Deissmann in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of Nov. 12. The Heidelberg professor gives reasons for believing that Appianus was executed for complicity in anti-Semite riots at Alexandria.

It will be observed that after a considerable interval notes in small print reappear in the present issue. Our contributors and readers will understand that difference in value is not imported by this difference in type: only that brief notes and their headings, if printed as articles, make disproportionate demands upon our space.

CRITICAL NOTES.

I. TRAGICORUM FRAGMENTA ED. NAUCK.

THE form in which these notes are offered calls, I feel, for some apology. They would not be presented in a bare abstract if I could help it; but the illustration, explanation, additional fragments, and various criticisms I have gradually accumulated are now of such amount that they could only be published in a volume by themselves. Instead of waiting for an opportunity upon which I cannot count, I have thought it best to ask the Editor for space to print merely these unpublished textual alterations with the briefest possible references in their support. Even so, I venture to hope that not a few things here will commend themselves to students.

AESCHYLUS.

P. 4 To the Αἰγύπτιοι belongs perhaps *adesp.* 404.

fr. 74 τρία δ' ὁ γ' εἰς σάκη

154 Perhaps ποδένδετος δὲ . . . σκάξει, χυθέντων (this last Blaydes suggests).

177 τί γὰρ καλὸν ζῆν βίος ὅτῳ (or βίοςτος ῶ) λυτὰς φέρι;

178 χλιδῶντα

206, 2 As Diels, or κοῦδεν εὐζαῖς

239 Diog. L. ii. 3. 11, Cic. *Tusc.* i. 43. 104, Teles (Stob. *Flor.* 40. 8), *A.P.* x. 3.

280 In Hesych. ταχυβάμων (not -βημ-).

283 Perhaps Αἰσχύλος Δαναῖσι.

307, 2 ὁ δ' ἀστενακτὶ for ὁς.

358 σὺ δ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου < . . . ὄν > οὐ γὰρ ἐγγύθεν <σθένεις· or δύναι·> γέρων δὲ . . .

SOPHOCLES.

111 εἰσαῦ<θις> [ὥσπερ] ἀλιεὺς <εἴσομαι> πληγείς <φρονεῖν>

ἡμπερία γὰρ τῶν φρ>εῶν διδάσκαλος.

Antiphon 141, 24, *experientia docet.*

122, 2 νόμος γάρ ἐστι τῷ Κρόνῳ (θυηπ. or τοῖς β.).—This is the Phoenician sacrifice, references for which are given by Tylor *Prim. Cult.* ii.² p. 398: see also Plat. *Minos* 315 C.

141, 3 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ φεύγεις--οὐ τὸ μὴ κλύειν κακῶς,

ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς Ἐκτωρ ἐστί<ν>· οὐ μένειν καλόν.

174 πόθεν ποτ' ἄλμπον ὦδ' | εὐρον . . *glyconic*, Eur. *Bacch.* 415, Aesch. *fr.* 355.

210 τῷ δ' εἰ φυλάξει χοῖρον ὥστε δεσμίαν. See schol. Ar. *Lys.* 1073.

215 Ἴρις ὥς? ἐξ αὐγῶν?—In Hippocr., οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ <καὶ> ὑποφρον καὶ . .

219 πρόποδα μέλα τανυσικνάμονα¹ τροχίμα βάσιμα . . .

(For τάδε σε κλαίωμαί, τάδ' ὅσα κλαίμεν or κλύμεν.) This is confirmed and explained by the grammarian Diomedes quoting Arcetinus (*Épic. Graec. Fragm.* p. 51 Kinkel): *idcirco ex brevi et longa pedem hunc (the iambus) esse compositum, quod hi qui iaculentur ex brevi accessu in extensum passum proferuntur, ut promptiore nisu tel[is] ictum confirment, auctor huius librationis Arcetinus Graecus his versibus perhibetur:*

ἐξ ὀλίγου διαβὰς προφύρω ποδί, ὅφρ' οἱ γυῖα

τεινόμενα ῥώοιτο καὶ εὐσθενὲς εἶδος (ἴχνος Ruhnken) ἔχῃσι. Cf. schol. Hephaest.

pp. 181–3.

p. 233 OINOMAOΣ: add *E.M.* 207. 17 (Schneider *Callim.* II p. 637).

234, 6 καὶ κλίνεται τε κάπ. Hdt. iv. 181, ii. 93, vi. 41. So explain Aesch. *Ag.* 189.

263 καὶ σάρχ' ὑγραίνων (-ειν) λαρόν (to illustrate the feminine adjective)? The next words are a marginal addition to complete the quotation of Hom. ε 51 σεί[τ]ατ' <ἔπειτ'> ἐπὶ κῦμα <λάρφ' ὀρνιθὶ ἐοικώς>

299 May be anapaest. dim., . . βουστάδας αὐλὰς ἐπὶ χερσεύει or ἐπιχερσεύει.

303 τὴν <δ'> οὕτως ἦδεν

311b καὶ δεινὰ προσπαῖοντ' ἀ<π>' ἀνταίας θεοῦ.

340 ἐν ᾗ παύσεται was preceded in some form by ἔστα ἡμέρα.

342, 3 ἐφ' ὑψηλαῖς σπιλάδεσσι Σουνιτῶν or Σουνιατῶν for στομάτων. Poseidon was worshipped at the promontories of Greece, including of course Sunium, Eur. *Cycl.* 291, Ar. *Nub.* 868 schol., *Eq.* 559.

399, 3 τάξεις τε τακτάς for ταύτας? Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 522 D.

NIOBH: in schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 159 καὶ ἴσους ἄρσενας for τοὺς. Was the number 14 chosen as suitable for a Chorus? If so, it would be half male, half female: cf. Verrall *Agam.* p. 1, and schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 58, Pollux iv. 111.

430 τέξοι.

¹ Compound epithets are habitually so corrupted: c.g. Demetr. *de doc.* 91, 116 and 143 (Bergk. *P.L.G.* iii.¹ p. 728), where I conjecture 'Δέσποτα Πλοῦτων μελανοπερέγων' (κορακίων Ar. *fr.* 537), 'τρυγοδαίμων', 'λιπαροπτεροῦγων', 'αὐτοποίητον'.—In Ar. *Ran.* 1339 μεγάλους ὄνυχας ἔχοντα looks to me like an adscript to μεγαλόνυχας, a corruption of μελανονικειμόνα above: cf. Hesych. κρατέρωνυχας.

- 467 λέγον γὰρ ἔλκος οὐδὲν ἱατροῦ τυχεν?
 503, 3 τέκνον Νεαίρας, ἦν Ἰδυία πρὶν ποτε
 Ὀκεανοῦ τίκτει κόρη.
 511, 4 λεπταῖς <δ'>
 524, 10, Eur. *Med.* 239.
 532, 5 τοὺς δὲ δουλεία σ<υνοίκους
 ἀργαλέας> ζυγὸν ἔσχ' ἀνάγκας.
 ἀργ. ἀνάγκ. Bacchylid. xi. 72.
 p. 263-4 οἱ δὲ μέρος τι τῆς Λιβύης τὸ
 Σίλφιον in Hesych. for εἶδος. Or ἔλος?
 553 οὐ<χ ἤ>δὲ<ν πι>εῖν.
 588, 3 καὶ τελευτήσῃ δρόμον? Cf. *fr.* 772,
 Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 601, Epicrates Com. 3. 18,
 Paul. 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, *Act. Apost.* xx. 24, xiii.
 25.
 618 σύγγωτεκάνασχεσθε σιγῶσαν or σιγῶση?
 672 κύκλον [ἡλίου].
 681 ἀνταίσις(ι) for ἀντάρης, through
 ἀνταίσις.
 686 in Apollon. *de synt.* i. 2 ἔλ[λ]ακεν
 <ἔλακε>, ἔνεπε <δ' ἔνεπε> Eur. *Hipp.*
 578, Or. 159, 322.
fr. 728, A. P. xii. 168, 7 μεστὸν ὑπὲρ
 χεῖλο[υ]s, Ar. *Eq.* 814 schol. (where read
 ἀπομασσύμενον), Paroem. Μέχρι τῶν ἀμφω-
 τίδων.
 757 προσῆ in the original.
 760 In Hesych. προσευχ- for προσαγ-.
 768 ἐκ<κ>όμπασ<τ>α λοιδορητά 'the
 boasts of their enemies' or ἀκόμπαστ'.. ἀλοι-
 δόρητα.—ἔρραξάτην?
 778 καπὶ Κυρβάντεσι<ν> because the
 metre is bacchiac or cretic.
 820 λέγεις σοφιστὴν δεινόν as Eur.
Hipp. 918. The epithet is constant.
 821 Interrogative in irony, as Theocr. i.
 102, Aesch. *Theb.* 1038.

EURIPIDES.

- 2 ὠνόμαξεν.
 61 In Pacuvius, *odi ego homines*.
 118 προσάδουσα γὰς ἐν ἄντροις
 160 νέοι νέοισι συννοσοῦσι τὰ μ φ ν ἦ?
 162, 4 ἡδιστον λαθεῖν, the theme of
 A. P. v. 219 (3 ἡδὺν λαθεῖν), Ov. *de art. am.*
 iii. 601-8.
 274 τοῦπιεικές in the original.
 285, 8 ἀφθόνω χερί? v. 13 πενία δ' ἐλάσσω
 ἔστιν ἐνθ' ἀλγύνεται as Soph. *El.* 1042?
 293, 3 ὀρῶντά γ'
 321 After v. 2 <'but I deny it'>.
 322, 5 ἐν τοῖς δ' ἔχουσιν <βίωτον or μᾶλλον>
 ἡβήτης ὅδε | πέφυκε.
 334 πολλοῖς παρέστην κά φ θ ό ν ο ι s ἥδη
 βροτῶν,
 369, 3 Metre requires ἄδοιμι for αἰδοίμι.
 375 [πιστὸν μὲν οἶν] χρῆ <δὲ> τὸν διάκοινον
 τοιοῦτον εἶναι.
 433 ἐγὼ δὲ φημι καὶ νόμον γε for ἔγωγε.
 446, 1 ἄ μάκαρ.
 448, 3 <σοφ>οὶ μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν
 <ἀνθρώπων> χάος
 Cf. 484, 944, *El.* 295.
 470 πρὶν ἄλλον ἐκφλῆναί με κα ἄ μ α θ ἦ
 λόγον. Or. 897.
 518 καθάλοισι (καθαλῶσι) δώμασι for κἂν
 θάνωσι? Cf. Hom. B 415, Theocr. xiii. 3,
 Aesch. *Ag.* 767, Eur. *El.* 1139.
 543, 5 τί κρεῖσσόν ἐστι...; Cf. 494.
 567 <ἄργυρος δὲ> τὰς βροτῶν
 603, 46 <τάνδον φυλάσσειν ἐν δόμοις καθη-
 μένην>.
 617, 3 κρύψας ἂν ἀχθεῖη σοφός.
 629 <πίμπρη τε> καὶ κατάιθε.
 639 μάτην ἄρ' οἴκοις ἂν
 687, 2 Nicet. Eugen. iv. 387.
 714 τί γάρ με νόσον <ἔχοντα> πλοῦτος
 ὠφελεῖ or τί γάρ με πλοῦτος νόσον <ἔχοντ'
 ἂν> ὠφελεῖ;
 738 πολλοὶ γεγῶτας ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔχουσ' ὅπως
 δεῖξουσιν αὐτοὺς for γεγῶτες ἄνδρες which
 would be good if αὐτοὺς were absent.
 740, 4 κατ' ἑναυλ' ὀρέων ἀβάτους τε πρὸ
 τοῦ λειμῶνας ποιμένα τ' ἄλσῃ.
 781, 34 κάγκυκλώσασθαι.
 p. 624 in Liban. *Ep.* 430 'τοῦ ζῆν <ὅπ>ως
 ἄριστα ποιεῖται λόγον.'
 856, 2 κύμασιν [στωμύλλετε]. This is the
 verb substituted by Aristophanes.
 860 καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ 'Φοίνισσα ἄλμῃ'
 εἶρηται.
 868, 3 ἔδραν φθιμένων, Ἀχεροντ<ε>ίαν
 λίμνην. Callim. *fr.* 110, Eur. *fr.*
 594, 5.
 886 μισῶ πολίτην ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν
 βραδὺς φανῇ τις for φανέται.
 894 τὰλλότρια μὴ χεῖν in the original,
 as *Hel.* 907. Cf. Menand. 582, 1, Dem.
 1125, 28.
 998 αἰεῖ <ποτε> | περισσόμοχοι.
 1048, 3 τὰ μ φ ν ἦ δ' ὑψήλ' ἄγειν for
 τὰ μ φανῇ. See e.g. *fr.* 52, 597, *El.* 368-386,
 Menand. 210, 532, 533.
 1058 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω λέκτρ' ἂ τοῖς καλοῖς
 ἔχειν δίκαιόν ἐστιν.
 1066 καὶ τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ
 1119 ξένος δ' ὀχληρὸς, ὅψιος μολὼν or
 ὀχληρὸς δ' ὁ. μ. ξ.
 There is to me no point in Ar. *Lys.* 165-6
 unless 166 is a quotation—from Euripides,
 one may suppose: cf. *Med.* 13-15.
 p. 728, Aristarch. 2, 3 ᾧ πεισθεῖς ἐγώ,
 οὐ πω κρατηθεῖς, for οὐτω. Cf. Opp. *Hal.* ii.
 12-14, Aesch. P. V. 396, Soph. *El.* 1462.
 p. 780, Astydamos 8, 4 <μόλις δ'> ἐν
 ἑκατον ἔστιν ἀνδρ' εὐρεῖν ἓνα.
 p. 781 Chaeremon I take to be burlesqued
 by Sosicrates *fr.* 2 (iii. p. 391 Kock).
 p. 784, *fr.* 10, 2 ἡδοαῖς | θηρώμεναι

<χλί>οντα λειμώνων τέκνα οἱ χλιδῶντα: cf. Aesch. *fr.* 178.

p. 790, *fr.* 36, 1 τὰ κόλαστον οἱ τὰ κόλαστ' for τὰς ὅλας τιμὰς ἰών? ἀκολασία is the contrary of σωφροσύνη.

p. 816, Moschion 9, 4 punctuate ἔσται, εἰς γῆν ὄμμα συννεφὲς φέρων. See e.g. Ar. *fr.* 395, Seneca *Controv.* ii. 15.

p. 820, Sosiphanes 3, 2 (Stob. *Fl.* 20, 18, iii. p. 542 Hense) νῦν δὲ <σέ> γ' ὀργὴν ἡλίκ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν for ἡνίκ'. Perhaps in Ar. *Ran.* 1028 ἐχάρην γοῦν ἡλίκ' ἐπυνθανόμην (οἱ ἡλικά δὴ 'πυθόμην) παρὰ Δαρείου τεθνεώτος.

p. 822, 13 φαγεῖν τ' ἔδωκε πρῶτα κάπε-
χορτασεν rather than εἶ <τε> κάπεχ. Cf. v. 16 ἐπειτ' ἄγων εἰς λῆα (so Nauck, admirably) Μαϊάνδρου ῥοαῖς κηπεύμαθ' ὧς ἀρδευτὰ δαψιλὲ ποτῶ (for καρπευμάτων). For the construction of this last cf. Soph. *fr.* 286.

p. 882, *adesp.* 212 (Bergk *P.L.G.* ii. 439) ὅχ<λ>ος γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῖσιν εὐόργοις ἔπος = οὐδὲν ἔπος ὀχληρόν ἐστιν.

p. 901, *adesp.* 328 πυριβόλους μέλ<λω> οἱ μέλλει(ς)> πλάκας;

p. 905, *adesp.* 350, 2 punctuate B. ἄμεινον· οὐδεὶς κάματος εὖσεβείν θεούς. Cf. Philem. 118.

p. 926, *adesp.* 449 ὁ τοι θρασὺς πρὸς ἔργον ἐμ πολᾶ κακῶς for ἐκ πολλοῦ κακός. 'The more haste, the less speed'; cf. Theognis 633, Eur. *fr.* 1032, *A.P.* x. 37.

p. 928, *adesp.* 458, 8 τί μοι τόδ' ἂν τολμῶεν (ἐχθιστον) κρέας περμπεῖν; γέλωτα δὴ με ποιοῦνται κόροι, θύοντες ὕβρει· 'τυφλός· οὐ' π'ιγνώσεται.'

p. 932, *adesp.* 472 is an elegiac fragment: Ζεὺς...ὁ καὶ ζωῆς πείρατα καὶ θανάτου | νομῶν <ἀνθρώποισι> as Meleg. *A.P.* xii. 158.

p. 936, *adesp.* 497 ὅστις δ' ἔχει

p. 937 *adesp.* 499 ἄγουσ'...ἀφανῶς as ἐντίμως, ταπεινῶς (Ath. 393 e)? Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 394.

p. 943, *adesp.* 529 δεινὸν δ' ὅταν τις ἐπὶ γέλωτί γ' εὐφυεῖ | γλώσση... See Ar. *Ran.* 404 Blaydes (add Plut. *Mor.* 635 F, 1127 A, Hesych. Ἰθυμβος), and cf. Ar. *Eth.* 4, 19, p. 1128^a 4, Eur. *fr.* 492, Dem. 23, 21, Theognet. iii. p. 365 Kock. For εὐφυῆς see the *Thesaur.*

p. 948, *adesp.* 548 σὺ δ', ὦ τεκοῦσα, λιβάσι μὴ παρηίδα

τὴν σὴν κατάσπενδ', <ἀλλὰ

p. 958, *adesp.* 602 (Kock i. p. 660): Bekk. An. 73, 25 is a conflation of two entries, Ψυχorraγῖν: ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκπνεῖν διὰ κακῶν παρουσίαν ἢ τραγωδίᾳ and Ψυχorroφῖν: τὴν ψυχὴν (ἐκροφῖν καὶ) ἐκπνέειν...(cf. Soph. *El.* 785).

II. COMICORUM FRAGMENTA ed. Kock.

VOL. I.

p. 5, Chionid. 6 κάπτετον for κόπτετον.

p. 39, Cratin. 85 'Ακέστορ'. ἀτὰρ ὅμως

p. 50, Cratin. 116

δεῖ' πιθέντα(ς) συμποτικοῖσιν νόμοις τῷ κοττάβῳ ὀξύβαφα κέν' εἶτα βαλεῖν ἐπινέον<τα> τῷ ποτῶ.

<τῷ> δὲ ποντίσαντι νέμω πλείστα <τὰθλα τῆς> τύχης.

p. 59, Cratin. 146 (E.M. 367, 21) οὔτε γὰρ Κηκεῖδεια τάδ' οὐκέτ' οὔθ' οἶα τὰπὶ Χαριξένης

for οὐκ ἰδὶ' τάδ' οὐκ εονθοὶ τὰπὶ X. See Ar. *Nub.* 984 schol.

p. 85, Cratin. 238

μάκαρ[ιος] ἦν ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βί(οτ)ος ~ ~ πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ὃν εἶχον ἄνδρες

ἀγανόφρονος ἀδελόγου σοφίας δρόσφ περισσοκαλλείς.

Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1024, *Av.* 1321, Pind. *P.* v. 99, *I.* v. 64.

p. 102, Cratin. 307 'τίς δ' εἶ σύ;' <τάχ' ἂν> otherwise the order would have been σὺ δὲ τίς;

p. 105, Cratin. 317, 2 πεινήσῃ or διψήσῃ.

p. 133, Crates 14, 6 δεῖπνον, παρασκευάζεσαντόν. Pherecr. 45, 170.

p. 153, Pherecr. 28 <μὰ Δί'> οὐ γαλαθηνὸν ἄρ' ἔν

p. 159, Pherecr. 51

κἂν μὲν σιωπῶ, φέρει <ποιεῖ> πνίγεται... Dem. 876. 17.

p. 160, Pherecr. 55 ἔδε<ι> μέ<ν> ὀβελίαν for ὦλεν ὁ.

p. 281 Eupol. 94: Themist. p. 339 C.

p. 298, Eupol. 149 δείπνου and οἶνου.

p. 315, Eupol. 209, 3 ὅτων τ' ἔπλευσεν ἔνεκα

p. 329, Eupol. 262 ἀγκυρίσας ἔρραξεν for ἔρρηξεν. Phot. 'Ράξας: τὸ δὲ ῥήξας οὐκ Ἀττικόν. Pollux iii. 155 ἀγκυρίζειν, ῥάσσειν. See *Journal. Philol.* vol. 23 p. 295

p. 350, Eupol. 351, 2 πολλὰς δ<έ> γ' οἶμαι νῦν βεβνησθαι <Λακωνικάς σοι>.

p. 366, Eupol. 439 σακιστός from σακίζω?

p. 376, Phrynich. 20, 3.

ἀνωμάλους ἐπὶ πᾶσι πηθήκους· <ἔστι γοῦν>

ὁ μὲν γε δειλός, ὁ δὲ κόλαξ, ὁ δ' <αὖ> νόθος, ὁ δὲ ξένος.

p. 379, Phryn. 33 ὦ κάπραινα καὶ περίπολι[s] καὶ δρομάς.

p. 395, Ar. 13

εἶτα πῶς δειπνήσομεν

τοσαῦτα δείπνα; B. πῶς; διὰ νυκτός.

Or ὅπως: cf. *fr.* 151, Ath. 337 e. ἴτω διὰ νυκτός might be suggested, as Ion (Ath. 463 b).

p. 435, Ar. 184: In Suid. πλάττοντα for πλουτοῦντα.

p. 441, Ar. 199 σοὶ γὰρ σοφίσματ' ἐστίν; <ὄτ' > ἐγὼ 'κτησάμην, οὐκ...;

p. 515, Ar. 469: in schol. Plat. μειζόνων ἢ δέι καὶ (or ἦ) τῶν τελειοτέρων for καὶ ἦδη.

p. 519, Ar. 494: in Bekk. An. 217, 3 τὰ πατρῶα ἢ καὶ ἄλλα, κοινὰ γ' ὄντα, for δόντα.

p. 571, Ar. 754 ὁ βάτος, not ἦ βάτος.

p. 572, Ar. 760 In Thom. M. καταναγκασθεῖς for κὰν ἄ.

p. 575, Ar. 785 εἴ ποθεν: ἀμόθεν for ἦ πόθεν. Soph. Phil. 1204, Aj. 886, 179 Elmsley. Aesch. Cho. 752 ἦ δῖψ' εἴ τις for δῖψη τις.

p. 607, Plato 28, 1 οὐδὲ ἐν δέι 'ποκτανεῖν ἡμῶς.

p. 645, Plat. 169 ὥστε κἀλεώτατος ἦδη 'στί κἀθλιώτατος.

p. 648, p. 174, 10 μέλιτι δεδευμένοι for διαμεμυμένοι.

p. 654, Plat. 189 κᾶξήμυστις

p. 666 'Plat.' 262 is from Plutarch Mor. 92 E. Cf. Suid. Kairós.

Bekk. An. 78, 22 'Αψυχίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ δειλίαν: Πλάτων 'Εορταῖς for Γοργία.

p. 676, Ameipsias 22, 2 σὺ δ' ἄδε πρὸς τήνδ', i.e. τὴν μυρρίνην: see Ar. Nuβ. 1364 Blaydes. He begins a scolion in the usual metre:

οὐ χρῆ...;

ἀλλ' ἐρᾶν τε καὶ ἐσθίειν πιεῖν τε

σὺ δὲ κάρτα φείδῃ'.

p. 714, Strattis 10 τὸν οὐ μάλα

p. 715, Strattis 13

A. τί λέγεις; μέτρω

ἐχρῶντο κοφίνῳ; τί <σὺ λέγεις;> B. τοῦτ' αὐθ' ὅτι

p. 716, Strattis 18 in schol. Ar. Ran. 153 and Suid. s.v. Πυρρίχαις, ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα σκληρὸς καὶ κατεσκελετευκός for ὀκνηρός.

p. 760, Alcae. 19 πλεκτοὺς (στεφάνους) for πλείστους. Cf. Hippoloch. (Ath. 130 c) ἐν πλεκτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις.

p. 770, Nicochares 2, 3 κυμινοδοκ<εἰ>ον.

p. 790, Polyzel. 1 τοῖς Θεοξενίοις: the rest as Kock.

p. 802, Cephisodor 10

σπουδῇ δ' ἦν περὶ τῶν ὀλκαίων

καὶ καταφρυγμός? or

σπουδῇ δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀλκάδων

καὶ φρυγανισμός?

VOL. II.

p. 13, Antiph. 3, 2 οὐχ ὅστις αὐτῆς <γ'>

p. 41 Antiph. 74. 8 II. οἶον' οὐκ...

p. 63, Antiph. 129, 7

... λεία; B. Κωπαῆδας λέγεις;

A. ἔγνωσ.

Ar. fr. 218, Eupolis 338.

p. 69, Antiph. 140, 2

A. πρὸς ἀμυγδάλας δὲ πῶς ἔχεις; B. εἰρηνικῶς.

<A. And how do you feel towards λαγῶα... and κίχλας>

μαλακὰς σφόδρ'; B. ἀδεῶς: μέλιτι προσπαίξειν δὲ δέι or δ'εα.

Cf. Plat. 174, 8, 9; Alexis 163, 5; Menand. 518, 13, 16; Ath. 357 f.

p. 89, Antiph. 190 τί οὖν ὄφελος... ἔστ'; ἔδει

p. 93, Antiph. 194, 17 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμάνθανεν, ἴσται (rather than λῶσται) for ὥσται.

p. 156, Anaxandr. 46 ὠραῖσμένη Hesych. IV. p. 327.

p. 159, Anaxandr. 53, 7 λήθην δε ποιῶν (Soph. fr. 238) εἴ τι δυσκόλως ἔχοι for ἔχει; read also in Simonid. 70 εἰ μή τις ἔχοι.

p. 193, Eubul. 80, 7 πηλίκον τινὰ οἶεσθε μέγεθος Ἀρεσίαν as a joke instead of πηλίκην... ἄρσιν?

p. 200, Eubul. 105 is using Aeolic rhythms; Sappho 40-43, 98, 113, Alcaeus 57.

p. 203, Eubul. 108, 3 τὸν πόδα... τὸν οἶον?

p. 205, Eubul. 116, 9 Πηνελόπη γε μὴν

p. 234. Philetaer. 12: schol. V. Ar. Av. 1047 ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἐνεχόμενων ξένων... for ἐναγομένων. Ar. fr. 278, schol. Av. 1478.

p. 244, Amphis 30, 10

ἐκρούσε πολυλύπον τιν', <εἴτ' ἀπεκρίνατο

> ὁ δ' ἐπρίσθη, καὶ τότε οὐ λαλῶν ὅλα or ἐπρίσθη. Epicrat. 5, 7, 'but what infuriates me—even then...'

p. 247, Amphis 37, 4

<πρὸς τοῦτο> λήρον ὥστε τὰς ραφάνους δοκεῖν.

p. 278, Aristophan. 7. 4 σεμνόν γε

p. 283, Epicrat. 2, 20: schol. Ar. Plut. 737, Theocr. xxix. 27.

p. 292, Cratin. Iun. 10, 1 As Meineke, or δήπουθε for δηλονότι as Philem. 117.

p. 295, Nausicrat. 1, 2, 12

γαλακτόχρωτα, Σικελὸς δὲν πήγνυσ' ὄχλος,

θρόμβον... (Antiphan. 52, 3, Eust. 1627, 33)

<B. τυρὸν λέγεις. A. ἔγνωκας. B. ἄλλο μοι λέγε.>

as v. 5 B. γλαῦκον λέγεις. A. ἔγνωκας. <B. ἄλλο μοι λέγε. A. λέξω.> v. 11 B. τρίγλας

λέγεις. <A. ἔγνωκας. B. ἄλλο μοι λέγε.> Cf. Antiph. 49.

p. 304, Alexis 19: Eust. 1226, 14 ὁ συγκρίνας ἄσμάτων σεμνῶν ποιητὴν τινα πρὸς ἕτερον τοιοῦτον ῥωπικώτερον for τοπικώτερον. Similar error in Longin. 3.

p. 310, Alexis 34: Plat. Rep. 604 C Stallbaum.

p. 333, Alexis 107 ἐπικώμων.

p. 335, Alexis 110. It is clear from vv.

18-21 that the speaker is not an ordinary cook. Comparing this fragment from the *Φαρμακοπώλης* with *fr.* 24 from the *Ἀσκληπιοκλείδης* I take him to be an *ιατροσοφιστής*; cf. *vv.* 24-26.

p. 355, Alexis 158 *σῶμα μὲν [ἐμοῦ] τὸ θνητὸν*. Alexis 159: Antiphan. 86, Soph. *Phil.* 446-50, Constant. Manass. ii. 71, iv. 66, *Anth. Append.* Cougny v. 22, Appul. *Met.* iv. 67, Plaut. *Pseud.* 795.

p. 360, Alexis 172, 7 Divide B. *ἄνθρωπε, ποίει*. A. *λευκὰ καὶ λεπτὰ*

p. 371, Alexis 201 *κεῖ τι θάπτον ἔτι τρέχει*.

p. 412, Axionik. 2

οἶνος οὐκ ἔνι

αἶται (αἰτοῦ) πρὸς (παρ') ἐτέρου (ἐταίρου)...τινος.

p. 413, Axionik. 4, 6

στῦτ', ὀψοφάγων λίχων τε φέρων

ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα κατ' ὤμων.

v. 9 *ἢ τῆς ἀγρίας πάσματος ἄλμης*.

p. 431, Eubulid. 1, 2 B. *οὐκ ἀδείπνω γ' ἐντρυφῆς*.

p. 436, Mnesim. 2 as Herwerden, or *βία καὶ ταῦτα*.

p. 442, Mnesim. 9, 3 *ἢ φασιανὸς*.

p. 453, Timocles 6, 6 *πρὸς ἀλλότριά τε ψυχαγωγῆθεις πάθη*

p. 455, Timocles 9, 5 *καὶ μὴν ἔτι <καλ> τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄξιον νόμου?* Cf. Eur. *fr.* 388. 3, 172, Lucian i. 694 *fin.*—v. 7 *εὐσχημάτος? οἱ εὐχρήματος*.

p. 458, Timocles 15, 3 *κομπεῖ παφλάζων <ν>ηπίοις*.

p. 464, Timocles 31 *ἐχθρῶν ἀνοσιώτατος*

p. 468, Xenarch. 2, 5 *ἀπόλεσ' ἄρδην* for *αὐτήν*.

p. 471, Xenarch. 8: the construction (as *μή* in v. 4 shows) was. *<αἰσχρὸν γάρ> εἴ τις ὦν ἄλιεὺς σοφίαν ἄκρος...as Eur. El. 336* and often in the Orators.

p. 495, Philem. 65, 5

<ἀγρός, ἀργυρώματ', οἰκίαι> συνοικίαι, φίλοι, βοηθοί, μάρτυρες, <συνήγοροι>.

Or *ἀγροί, θεράποντες*.

p. 513, Philem. 109, 1 *πρὸς τοῦ φίλων*.

p. 518, Philem. 127 *λέγειν* is necessary with *καλὸν τὸ γῆρας ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦτω*.

p. 526, Philem. 168 *ἅπαν τὸ διδόμενον, κὰν μικρὸν ἦ*.

p. 542, Diphil. 5 *ἔσθ' ὑποχέασθαι πλεῖον*, *ὡς πλεῖν γέ τι ἄρδότερον ἢ <κ> τῶν ῥοδιακῶν...*; Alexis 144. 8, Theoc. xviii. 11.

p. 545, Diphil. 17, 12 *σφώδρωσον οἱ σφοδρνον οἱ σφώδωσον*.

p. 558, Diphil. 54, 3 *κεστρεὺς ἂν εἴην... ἄκρος*.

p. 561, Diphil. 62 *ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς ὅτι ἔστιν*, (for *ὅ τι ἔστιν*) Ar. *Eq.* 797, Av. 974 Blaydes.

VOL. III.

p. 5, Menand. 7 *γυμνοτέραν...<πα>ττάλου* Apostol. v. 73.

p. 32, Menand. 106 *ἡλαιμὰ βακχεῖν*

p. 52, Menand. 177 *κατεφθορὼς... τὸν βίον* as *διεφθορὼς?*

p. 59, Menand. 204 *τὸν δὲ παῖδ' οὐ δεῖ δόμοιεν οἱ δεῖδιμεν, δεδίαμεν*. Veitch p. 171.

p. 103, Menand. 355, 3 *καθ' οὓς κρινεῖ τὰ πράγματ' οὐ χρήται νόμοις*.

p. 105, Menand. 362 *τί ἀλφάνει*.

p. 120, Menand. 413: in Caecil. *nono <quo>que atque octavo, imo etiam septimo*. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 907-8.

p. 162, Menand. 541, 7

καίρος ἐστὶν ἡ νόσος

ψυχῆς, ὁ πληγείς δ' εἰς ὃ δέῃ τιτρώσκειται. i.e. ὁ εἰς καιρὸν τυπείσθαι. This had been already conjectured by Wytttenbach.

p. 182, Menand. 602 (from *Ἐαυτὸν Τιμ.*?) *<ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμ' ἀνθρωπός> οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι ἀλλότριος, ἂν ἦ χρηστός*.

Ter. *Heaut.* 77, Plaut. *Trin.* 447, 563, *Erotici Scriptores* p. 621 Hirschig.

p. 208, Menand. 734 *ἂν γὰρ οἱ ἂν γὰρ ἂν... τις σπουδάζει οἱ τύχῃ τις σπουδάζας*.

p. 227, Menand. 849, 850

A. *φιλῶ σ' Ὀνήσιμ', ὡς σὺ περιεργός τις εἶ* O. *γλυκύτερον οὐδὲ ἐν γὰρ ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι*.

p. 241, Menand. 928 *δεῖ γὰρ ἢ πλουτοῦνθ' ὑπόπτως* cf. *fr.* 666.

p. 260, Menand. 1055: Phot. *Πέφηκας* τὸ *εἰρηκας* for *πέφηνας*.

p. 263, Menand. 1084 = Eur. *fr.* 174 *μὴ νυν θέλε | λυπεῖν σεαυτὸν*. Cf. Philem. 110.

p. 266, Menand. 1098 *ὁ γέλως γὰρ ἂν ἦ μὴ γέλως ἄξιος*,

p. 271, Menand. 1128: Hesych. *Ἀφαιᾶσαι: ἀπαλγῆσαι. ἀπολειτουργῆσαι. καὶ ἀπολέσαι*. Apparently for *Ἀφανύσαι* (*ἀφανύσαι* in Soph. O. C. 1712?) or *Ἀφανίσαι* or both.

To the fragments of Menander add schol. Aesch. *Ag.* 488, which suggests *τούτους διπλασίᾳ περιπεσεῖν ἀθυμῖα*. Cf. *fr.* 149 and *Monost.* 696 (quoted by K. p. 7), Ter. *Andr.* 304.

p. 277, Archedic. 3, 1 *γλανκίσκον <ἡγορασμένον>*: Menand. 319, 2 Nicomach. 1, 8 p. 386.

p. 286, Apollod. Car. 18: Ter. *Phorm.* 507 =

τὸν λύκον,

τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον τοῦτο, τῶν ὧτων ἔχω

οὔτε κατέχειν γὰρ δύνατον, οὔτ' ἀφίεσθαι.

or *δύναμαι γάρ*.

Apollod. Car. 23: Ter. *Phorm.* 667 *sescenta proinde scribito iam mihi dicas = <πρὸς ταῦτα> μυρίας <με γραψάσθω> δίκας*. Ar. *Nub.* 1481 Blaydes.

p. 301 *μελη* is surely a *honey-jar*, honey being the usual libation to the dead. (Hence Herodas v. 85 ἀμελιτῖτιν ἑορτήν).

p. 309, Philippiid. 27 <'what will you say' or 'you will say so'> v. 3 ὑπερήφανοι—γὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐξέστην ἰδὼν—κρατήρες. Herodas vi. 65–8.

p. 335 Ath. 345e Φοινικίδης δὲ . . . τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἔλεγε κοινὴν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἰχθῦς τῶν ὠνησαμένων. He said κοινὸν θάλασσαν, ἰχθῦς δὲ τῶν ὠνουμένων, in parody of a famous verse of Aesch. (*fr.* 389), κοινὸν τύχην, γνώμην δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων.—Cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 974–981.

p. 349, Damox. 2 emend, divide and punctuate :

6 B. μάγειρος ἦν κἀκείνος ; A. οὐκ ἦ δ' εἰ σθ' ὅτι ;

16 τοῦτο δὲ γὰρ εἰδέναι,
τὴν' ἔχει διαφορὰν πρῶτον, ὃ βελτιστὲ σν,
γλαυκίσκος ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ θέρει· πάλιν
ποιός περὶ δύσιν Πλειάδος συνιέναι...

21 αἱ μεταβολαὶ γὰρ αἶ τε κινήσεις κακὸν
ἡλίβατον, B. εὖ γ', ἀνθρώπων ε. A. καλ-
λοιώματα

ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς ποιοῦσι, μανθάνεις ; τὸ δὲ
ληφθὲν καθ' ὤραν ἀποδίδωσι τὴν χάριν

25 οἷς παρακολοῦθε. B. ταῦτα. A.
τοιγαροῦν στρόφοι

31 χυμός, λέγει Δημόκριτος, (οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα τὰ
γινόμενα) ποιεῖ τὸν φαγόντ' ἄ.

34 καὶ πᾶς <γ'> ὁ φύσεως ἐντός.

49 B. ἁρμονικός, οὐ μάγειρος.

21 or B. ἀνθρώπε. 25. Or ἦ παρακ. Cf.
Nicomach. i. 20, p. 386.

p. 354, Crito 3, 2 φορμῶσαι 'to break up
for faggots' (as φιαλῶσαι) or κάφορμιᾶσαι
'to lie idle in port' on the analogy of φθει-
ριᾶσαι, as περιπρωκτιᾶν, περιχονδριᾶν, ὠμοκυνδιᾶν,
Blaydes *Ar. Nub.* 183.

p. 362, Strato, 1, 18 'καινόν πάνν.
σὺ δ' ἄρα θύεις ἐρυσίχθον' ;

22 'οὐκοῦν' ἔφη
'τὰ μῆλα πρόβατα, <μανθάνεις> ; B. οὐ
μανθάνω,
<ἀνθρώπε> τούτων οὐδέν.

p. 370, Athenion 1, 42 ἐπακοῦιν.

p. 380, Crobyl. 5 Δάχης. A. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς
σε. ἐγὼ δὴ ? or ἐγὼ ὅδε με νοίει as Herodas
i. 37 Cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 279 *Merc.* 131.

p. 386, Nicomach. 1, 9 ὁ πτόν ἀποδοῦναι.

p. 415, *adesp.* 85 βλεπεδαίμων means 'as
pale as one who has seen an apparition' :
Lucian iii. 584.

p. 420, *adesp.* 104 (*C.R.* x. p. 439) : cf.
Lucian *Nigrin.* 1–7. — v. 5 τὸ καλόν,
τάγαθόν, τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ κακόν : *Hor. Epist.*
1. 2. 3, *Diog. L.* vii. 1. 98. — v. 14 ὑμᾶς
ὀρῶ, τοὺς ἀστέρας, τὸν αἰθέρα or τὸν ἀστερωπὸν
αἰθέρα : *Eur. Ion.* 1079, *Cycl.* 211, *Hel.* 242.

p. 421, *adesp.* 105 supply and divide :

v. 2 ὑπὲρ <μὲν> τοῦ μεθύσκεσθ' οὐ λέγω
as Menand. 521, 1.

v. 4 κοτύλην τις τοῦ βολοῦ (*Eubul.* 80,
5).

v. 7 τί δ' ἐμοὶ τοῦτο ; πάλιν οἰμῶξομαι.

v. 11 B. δώδεκα ; (cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1063).

<λελόγισ>τ' ἀκριβῶς οὐτοσὶ τὰ πράγ-
ματα. A . . . εἰς διατροφὴν ἀνδρὶ B. καὶ
πρὸς ἡμέρ...λελόγισται. A. δὲ ὀβολοὺς
τῆς ἡμέρας ἱκανὸν > v <λέ>γω πεινῶντι.
B. π <έρας ἔξει> ποτέ ;

p. 427, Themist. 262 C. λιβανωτοῦ τοῖς
θεοῖς as below and Lucian i. 202.

p. 428, *adesp.* 114, 5 αἰσθοῦσαν τὸν ὄντ',
<ἀνθρωπος ὢν> ἀνθρωπον

p. 435, *adesp.* 134, 3 λέληθε γεγονώς for
γέγονε λεληθώς.

p. 437, Alciph. iii. 44

οὐδὲν <εστ'> ἐν ἀνθρώποις <ὅλως>
γνώμη, τύχη δ' ἅπαντα· χωρὶς ταύτης τυχὼν
<ἐν πᾶσιν> ἡδὺς ἐστὶ καὶ νομίζεται.

p. 437, *adesp.* 148, 2 ὅτι ἂν ποιῆς δ'

p. 438, *adesp.* 151, 3 εἰν' αὐτῇ 'δόκει ;

p. 451, *adesp.* 222, *Plut. Mor.* 769 B εἰς
λεῖοτητα δ' ἐμβλέπων ὥλισθανον for οἰκειό-
τητα. Cf. *Hor. C.* i. 19. 8, *Ar. fr.* 218,
Baton 7, 8, p. 329, *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 48,
Theocr. v. 90, *A.P.* xii. 13, 1 ; 222, 1, *Plat.*
Gorg. 465 B, *Lys.* 216 C, *Plut. Mor.* 878 D.

p. 454, *adesp.* 248 ληρεῖς ἐν οὐ δέοντι
[καιρῷ] φιλοσοφῶν

p. 467 *adesp.* 328 ἀργόν) (εἰργασμένον.

p. 487 *adesp.* 419 : hence emend Apostol.
iv. 68b ἀψυχότερος λαγωῦ φεύγοντος.

p. 508 *adesp.* 549 a joke for αἰ γοναί

p. 522, *adesp.* 635 καὶ ἡ κωμικὴ βλασ-
φημία 'κενταύρους' ἔπαιξε τοὺς...

p. 523, *adesp.* 643 οὐδὲ <v> εἰς τὸν ὀδόντ'
ἔχει [φαγεῖν].

p. 541, *adesp.* 751 εἰ καὶ λίθον εἶχες ; the
examples of this proverb (not recorded by
the editors) in Macho (*Ath.* 578c) and *Ath.*
684c (from Lynceus) show that it was
spoken as a question, implying τί ἂν ἐποίησας ;
Cf. *Plaut. Capt.* 600–11, *Plut. Mor.* 466 F.

W. HEADLAM.

NOTE ON PINDAR, *OL.* VI. 15, 16 (23, 24).

ἐπτά δ' ἔπειτα πυρᾶν νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων Ταλαϊο-
νίδας
εἶπεν ἐν Οἰθήβαισι τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπος.

This passage has been viewed with so much suspicion by many, even among the most recent commentators, that it may be pardonable to offer a few words with regard to it.

Among the editors whom I have consulted, Christ prints the MS. reading without comment, but the rest with one exception either (1) understand *τελεσθέντων* to mean 'having been consumed' or (2) express doubt about the correctness of the text, in some cases boldly printing conjectures. Many of the second class appear to assume that *τελεσθέντων* can have no other meaning than that mentioned above.

Of those who believe in the possibility of interpreting *τελεῖν* in this way the champion is Dissen, who puts forward two arguments—(1) the same meaning is found in Aesch. *Cho.* 874 οἶμοι πάνοιμοι δεσπότην τελουμένου and (2) ἀνύσαι has a similar use. Now in the passage of Aeschylus *τελουμένου*, though retained by Wecklein, is almost certainly corrupt. To object to the unusual meaning of *τελεῖν* might seem like begging the present question, but apart from that the tense is wrong—for the slave states most emphatically that Aigisthos is already dead—and moreover the word *τελουμένου*, used correctly, ends line 871, while the last word of 873 is τέλος. The case of ἀνύσαι proves nothing. It is not permissible in any language to establish anything more than bare possibility by arguing from special uses of one word to those of another of kindred meaning. Of course completion often necessarily involves the cessation of existence in the thing completed, as in *τελεῖν βίον*, ἀναδοχὰν *τελεῖν πόνον* (*Soph. Tr.* 825). But it will not be maintained that a corpse is completed in any sense by burning: and for our present purpose it is enough to deny that *τελεῖν* can mean 'to destroy' except where destruction is a necessary concomitant of completion. The duty of proof rests with those who affirm.

It may be added that this interpretation is loudly denied by the sense of the context. Adrastus, surveying the pyres, exclaimed 'I miss the eye of my host': he knew already that Amphiaraios was not in his place among the living, and now, behold, he was not to be found among the dead. Now this would not strike the chief as he gazed upon an in-

discrete mass of charred animal and vegetable remains *after* the burning. Surely it was when the dead were fairly laid out for the burning, when all had been collected that could be found and assigned each to his proper place, that Adrastus made a round of the pyres and marked the mysterious absence of the seer. This important consideration has been ignored, not only by Dissen and those who agree with him, but by many of those who wish to change the text, *e.g.* Bergk τ' ἐδεσθέντων, Herwerden τε δαισθέντων.

Tycho Mommsen has shown that none of the ancient commentators understood *τελεσθέντων* to mean 'consumed,' but all who mentioned it took it to refer to the completion of preparations for the burning. His own interpretation is 'bereiten, beschicken (Lat. *componere*)': but this view assumes that it could be used of laying out a single corpse, which is improbable except in special contexts; and it is not the view of the scholia to which he appeals, nor has it seemed convincing to his successors (see the notes of Fennell and Gildersleeve). My own belief is that a Greek reader would have no hesitation in taking the words to mean 'when the full tale of the corpses of the seven pyres had been made up.' And this, I think, is exactly what the ancient commentators meant: the note of Thomas Magister is obscure, but Paraphr. B gives ἐπισωρευθέντων, καταριθμηθέντων (when perhaps Mommsen was influenced by the v. l. καταριθμηθέντων), Schol. B ὅτε συνηθροίσθησαν, Moschop. συναχθέντων καὶ ἀποκαταστάντων ἐπὶ τῷ δοθήσεσθαι τῇ πυρᾷ. Seeing that καταριθμηθέντων (or καταρρυθμ.) and ἀποκαταστάντων are only subsidiary explanations, I may claim the support of all these three. For the sense of *τελεῖν* (to make up a total) which I require, I can cite no exact parallel, because the cases in which it seems to be present are of such a nature that the items are completed as well as the total (*Pind. P.* iv. 104 (185) εἴκοσι ἐκτελέσας ἐνιαυτούς, *Soph. Ant.* 1065 κάτισθι μὴ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τρόχους ἀμύλλητῆρας ἡλίω τελῶν &c.). But I believe that it was from this very meaning that the meaning of *payment* was derived: take four instances from Ast's Platonic Lexicon—*τελεῖν μισθοῦς*, χρήματα, ἑκατὸν μνᾶς, μετοίκιον. Be that as it may, I claim that the sense is near enough to the strict literal sense of the word to be accepted without the support of other instances.

GILBERT DAVIES.

ON THE WORD βλοσυρός.

In a note on Homer *Iliad* H 212 μειδιών βλοσυροῖσι μετώπασι, Mr. Leaf remarks that "fierce" is the universal meaning of the word in Homer and Hesiod, and generally in later Greek. Plato, however, uses it to mean 'burly,' 'bluff.'" A similar view is held by Liddell and Scott. Ebeling's interpretation of the Homeric usage is, if I understand him rightly, somewhat different, for he explains the word by 'turgidus.' A glance at Ebeling's account of this curious adjective will show that ancient as well as modern scholars explained the meaning as well as the derivation of βλοσυρός very variously.

In the present article it is attempted to shew (1) that the original meaning of βλοσυρός was not 'fierce,' but 'hairy,' 'shaggy,' 'bristling' (horridus); (2) that the word occasionally retains this sense even in late authors; (3) that all the secondary meanings of the word can be naturally derived from this primary and fundamental signification.

βλοσυρός occurs twice in Homer, viz. in H 212 μειδιών βλοσυροῖσι μετώπασι and in O 608 ὅσσε λαμπέσθην βλοσυρήσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν. Its conjunction with μετώπασι in the one case, and with ὀφρύσιν in the other favours, though it does not prove, the hypothesis that the reference is to thick, shaggy eyebrows. In A 36 βλοσυρῶπις is an epithet of the Gorgon engraved on Menelaus' shield. A glance at the representation of the Gorgon in Sittl's *Atlas zur Archäologie der Kunst*, Tafel vii. e, 16 b will be enough to show that the epithet is appropriate, if βλοσυρός means 'horridus,' 'bristling.'

Hesiod uses the adjective, I think, four times in all. The passages are *Scut. Her.* 147 ἐπὶ δὲ βλοσυροῖο μετώπου δεινὴ ἔρις πεπότητο (of the figure of a snake upon a shield) 175 τεθνηῶτες ὑπὸ βλοσυροῖσι λέουσι 191 Ἄρεος βλοσυροῖο 250 Κήρες δεινωτοὶ—βλοσυροί τε. Here, too, the adjective 'horridus' exactly represents the different situations. But whereas in Homer the idea of 'shaggy' or 'bristling' seems still to be present to the writer's mind, in Hesiod (except perhaps in βλοσυροῖσι λέουσι) it has sunk to the secondary and derivative notion of 'fierceness of aspect.'

The next occurrence of the word is in the fragment of Phocylides on the pedigree of women. One woman, he tells us, is sprung from a σὺς βλοσυρή (ἢ δὲ σὺδς βλοσυρήσ

Frag. 3, 3). The epithet should be interpreted from the well known poem of Semonides, which is in effect only an expansion of Phocylides' lines. Now in Semonides the swinish woman is descended ἐξ ὑδὸς τανύτριχος (7, 2). I infer that βλοσυρῆς in Phocylides means not 'grim' or 'awful,' as L. and S. suppose—there is no special point in making the sow grim—but simply τανύτριχος or 'bristly'—'horridus' in its etymological sense.

The word 'horridus' will also represent the usage of Aeschylus (*Eum.* 167, cf. *Suppl.* 833), not in its literal, but in its derived signification.

In the passages hitherto quoted, the word has always, apparently, a sinister association, except perhaps in Homer H 212, and in Phocylides. With Plato begins a new usage, which will, I think, confirm us in our view of the primary meaning of the adjective.

Plato has the word twice, both times in combination with γενναῖος: *Rep.* 535 B γενναῖος τε καὶ βλοσυροῦς τὰ ἦθη and *Theaet.* 149 A εἶτα, ὦ καταγέλαστε, οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι ὑδὸς μαίας μάλα γενναίας τε καὶ βλοσυρᾶς, Φαιναρέτης; In the first of these passages the meaning is 'virile' 'masculine' ('männlich' Schneider): our guardians (Plato means) must be a 'mascula proles' endowed with 'mascula virtus.' In the second I think the meaning is also 'masculine,' as when we speak of a 'masculine female.'

The same derivative sense appears, I believe, in at least two other passages cited in Stephanus' *Thesaurus* viz. Nicostratus (*Frags.* 35 ed. Kock) νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ὦ ξένη, βλοσυράν γε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχεις and Aelian *Var. Hist.* 12, 21, where Spartan women are described as σεμνὸν ἅμα καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὀρώσαι. The transition of meaning from 'hairy' to 'virile' 'masculine' is natural enough.

Finally, a trace of the original meaning probably survives in *Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 742 σιγὴ δ' οὐποτε τὴν γε κατὰ βλοσυρὴν ἔχει ἄκρην, where βλοσυρὴν may mean 'bristling,' viz. with trees: see 734–735 αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεῖν Ἀμφιλαφεῖς πλατάνιστοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν and 744 φύλλων τε πνοιῇσι τινασσομένων μυχήσιν. In *Anth. Pal.* ix. 84 we have βλοσυροῖς κύμασι of 'bristling waves'; and in Theophrastus *Hist. Pl.* ix. 3 καλλίστη δὲ πίττα γίνεται καὶ καθαρωτάτη ἢ ἐκ τῶν σφόδρα προσείλων καὶ προσβόρρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παλισκίων

βλοσυρωτέρα καὶ βορβορώδης. As is pointed out in Stephanus s.v., the elder Pliny is paraphrasing the latter passage when he writes (*H.N.* xvi. 12) 'pix optima ubique

ex apricis aquilonis situ, ex opacis horridior virusque praeferens.'

J. ADAM.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* VII. 529 B, C.

THE difficulties of this passage are well-known. At present I wish to discuss chiefly the concluding words: *κὰν ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων ἐν γῇ ἢ ἐν θαλάττῃ μαθάνῃ*.

It appears from the MSS. that there were two variants of tolerably early date, viz. *μέν* and *νέων*. The former is supported by Paris A and three other MSS.; the latter by Π, γ and several besides. The readings *μήν* and *μή, ναίων* and *νεών* are only, of course, corruptions of *μέν* and *νέων*.

I do not know that any one has proposed to defend *μέν*. Various corrections have been suggested, such as ἦ (Madvig), *θεώμενος* or *κείμενος* (Mr. Richards), or simple excision (J. J. Hartman). By far the best emendation (in my judgment) is Mr. Marin-din's *ἐξυπτιασμένος* (*Cl. Rev.* viii. 193 n.); but the omission of final *ος*, though easy in abbreviated cursive (Bast *Comm. Pal.* 772 and *Tab.* iv. 18), is difficult to explain in a MS. so old as Paris A, or in its progenitors. And although *νέων* might be a marginal gloss on *ἐν θαλάττῃ*, yet on the other hand there is apparently no point in *ἐν θαλάττῃ* without *νέων*. Partly on these grounds, and partly also because *νέων* was read by Pollux vii. 138 *νεῖν δ' ἐξ ὑπτίας μάθημα κολυμβητῶν Ἀριστοφάνης* *ἔπεε καὶ Πλάτων*,¹ I believe that editors are right in preferring the authority of Π to that of A in this place. What then is the meaning of *ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων ἐν γῇ*? Jowett and Campbell regard it as 'a piece of extravagance' and apparently nothing more. Schneider remarks truly enough, 'in ea orbis terrarum parte, quae γῇ vocatur, non minus quam in altera natari potest. γῇ non idem est, quod χέρσος.' But why should a man swim on his back even in a river to contemplate the starry heavens, when he can see them at least equally well from the bank?

So singular and striking a phrase must, I think, have reference to some equally singular and striking situation, otherwise it is unjustifiable. A careful study of 529 B, C, will

supply the clue. Glauco has just hailed Astronomy as a study after Socrates' own heart: for 'anybody can see that Astronomy, at all events, makes the soul look up'! This grossly material interpretation of the Platonic phrase *ἄνω βλέπειν* is met by a remarkable outburst of contempt and indignation. 'You seem to imagine,' says Socrates in effect, 'that if a man throws back his head and looks at the spangles in a ceiling (*ἐν ὀροφῇ ποικίλματα*), his soul is looking up. Well, possibly *you* are right, and *I* am only a fool. For my part, so long as a man tries to learn *τῶν αἰσθητῶν τι*—I care not whether his open mouth yawns upwards (*ἄνω κεχηνώς*) or his shut mouth is turned below (*κάτω συμμεμκώς*)—I maintain that he will never learn (for nothing perceivable can be *known*) and that his soul is not looking up, but down,' *κὰν ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων* etc.

Mr. R. L. Nettleship (*Lectures and Remains*, ii. 274 n.) has remarked that throughout this passage 'Plato is very likely thinking of Aristophanes *Clouds* 171 sqq., where Socrates is represented as hoisted up in a basket gazing at the sky.' The same suspicion had occurred to myself, and doubtless to many others. Glauco's conception of astronomy is precisely that of the Aristophanic Socrates, and it is hardly possible to read the passage carefully without thinking of the *Clouds*. That Plato intended the allusion is probable from the tone of extravagant mockery, amounting almost to bitterness, with which he writes. It becomes still more probable when we remember *Clouds* 171–173 *ζητούντος αὐτοῦ τὰς ὁδοὺς Καὶ τὰς περιφορὰς εἶτ' ἄνω κεχηνότος* 'Ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς νύκτωρ γαλεώτης κατέχεσεν. The Aristophanic picture was enough to infuriate a less choleric person than the Platonic Socrates. 'ἄνω κεχηνώς, did you say? ἄνω κεχηνώς or *κάτω συμμεμκώς*²—it is all the same. So long as a man studies *αἰσθητά*, he can never learn anything—never, even

¹ It is much less likely that Pollux refers to *Phaedr.* 264 A *ἐξ ὑπτίας ἀνάπαλιν διαεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν λόγον*, for *ἐξ ὑπτίας νεῖν* is not the same as *ἐξ ὑπτίας διαεῖν*.

² The words *κάτω συμμεμκώς* (wrongly taken by Davies and Vaughan of 'half-shut eyes') are, I think, purely rhetorical; but some may see in them an allusion to *Clouds* 187–193.

though he float face upwards on land' i.e. (as I take it) in the notorious basket 'or in the sea.' Cf. *Ap.* 19 c ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωράτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινα ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν κ.τ.λ. and *Clouds* 218-226. We may presume that Socrates lay supine when he swung aloft, and, if so, no Greek reader who had seen the *Clouds* would be likely to miss the allusion, for which the whole tone of the passage as well as ἄνω κελχνῶς had prepared

the way. The words ἐν θαλάττῃ are a ludicrous challenge, conceived in the same spirit of extravagant ridicule and satire which characterises the whole outburst. 'A monstrous fine idea to make me float on land! Float me on the sea next time, if you like—and miss your mark again'! The use of νέιν may be illustrated from *Ar. Clouds* 336 (ἀερονηχῆς): see also Blaydes *in loc.* and on *Peace* 831.

J. ADAM.

THE TEXT OF THE *DE SUBLIMITATE*.

THE cardinal facts in the textual criticism of the *De Sublimitate* are not disputed among recent editors. The known manuscripts are eleven in number, four of them preserved at Paris, three at Rome, one at Milan, one at Venice, one at Florence, and one at Cambridge. One of the Paris manuscripts (P 2036) dates from the tenth century. It is far the best and oldest of the surviving codices, and most probably the source from which the rest have been directly or indirectly derived. Any modern issue of the text must, therefore, be based primarily upon P 2036. The problems which present themselves to an editor who takes this manuscript as his starting-point may be illustrated by the following passages given in the order in which they come in the treatise. The manuscript readings quoted without further specification are those of P 2036 (P).

i. § 3. Cobet (*Mnemosyne N. S.* x. 319) would read οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε in place of οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε ποθεν. But the latter is possible as well as the former, and it seems to conform better to the author's usage elsewhere. Cp. οὐκ ἄλλοθεν (without ποθεν) in ii. 3, ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν in vi., ἔξωθεν ποθεν in xxii. 4.

ii. § 1. φησί. Some critics would change to the plural φασί. A comparison with other passages, (xxix. 1, xlv. 2, xvi. 4) of the treatise will, however, show that the author intends a subject (sometimes τις, sometimes ὁ Κεκίλιος¹) to be supplied when he uses this verb in the singular. For the sudden transition from plural to singular in this passage, cp. iv. 4, xvii. 1.

iii. § 4. Wilamowitz (*Hermes* x. 336) would here read ἐπὶ σωματίων καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων,

¹ This, and not Κακίλιος, is the spelling of P throughout.

the second ἐπὶ being inserted by him. The insertion is a somewhat doubtful one. What distinguishes this author is not so much that symmetry which Wilamowitz attributes to him as a regard for rhythm; and this rhythm may sometimes conflict with formal symmetry of language (cp. xvi. 2, where Wilamowitz would read ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ). For μήποτε in the same sentence Cobet (*Mnem.* x. 320) suggests ἐνίστε. But this idiomatic use of μήποτε is quite characteristic of the author: cp. μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἀμεγέθεις (xl. 2).

iv. § 4. οἷον δὲ Ἡράκλεις τὸ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐξῆς κόρας αἰσχυνηλὰς εἶναι πεπέισθαι, ὅπου φασὶν οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐνσημαίνεισθαι τὴν τινων ἀναίδειαν ὥς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἱταμόν, οἶνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, φησίν. However we punctuate it, the latter part of this passage is clearly corrupt. Homer's words, accompanied by φησίν in the singular, are quoted as a particular confirmation of the general statement dependent on the plural φασίν: thus much is plain. But ἱταμόν seems impossible in the sense 'he (Homer) says of a bold man.' Probably the simplest remedy is to expel the word as arising from a gloss on ἀναίδειαν, or rather (as Dr. Postgate suggests) on κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων: compare Hesych. κυνῶπις· ἀναιδής, ἱταμὴ and Aristoph. *Ran.* 1292 (in parody of Aeschylus) ἱταμαῖς κυσίν. The translation of the whole might (with the omission of ἱταμόν) run: 'Good heavens, how strange it is that the pupils (κόρας) of the entire company should be believed to be modest, notwithstanding the common saying that the shamelessness of individuals is indicated by nothing so much as the eyes! "Thou sot, that hast the eyes of a dog," as Homer has it.' τὴν τινων ἀναίδειαν no doubt seems strange, but perhaps it is to be

explained by the antithesis τὰς ἀπάντων κ.τ.λ. If τινων were away, Mr. G. B. Mathews thinks that we might read ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἱταμῶ, translating 'simply because of the common saying that shamelessness is nowhere so plainly imprinted as in a bold man's eyes.' This reading has the advantage of giving the more natural sense ('because' rather than 'notwithstanding') to ὅπου, of taking οὐδενί as masculine, and of retaining ἱταμῶ (changed to ἱταμόν by false assimilation to οἰνοβαρές, regarded as neuter). ἱταμός is a word the author may well have used, for it occurs (cp. *Politicus* 311 A, *Leges* 773 B) in Plato, whom he often copies. It occurs also in Plutarch, with whom he has many points of coincidence (due probably to a common imitation of Plato), and in the LXX (*Jeremiah* vi. 23 and xxvii. 42 : ed. Tisch.).

iv. § 5. Rohde's proposed substitution (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxv. 310) of ὡς φῶρ ἰοῦ τινος ἐφαπτόμενος for ὡς φώριον τινὸς ἐφαπτόμενος has been generally praised. But surely there is something a trifle grotesque about Rohde's simile; it seems redolent of the scholar's study rather than of actual life,—this thief pouncing upon a poison where he thought to pounce upon wholesome food! The manuscript reading yields excellent sense: 'Timaeus, however, has not left even this piece of frigidity to Xenophon, but clutches it as though it were hid treasure.' Cp. Ael. *de Nat. Anim.*, xiv. 5 : οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύοντες τὰ φώρια, where τὰ φώρια, are the buried tusks of elephants, described just before as τὸ θησαύρισμα.

vii. § 3. πίπτῃ δ' ἂν εὖ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπισκοπῆς, εἰς ἀπαύξησιν. ἀπαύξησις is ἀπ. εἰρημ., but I believe it is right. From meaning 'decline' the word easily comes to mean 'disesteem,' in which sense it is used here. For the form, cp. ἀπακμή in *De Subl.* ix. 14, 15. We might perhaps venture to suggest ἀπαξιώσιν, a word which is found (in the same sense of 'disesteem') in Polybius and in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

ix. § 8. πολὺν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεωμαχίαν ἀμείνω τὰ ὅσα ἄχραντόν τι καὶ μέγα τὸ δαιμόνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀκρατον παρίστησιν. Some editors would omit τὰ (given by the inferior MSS., on which we are here dependent) before ὅσα. But on the principle that this author, like others, should be illustrated by himself, compare τῶν ἅπερ διαφέρει πρὸς ὀψοποιίας (xliii. 4) and προὔποδεδειγμένων γὰρ τῶν ὅσα εὐγενεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοὺς ἐργάζεται τοὺς λόγους (xliii. 6). Wherever the use of the article is concerned, more than usual caution is needed in modifying the text of this

writer. In the present instance he is, as often elsewhere, influenced by Platonic precedent: cp. *Phileb.* xxi. C τῶν ὅσα θαλάττια μετ' ὀστρεῖων ἔμψυχά ἐστι σωμάτων, and *Protag.* xi. D τῶν ὅσα πυρὶ καὶ γῇ κεράννυνται.

x. § 7. λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα μεγέθη συνοικονομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετελεχισμένα. In this vexed passage I would suggest the insertion of ἐς between ἐμποιοῦντα and μεγέθη. The addition of the preposition will not remove all the difficulties, but it will diminish their number and lessen their force. It will also bring the passage into nearer correspondence with the language of architecture, from which (as represented by Vitruvius and others) it can be most usefully illustrated. The translation will be: 'For these faults mar the effect of the whole, just as though they introduced chinks or fissures into stately and co-ordered edifices, whose walls are compacted by their reciprocal adjustment.' The original reading may have been corrupted in the following way: ἐμποιοῦντα ἐς, ἐμποιοῦντες, ἐμποιοῦντα.

xv. § 1. It is strange that editors so thoroughly scientific as Jahn, Vahlen, and C. Hammer,¹ should follow Schurzfleisch in reading ὦ Τερεντιανέ in place of ὦ νεανία. One of the best aids in the determination of the uncertain date of the treatise would be the identification of the person to whom it is addressed. With this possibility in mind, the most minute attention should be paid to the exact form of the references to Terentianus at the opening of the treatise, in this passage, and throughout. The only objection, so far as I know, raised to the retention here of ὦ νεανία is that Terentianus is not elsewhere described as νεανίας. Consequently an important fact with regard to the age of the addressee is removed from the text, and that in order to make room for ὦ Τερεντιανέ, which (obvious and innocuous as it may seem) is rendered unlikely by the circumstance that the author does not elsewhere use Τερεντιανέ without the addition of φίλτατε or ἡδιστε.

xxii. § 2. πρὸς τὸ ἐφεστὸς δέος. Spengel and Hammer would change ἐφεστὸς into ἐφεστὸς. But P, consistently, gives τὸ παρεστὸς... πάθος in xxxix. 3. It is by no means certain that -ὡς is not the sole correct form of the neuter: cp. E. A. Sonnenschein, *Greek Accidence*, p. 141 (second edition).

xxvi. § 2. ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἴστησι τὸν ἀκρατὴν τῶν ἐνεργουμένων. Hammer's critical note here is: 'αὐτῶν] Manutius, αὐτὸν P (ut

¹ *Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione Leonardi Spengel*, vol. i., Pars II. Edidit C. Hammer, Lipsiae, 1894.

videtur).' This is a mistake. P has αὐτῶν.

xxxi. § 2. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς παραξύνει τὸν ιδιώτην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ιδιωτεύει τῷ σημαντικῶς. It has been proposed to change σημαντικῶς to σημαντικῶ, but Vahlen retains the MS. reading. He supplies ἔχειν, and compares σημαντικώτατα ἔχειν (xxxi. 1).

xliii. § 3. ἀπρεπὲς ἦν ἂν τῇ προσόψει τὸ ἔργον. Here again Hammer hesitates as to the reading of P. The ἂν is certainly there.

xliv. § 1. ὅπερ ἐζήτησέ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων προσεναγchos. Cobet (*Novae Lectiones*, p. 645) would read πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔναγchos in place of προσεναγchos. The proposal is ingenious. But (1) we must remember that unusual compounds are much used by the writer of the *De Sublimitate*; and (2) we must hesitate before building upon a conjecture any argument with regard to the question of the authorship of the treatise. This last caution is suggested by Cobet's own procedure. 'Qui locus,' says he in reference to the passage thus emended by him, 'vel solus declarat fugisse rationem virum doctum qui nuper illum libellum a Plutarcho scriptum esse probare conatus est. Plutarchus numquam scribere potuit: τῶν φιλοσόφων τις ἐζήτησε πρὸς ἐμέ, quasi vero ipse aliud quoddam studiorum genus sequeretur et profiteretur.' Even granted that Cobet's own reading necessarily implies the distinction and exclusion he attributes to it, it is hardly fair to confute Vaucher by means of a conjectural emendation of which he had never heard.

A review, however cursory, of some of the readings of P 2036 is bound to suggest the conclusion that that manuscript is worthy of much respect. Its authority will not lightly be disregarded by those who are aware how often its readings have been vindicated by means of the best sort of interpretation,—that based on unchallenged passages in other parts of the treatise itself.

When one thinks of the wealth of conjectural emendation spent upon the text of the *De Sublimitate*, it is natural to recall the words which Edward Gibbon wrote in his *Journal* (under date September 14, 1762) with regard to this book which he was reading at the time: 'There was an hiatus at the end of the chapter (c. ii.), which Tollins supplied from a manuscript in the Vatican. It is amusing to peruse the conjectural supplements of the critics; how various, how ingenious, and how distant from the truth. They are probably often

as much so, though we have it not in our power to confute them in the same manner.' After taking all due account of the converse cases in which conjectural emendations have been confirmed by the discovery of fresh manuscripts, and while remembering too the striking advances made in critical method since Gibbon's time, we cannot but feel that he utters a needed caution. The real truth of the matter is conveyed in our author's words (used, of course, in another connexion): δύσληπτον τὸ πρᾶγμα (*De Subl.* vi. 1), ἐπικηρον τὸ πρᾶγμα (*ib.* xxix. 1).

Even the best textual critics who have applied their skill to the emendation of the *De Sublimitate* seem often to have erred through two rather simple causes. They have paid too little attention to the general *usus loquendi* of the author, and in particular have failed to recognise that a late writer must, after all, be allowed to use late grammar, while such late grammar would be seen to have laws of its own had not the readings of the best manuscripts been so often changed arbitrarily by scholars who would exact from every author, no matter what his date may be, conformity to the strictest Attic standards. Further, that strict regularity of style which the critics regard as a principal aim of our author is no true characteristic of his. His watchwords rather, are, freedom and variety. His whole book is conceived in the spirit of revolt against the iron precepts of the precisian Caecilius. Hence, I take it, the want of symmetry seen in passages already quoted, and further illustrated on the one hand by the presence of ὁρκῶν in xvi. 3 and of ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς in xvii. 1, and on the other hand by the absence of καὶ βοῦς in xxix. 1 and of Θεόκριτος in xxxiii. 4. And lastly, even if the author were a 'correct' writer, can his prose (in the form in which it left his own hands) have been absolutely flawless and impeccable? What passage of modern prose would escape unscathed the magisterial pen of some of our classical censors? What English poet more 'correct' than Pope, and yet what lines more loosely written than vv. 663, 4 in the *Essay on Criticism*? Surely something must be allowed to human frailty.

The truth is, as might be expected, that the most convincing emendations in the text of the *De Sublimitate* have been made long ago by those earlier scholars who had virgin soil to work upon. Instances of such emendations are: Robertello's κηλεῖν for καλεῖν (xxxix. 3); Manutius' πηροὶ for πληροὶ (xlii. 1); Vettori's ἡ δέος for ἡδέως

(x. 4); Portus' πράγμασι μορίων for πράγμασιν ὀρίων (xii. 2); Faber's ἀψίδα σὴν for ἀψίδας ἦν (xv. 4), or his ἐπ' εἶδους for ἐπ' ἰνδοῦς (xiii. 3: cp. Toup's ἐπ' εἶδους for ἐπιδοῦς in xliii. 6); Schurzfleisch's συμμαχεῖ τε for συμμαχεῖται (xvii. 1), or his Φρύνης for φρυγίης (xxxiv. 3); Pearce's αὐτοῦ Λυσίας for ἀπονυσίας (xxv. 1), or his λαλεῖ μετὰ for λαλεύματα (xxiv. 2); Boivin's ἄμουντος ἦ for ἄλλους ὅση (xxxix. 2); and Valckenaer's ἔχοντ' ἐπιστολῆς for ἔχον γὰρ στολῆς (xxviii. 5). Erroneous readings such as those thus replaced may serve to indicate the general character of P. Its errors (when they occur) are due to pure ignorance, or they are merely mechanical blunders caused by confusion of letters similar in sound or form.

A modern editor will naturally admit into his text emendations which he considers so convincing as those just enumerated. Recent conjectures he will carefully consider

but will view them with considerable mistrust, remembering that the problems still unsolved are probably beyond the powers even of the best of critics, who will find a more hopeful opening for their gifts in newly discovered texts like those of Herodas or Bacchylides and may hope to enact therein the part of a Robortello or a Manutius. But of all deviations, however minute, from such a manuscript as P an editor will (as the result, if necessary, of a new collation) give the fullest record, believing that he thus supplies the best means of testing the soundness of the basis on which his text rests. A record of this kind cannot fail, in the present instance, to confirm our faith in P as a generally trustworthy and always conscientious authority, erring at times through want of intelligence, but hardly ever erring through a perverse and vexatious ingenuity.

W RHYS ROBERTS

PROPERTIANA AND OTHER NOTES.

1, 1, 31.

Vos remanete, quibus facili deus annuit aure,

Sitis et in tuto semper amore pares:

In me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras,
Et nullo vacuus tempore deficit amor.

The prayer or wish in *sitis* seems out of place. The antithesis is imperfect unless their security and happiness is taken for granted. We may read either *estis*, understanding its subject *qui* out of *quibus*: or with less probability *sitis ut*, governed by *annuit*.

Two or three unsatisfactory conjectures have been made for *nostra*. Read probably *vestra*, between which and *in me* there is an antithesis—'kind to you, cruel to me.' The two words are apt to get confused. Thus in 2, 34 b, 30 the MSS. are divided between *noster* and *vester*.

1, 4, 11.

Hac sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris:

Sunt maiora quibus, Basse, perire iuvat,
Ingenuus color et multis decus artibus et quae

Gaudia sub tacita ducere veste libet.

The last words seem hopeless. For *color* critics have suggested *calor*, *pudor*, *lepor*. I venture to suggest *ingenium celere*.

1, 17, 3.

Nec mihi Cassiope solito visura carinam.

Should we read *saltem* for the puzzling *solito*—'will not even look'?

1, 21, 3.

Quid nostro gemitu turgentia lumina torques?

Pars ego sum vestrae proxima militiae.

Quid seems wrong, and *qui*, *quin* have been proposed. I think the poet wrote *quod* as in 3, 2, 9.

2, 5, 28.

Cynthia forma potens, Cynthia verba levis.

Surely it is impossible that Propertius wrote anything so awkward as *verba levis*. Symmetry imperatively demands a nominative parallel to *forma*, and what can it be but *lingua*? *Verba* I take to be an explanatory gloss. In 2, 28, 14 the *forma* and the *lingua* of Cynthia are again put together:

Hoc tibi lingua nocens, hoc tibi forma dedit.
For *lingua* used of a person compare the use of γλῶττα in Cratinus' apostrophe to Pericles ὦ μεγίστη γλῶττα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, and in Aeschro (8 Bergk) Πολυκράτης δέ, τὴν γονὴν Ἀθηναῖος, λόγων τι παιπαλόημα καὶ κακὴ γλῶσσα. The use of *lingua* in 3, 11, 56 and Livy 4, 49, 12 is only partly parallel. In Virgil,

Aen. xi. 339 Drances is a *frigida bello dextera*. Cf. Milton's *Blind mouths*, Scott's *Fleet foot on the correi*, the Greek poet's *γαστέρες ἀργαί* with Hes. *Theog.* 26, etc.

2, 12, 15.

Evolat a! nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam,

Assiduusque meo sanguine bella gerit.

Rather *nunquam*, which is repeated in *assiduus*. The reverse change should, I think, be made in a passage of the *Murena*. Cicero says (§ 28) 'Sapiens existimari nemo potest in ea prudentia quae neque extra Romam usquam neque Romae rebus prolatis quicquam valet.' There *usquam* should be *unquam*. *Extra Romam* and *Romae* refer to place, *unquam* and *rebus prolatis* to time. Without *unquam* the sense is inadequately expressed.

2, 15, 3.

Quam multa apposita narramus verba lucerna.

I conjecture *garrimus verba* as a much more suitable expression.

2, 18, 10.

Illum saepe suis decedens fovit in ulnis

Quam prius adiunctos sedula lavit equos.

Quam prius for *priusquam* seems impossible. Mart. 9. 35. 6 is not parallel. Should we not read *quom (cum) prius ...lavit* 'after first bathing'?

3, 1, 9.

A me

Nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis.

A me nata is a somewhat bold figure when used of a Muse. Should we read *mota*? *Movere Musam* would be a more poetical version of Virgil's *cantusque movere*, which is used of the Muses themselves (*Aen.* 10, 163).

3, 5, 25.

Tum mihi naturae libeat perdiscere mores,
Quis deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum.

For *quis* read *qua*.

3, 10, 1.

Mirabar quidnam misissent mane Camenae,
Ante meum stantes sole rubente torum.
Natalis nostrae signum misere puellae
Et manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos.

Is it not clear that Propertius wrote *risissent* and *risere*? [The editor of the *Review* tells me that the first change was proposed long ago by Lievens and Passerat. Why has it not been adopted?]

3, 11, 5.

Venturam melius praesagit navita mortem,
Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum.

Instead of *mortem* Bährens reads *noctem* with some MS. authority. Neither word is at all suitable, and I conjecture 'venturum...ventum.' Cf. Virg. *G.* 1, 356, etc. Seneca (?) Agam. 490 *agitata ventis unda venturis tumet*.

ib. 25.

Duxit et Euphratem medium quam condidit arces.

Arcis Bährens and Postgate. Others *qua condidit arces* with some MS. authority. Is *medium quas condidit arces* possible? I do not know anything exactly parallel.

3, 14, 3.

Quod non infames exercet corpore laudes
Inter luctantes nuda puella viros.

Editors have adopted Dorat's *ludos* for *laudes*. I have sometimes thought of *luctas*, though the word wants better authority. Lewis and Short quote *exercebat luctam* from Capitolinus. *Luctas inter luctantes* would be no more objectionable than *shout among the shouting crew* (Scott) or *ἵσος ἐν γ'* (or *ὦν*) *ἱσὸς ἀνὴρ* Soph. *Phil.* 685.

3, 21, 6.

Omnia sunt temptata mihi, quaecunque fugari possit.

Ought not this to be *posset*?

4, 1, 17.

Nulli cura fuit externos quaerere divos,
Cum tremere patrio pendula turba sacro.
Pendula seems doubtful. Perhaps *sedula*.

4, 3, 21.

Dignior obliquo funem qui torqueat Oeno.

Why should Oenus be *obliquus*? Rather *obliquum* or *oblique*.

4, 4, 87.

Prodiderat portaeque fidem patriamque iacentem,

Nubendique petit quem velit ipsa diem.

No good meaning can be got out of 88 as it stands with either *ipsa* or *ipse*. Read *putat* for *petit* and all is clear: she thinks she has only to name the day. The mistake is the same as that which I have pointed out in Juv. 10, 54, where *petuntur* should be *putentur*. Possibly it is to be found also at the beginning of poem 2 of this fourth book:

Qui mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas,
Accipe Vertumni signa petenda dei,

There is authority there for *paterna* and Dr. Postgate adopts Mr. Housman's *regna paterna*. I am not convinced of its being right, and would just suggest *signa putanda*, 'hear what are to be regarded as marks of Vertumnus.' The passer-by is supposed to wonder at the figure and not know for whom it is meant. But I feel very doubtful about this.

4, 6, 27.

Cum Phoebeus linqvens stantem se vindice Delon
(Nam tulit iratos mobilis unda notos)
Adstitit Augusti puppim super.

Unda has been generally altered (*una*, *illa*, or *ante*), but editors have acquiesced in *nam*. The second hand in F however gives *non* (probably a conjecture), and surely that is right. The island of Delos *non tulit notos*, that is, gave way before them and was blown about, just as in 4, 9, 62 the gate gave way before the efforts of Hercules (*nec tulit iratam ianua clausa sitim*), and as in 1, 8 b, 28 Cynthia gave way before her lover's prayers (*assiduas non tulit illa preces*). Cf. probably 3, 7, 47.

In line 13 of this poem *ducuntur* may be right in *Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina*, but *dicuntur* suggests itself very strongly. If *picta* (26 *armorum et radiis picta tremebat aqua*) is to be altered, *tacta* is perhaps as likely as *icta*.

4, 7, 85.

Hic Tiburtina iacet aurea Cynthia terra :
Accessit ripae laus, Aniene, tuae.

So Bährens and most editors. The MSS. vary a little, but they all seem to begin with *sed*, not *hic*, which in some comes later. Postgate in the *Corpus*: *Hic Tiburne tua*, etc. I would suggest that for *sed* we should read *quod*. Cf. on 1, 21, 3 above.

4, 9, 37.

Audistisne aliquem tergo qui sustulit orbem?

Probably *auditis*. Cf. line 39 'quis facta Herculeae non audit fortia clavae?' where I take *audit* to be present. So constantly ἀκούω, κλύω, πυνθάνομαι in the present tense.

4, 10, 5.

Imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule,
palmae
Huïus.

Primae should perhaps be *primus*. Cf. the corruption suggested in 4, 3, 21 above, and in 3, 11, 58 'femineas timuit territa Marteminas,' where Dr. Postgate has rightly written *femineo*. The tendency is to make

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the adjective agree with the prominent noun at the end of the line. Against Dr. Postgate's argument in *Journal of Philology* 17, 244 I should contend that 'was the first to handsel' is a pleonastic but not a ludicrous phrase, any more than (say) 'prima initia incohabitis libertatis vestrae' Liv. 3, 54, 9, where the pleonasm is doubled; and that here *primae palmae huïus* is at least awkward.

ib. 45.

Haec (nunc, hinc) spolia in templo tria condita : causa Feretri,
Crimine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem.

In 46 Postgate reads *omine* with N and the second hand of V, Bährens *numine* by his own conjecture. As Propertius is explaining the origin of the name Feretrius, *omine* points clearly to *nomine*, on which *Feretri* will depend. In that case *causa* must be corrupt, and it is not difficult to see that Propertius may very well have written 'Haec spolia in templo tria condita cassa Feretri

Nomine, quod certo dux ferit ense ducem.

Compare Virgil's 'gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,' and Propertius himself in 2, 25, 8 'Et vetus in templo bellica parma vacat': also Coleridge's

The knight's bones are dust
And his good sword rust;
His soul is with the saints, I trust.

4. 11, 86.

Seu tamen adversum mutarit ianua lectum,
Sederit et nostro cauta noverca toro,

Editors are rather put to it to explain *caruta*, as may be seen by looking at the notes of Paley, Postgate, or Ramsay. Heinsius *torva*. Did Propertius write *culta* 'well-dressed'? So in 1, 2, 26 'uni siqua placet, culta puella sat est': Juv. 11, 202 'quos cultae decet assedisae puellae.' We must not think of *lauta*.

I append a few *varia* on other Latin authors.

Lucretius 1, 256.

Frondiferasque novis avibus canere undique silvas.

For *canere* we should perhaps read *sonere* (3, 156). It is very bold to speak of the woods as singing.

1, 263.

Quando alid ex alio reficit natura nec ullam Rem gigni patitur nisi morte adiuta aliena.

Adiuta should I think be *adiutam*, for which, if Wakefield may be trusted, there is some slight MS. authority. *Morte aliena* points to this, for it ought to mean the death of something else than that to which the participle refers, *i.e.* if we keep *adiuta*, something else than nature.

I have often thought that the same change should be made in the famous picture of Mars and Venus (1, 35):

Atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta
Pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea,
visus.

Equae tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.

Tereti cervice points to Venus, not Mars, and *repostam* is clearly suggested by the parallels which Munro quotes: Cic. *Arat.* frag. 8 'tereti cervice reflexum': Virg. *Aen.* 8, 633 'tereti cervice reflexam': and even perhaps Ov. *Met.* 10, 558 'inque sinu iuvenis posita cervice reclinis' (though that might be quoted on the other side), for the words *posita cervice reclinis* go together and refer to Venus.

2, 1029.

Quod non paulatim minuant mirarier omnes.

Mittant Lachmann, and at one time Munro, who afterwards restored *minuant*. Perhaps *linguant*. Cf. 6, 654 'mirari multa relinquant.'

3, 852. *Et* should I think be *ut*, like the *velut* of 832.

3, 970.

Sic alid ex alio nunquam desistet oriri
Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.
Surely *desistit* with the Cambridge MS.

Virg. *Aen.* 11, 843.

Nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
Profuit.

Deserta seems not so fit an epithet for Camilla as for the goddess she serves. So we have 'Ceres in the fields' in 2, 714: 'Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum Desertae Cereris.' Should we read *desertam*?

12, 40.

Quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet
Italia, ad mortem si te—Fors dicta refutet!—
Prodiderim natam et connubia nostra
petentem?

Perhaps we ought to write *prodidero*. *Si* with perfect subjunctive is an extremely rare construction. See Dräger's *Hist. Synt.* 2, p. 717; some of the possible instances given there are pretty certainly future per-

fects. Further, *prodiderim* requires by regular sequence *dicat*, and no example is quoted of a future in apodosis with perfect subjunctive in protasis, though with a present subjunctive in protasis it is not uncommon. Which is the more likely, that there is a trifling mistake in the MS. tradition, or that Virgil coupled one rare use with another probably unique?

Horace, *Sat.* 1, 10, 8.

Et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus.

Should *hic* be *haec*?

Sat. 2, 6, 59.

Perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis.

Several suggestions have been made for getting rid of the doubtful present passive *perditur*. I would add to them *truditur*, comparing not only *Odes* 2, 18, 15 *truditur dies die* which is less parallel, but Petron. *Sat.* 45 *sic vita truditur*.

Epist. 1, 2, 31.

Ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.

In this much disputed passage I am disposed to suggest *cessantes* (or *cessantem*) *ducere cenam*. Is it not made probable by the αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαΐς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε κ.τ.λ. which Horace is following?

Epist. 1, 11, 16.

Nec, si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
Idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.

This, like the passage of the *Aeneid* above, contains a very unusual sequence of tenses (Dräger 2, p. 714), and we may conjecture *vendes*. In *Epist.* 1, 2, 17,

Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen

we should certainly expect *posset* (cf. the note on Prop. 3, 21, 6 above), but possibly the present may be excused by its coming before the perfect on which it depends.

Epist. 2, 2, 80.

Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos

Vis canere et contacta sequi vestigia vatū?

Contacta most MS., but some have *contracta*, which is usually read. Bentley *non tacta*. Perhaps *non trita*.

Ars. P. 48.

Si forte necesse est

Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget dabiturque licentia sumpta
pudenter,

Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba
fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta.

Why *Graeco*? It cannot really be supposed that Horace would allow the coinage of no new Latin word, unless it came direct from the Greek. *Abdita rerum* might for a moment mislead a reader into thinking of scientific or philosophical terms, such as we even now take from Greek sources. But Horace is speaking of poetry, not philosophy or science. He is concerned only with such words as the *promissi carminis auctor* (45) may find it convenient to coin. What rule then was he likely to lay down for the poet? Of course, that if a new word were wanted, he should form it with such deflexion as might be necessary from a good native stem. Such are the Greek words that in the *Poetics* (21, 9) Aristotle calls *πεποιημένα*: ἀρητήρ for instance formed from ἀρᾶσθαι when a substantive was wanted, or ἔπνυξ varied from ἔπνος for a special use. Here, as in many other points (of which no sufficient study seems to have been made), Horace is repeating the *Poetics*, but with due adaptation. What he stipulates for is that new Latin words shall come from a good old (Latin) source: not *Graeco* but *prisco fonte*. *Priscus* is a favourite word of his, used by him some twelve times as against Virgil's seven and Juvenal's one.

Ars. P. 203.

Tibia

...tenuis simplexque foramine paucō.

Foramine paucō = *foraminibus paucis* is questionable Latin for Horace. The MSS. which Keller puts into his third class appear to have *parvo*. In respect of simplicity or complexity the number of holes is much more important than their size: cf. ἡμίποτος. I suggest therefore *foramine parco*. But, as I can find no instance in which *parcus* with a singular substantive seems equivalent to *pauci* with a plural (*parcum sal, parca moles, parcum volnus* are not instances), I would take *foramina* as a sort of collective noun, in which case size or quantity translates itself into number. Thus *miles* may be collective and we could say *parco milite*. Horace uses *flos rosarum* in a sort of collective way (*Od.* 3, 29, 3: cf. 3, 15, 15: 1, 4, 10) and we could say *flos parcus*. For similar collective singulars cf. *Lucr.* 1, 405 'intectas fronde quietes': *Lucr.* 7, 834 'nunquam tanto se vulture caelum Induit': *Juv.* 13, 57 'maiores glandis acervos.' This way of understanding *foramine* was suggested

to me by Dr. F. A. Dixey, whom I asked about the musical point.

Juvenal 2, 37.

Ubi nunc lex Iulia? dormis?

Rather *dormit*?

ib. 68.

est moecha Fabulla,

Damnetur, si vis; etiam Carfinia talem
Non sumet damnata togam.

Whether we adopt this punctuation of Bücheler's or the old one which joins *etiam Carfinia* with *damnetur*, I am inclined to think *est* in 68 should be *sit*. It is well-known that the confusion is very common.

ib. 149.

Esse aliquos Manes et subterranea regna
Et pontum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras
Atque una transire vadum tot milia cumba
Nec pueri credunt.

Neither *pontum* nor *contum*, the well-attested readings, can be considered satisfactory. What *pontum* would mean I cannot conjecture, though Bücheler keeps it. Surely *contum* is impossible too. Charon's pole, though Virgil mentions it, is not a thing marked enough to stand alone here—'powers of the dead and realms below, a pole and frogs.' Nor would Juvenal refer first to Charon's boat, then to the frogs, and then to Charon's boat again. An insignificant MS. is said to have *cantum*: may not this be right? Juvenal would be thinking of Aristophanes, possibly of other literature too. *Cantum et ranas* is not a more remarkable ἐν διὰ δύοιν than many that we find in Latin. *Plin. N.H.* 8, 58 *ranae*. . *alio translatae canunt*.

ib. 170.

Sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores.

Read *referent* to suit the future tenses preceding.

8, 26.

Agnosco procerem; salve Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocunque alio de sanguine; rarus
Civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti;
Exclamare libet etc.

This is Mayor's punctuation. Bücheler has practically the same, a comma after *sanguine*. Ribbeck and Weidner have a pause after *Silanus*, no stop whatever at *sanguine* and only a comma after *ovanti*. But no punctuation will make the passage quite right. I believe we ought to read *alio* for *alio*. Juvenal likes to mention two or more things and then generalise with a *quis*.

quis, quicunque or such like. So in 13, 78-83 he specifies a whole number of divine weapons and then sums them up 'quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.' So in 15, 99 'post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid Cogebat vacui ventris furor. Cf. Liv. 1, 59, 1 'stirpe ferro igni, quacunque denique vi possim.' In the same way here, *quocunque de sanguine* is meant to generalise. What he wrote was 'Gaetulicus, Silanus, or any noble family you please.' For *altus* in this sense, cf. line 40 *alto Drusorum stemmate* and line 131 'altaque si te Nomina delectant': also 6. 607 *domibus . . altis* and perhaps 6. 385. Virgil *Aen.* 6. 500 has the exact expression, 'genus alto a sanguine Teuceri.' For the confusion of *alius* and *altus* cf. the now well-known substitution of *multo* for *multo* in line 148 of this satire. These very words have been confused in 10, 150 where the MSS. vary between *altosque elephantos* and *aliosque elephantos*. (I think it has not been pointed out that *alios* is confirmed by a passage in Aristotle *de Caelo* 2, 14, 19 λέγονσι δὲ τεκμαίρομενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν, ὅτι περὶ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τόπους τοὺς ἐσχατεύοντας τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐστίν). In Lucr. 5, 1128 *aliis* has been read for *altis* since Lambinus. *Quocunque alto de sanguine* then is to be joined with *contingis*, whatever stop we prefer to put at *ovanti*.

10, 196.

Plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina: pulchrior ille

Hoc atque ille alio.

For *ille hoc* read *illo hic*. Cf. the generally received correction of Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 89 'Gracchus ut hic illi, foret hic ut Mucius illi' to *foret huic ut Mucius ille*.

13, 1-4. The point of these four lines is so entirely different from the point of what follows and also so far from leading up to it that the doubt may perhaps be legitimate whether they are in their proper place. If one were quite free to choose, it would seem proper to insert them after 195, where they fit in quite well. But unless we are to deal freely with Juvenal's text according to the method of Ribbeck, it must be admitted

that he is not very particular about sequence.

16, 25.

quis tam procul absit ab urbe
Praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris
ultra
Ut veniat?

A little reflection will show that these words should be written

quis tam procul absit ab urbe
Praeterea? quis tam Pylades etc.

Quis . . praeterea is repeated in *quis . . veniat*.

I do not find in any edition that I have consulted what seems to me the right way of writing 4, 23-25

Hoc tu
Succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro?
Hoc pretio squamam?

I understand *fecisti* out of *fecit* with the first question, *emisti* with the second (if *squamam* is right). Maclean apparently supplies *fecisti*, but he makes neither clause a question.

Cicero *pro Murena* 5. Non tam me officium debuit ad hominis amici fortunae quam res publica consulem ad communem salutem defendendam vocare.

The antithesis points to something like *debuit <hominem> ad hominis*.

Cic. *Phil.* 1, 7, 15. 'etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam.'

Cobet in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 7. 115 takes exception to *sequi orationem* and says 'quid sit orationem alicuius sequi praesertim in curia non assequor.'

Rationem is an obvious correction.

Valerius Maximus ix. 2 ext. 7. 'socrum vivam capite defodit.

Capite <tenuis>.

Seneca *de Brev. Vit.* 13, 2. Graecorum iste morbus fuit quaerere quem numerum Ulixes remigum habuisset, prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssea, praeterea an eiusdem esset auctoris, alia deinceps, &c.

For the absurd *praeterea* read *alterius*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

IN the following paper I cite from the edition of P. Langen (Berlin, 1896). My remarks concern Books III. to VIII.

III. 122.

inde uagi nec bella modis nec casibus isdem
conseruere manu.

tela is the reading of Vat. *bella* Bentley has been generally received. But cf. VI. 182 sq.

illi ubi consertis iunxere frementia telis
agmina.

Langen there quotes Lucan V. 708 *consertis puppibus agmen*, yet changes the text of our passage.

III. 412. The use of *armenta* for *oves* occurs again in IV. 337, so the conjectures of Köstlin and others are unnecessary.

IV. 221.

ponto uolitet Symplegas inani.

Here is an unnoticed parallelism with Lucan II. 718,

uanaque percussit pontum Symplegas inanimem.

VI. 279.

hinc animos acies auget magnoque doloris
turbine Gesandrum Mauors rapit.

The conjecture of Heinsius, *acres* for *acies*, is unquestionably right, yet it has not been accepted by Langen. The mention of *acies* is quite irrelevant, but with *acres* we have Gesander's episode introduced by a reference to him without further delay: the introduction of it by means of *que* (not *at*) is much less appropriate to its length.

VI. 389.

omnes rapturus ab agmine Colchos.

Langen says '*verba obscure dicta: "agmen" hoc loco solam mouendi notionem habere uidetur.*' I take the words to mean 'with intent to sweep the Colchi from the field.' The use of *rapere* for *celeriter capere*, de-

uincere, is illustrated in the Lexica from Lucan.

VII. 362.

idem stat fulmina contra
Salvus et in mediis florescunt ignibus herbae.

Said of the *Prometheae florem de sanguine fibrae* 356. *Salvus* is Bährens' conjecture for *Sangus* Vat. I have no hesitation in proposing *Sanctus*.

VII. 587.

inicit Aesonides dextram atque ardentia
prendit
cornua, dein totis propendens uiribus haeret.

The *cornua* in question belong to one of the fire-breathing bulls. *prendit* is Thilo's reading for Vat. *mittit*, adopted by Langen hesitatingly. It does not explain *mittit*. On the other hand *mutat*, the reading of the *codex regius*, does, and gives an excellent sense to boot, albeit at the expense of epic dignity. Iason finds the horn which he seizes first too hot for him to hold—Valerius carries the conception of a fire-breathing bull to its logical conclusion—so he grasps the other; but soon becoming better able to bear the heat, he exerts all his strength and grapples with the animal (*totis propendens u.h.*).

VIII. 162.

quod nullae te, nata, dapes, non ulla iuuabant
tempora.

Said to Medea by her mother. *tempora* is very feeble, and hardly to be defended as Summers (*A Study*, p. 76) would defend it by *redde diem noctemque mihi*, the words of Medea to the pseudo-Circe VII. 246. One word only is an adequate completion of the sentence, and that is *carmina*, cf. *Odyssey* I. 152,

μολπή τ' ὀρχηστὺς τε, τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα
δαιτός.

For the confusion of trisyllabic words in general v. Markland, preface to Statius *Sylvae*, p. viii.: for the confusion of *carmina* and *tempora*, id. p. 334 of commentary.

VIII. 285.

dixerat atque orans iterum uentosque uiros-
que
perque ratis iit et remos uox alta magistri.

Absyrtus is pursuing his sister Medea, and these words describe his appeal to the crews of his ships (v. 261) to make all speed. The reading of Vat. in 286 is *perque ratis supplex et remigis uexilla magistris*. The number of conjectures on this unhappy line exceeds perhaps that on any other line or passage in the poem. They may be seen, or some of them, in Thilo's critical note, and though Langen's reading is perhaps the least probable of all proposed so far, many earlier efforts are not much happier. But to our task. With one exception all conjectures known to me are based on the assumption that the word *uexilla* is corrupt. There is not the faintest shadow of probability in this: indeed our attempt to restore must proceed on the assumption that *uexilla* is certainly right. It takes little power of divination to see that Absyrtus exhorts personally the crew of his own ship, but in the case of the other ships he is obliged to use *signals*. Further, *magistris* must depend on *supplex*. For the first of these two points we may compare the Agamemnon of Seneca, v. 39 (Agamemnon)

cuius secutae mille uexillum rates ;

also vv. 448 *sqq.* of the same play,

signum recussus regia ut fulsit rate eqs.

quoted by Köstlin (*Philologus* 48, p. 673). Köstlin, who is the exception referred to above, has done good service in pointing out these passages, and thus making certain what was already probable that such was the meaning. But he falls heavily in the sequel: streicht man von den überschüssigen sinnlosen Silben in *et remigis* das *igis*, so bleibt *et rem*, eine Verstümmelung von *iterum*. There is no syllable superfluous here, though I admit the meaning is conspicuous by its absence. But not for long: *remigis* is simply a corruption, slight if bewildering, of *reliquis*: *per ratis uexilla supplex reliquis magistris*. Absyrtus need not be *magister* of his own ship: the sense is the same. To complete my conjecture, *et* before *remigis* is from the margin, and is itself a corruption of *it*, written originally at the side as a correction of *at(que)*. The absence of a principal verb led Ruperti to this correction, and Thilo prints it in his text. Thus Köstlin's doubt is disposed of (*l.c.*). The lines then run as follows:

dixerat itque orans iterum uentosque uiros-
que
perque ratis supplex reliquis uexilla magis-
tris.

As for the word *reliquis*, Statius uses it three times, and Silius much oftener (Lachmann's *Lucretius*, p. 305). I hope that a single instance of it will henceforth be recognized in Valerius Flaccus.

J. A. NAIRN.

ON THE SEQUENCE AFTER *NE* PROHIBITIVE.

III.

THE following article presents the evidence on the above subject from Plautus and Terence.

The citations, as a rule, follow the numbering as in Ritschl's edition. No example has been entered on either side in which the *Prohibitive* meaning is not legitimate and defensible. *Dramatic emphasis* tells strongly in favour of the prohibitive sense, in situa-

tions where there is otherwise little evidence either way.

It may be proper to add that the French and English translators (Riley and Nisard) are not appealed to as carrying any *critical* authority, but simply as interpreters showing the common sense view of any passage apart from critical theories.

PLAUTUS.

*Amphitruo.**Pres. Subj.**Perf. Subj.*

Ne miremini.—Prolog. 87.
 Ne existimes.—1, 1, 177 [330]. (=much less should
 you think).
 Nunquam mihi...creduis post hunc diem.—2, 2, 40
 [672].
 Irata ne sies.¹—3, 2, 43 [924].

0

4

Possible, but not certain, examples are ne admiremini in Prolog. 116; ne culpam transferas 2, 2, 166 [788]; ne tu postules 4, 2, 16 [1031].

Ne with imperat. 3.

Asinaria.

Tu cavebis, ne me attingas.—2, 2, 106 [373].
 Quaeso, ne vitio vortas.²—2, 4, 44 [450].
 Abscede hinc, molestus ne sis.—2, 4, 63 [469].
 Neque divini neque mi humani quidquam accrednas,
 si.—5, 2, 4 [854].

Verbo cave supplicassis.—2, 4, 61.
 Ne dixis istuc. Ne sic fueris: illis ego non dixero.
 —5, 1, 12 [839].

3
 Deduct 'cave' 1
 —
 2

4
 Deduct 'cave' 1
 —
 3

Ne istuc nequidquam dixeris 3, 3, 107 [698] is best taken as a purpose clause, and so Nisard 'pour vous apprendre à m'avoir dit.'

Taceas: ne spectes 3, 3, 90, good example of *pres. subj.* conveying a special command to an individual, and so furnishing the analogon to a specific prohibition by the same tense.

Ne with imperat. 5.

Aulularia.

Verba ne facias, soror.—2, 1, 52 [173].
 Ne duis.—2, 2, 61 [238].
 Novi, ne doceas.—2, 2, 63 [241].
 Ne quaeras foris.—2, 6, 9 [358].
 Molestus ne sis.³—3, 3, 10 [458].

Cave quemquam intromiseris.—1, 2, 13 [90].
 Hoc praedico tibi...ne intromiseris.—1, 2, 23 [100].
 Ne in me mutassis nomen.—3, 6, 49 [585].
 Tu cave quoui quam indicassis.—4, 2 [611].
 Ne istuc dixis.—4, 10, 18 [744].

5

5
 Deduct 'cave' 2
 —
 3

Imperative 1.

Bacchides.

Ne me sinas.⁴—2, 1, 5 [174].
 Te quaeso ut memineris: ne illum verberes, verum...
 observato.—4, 4, 94 [746].
 Ne supplicare censeas.—4, 8, 63 [904].
 Quaeso, pater,
 Ne me...deseras.⁵—4, 9, 91 [1014].
 Sed spectatores, vos nunc ne miremini
 Quod non triumpho.—4, 9, 149 [1072].

Tu nullus adfueris,
 Si non lubet.—1, 1, 57.
 Cave, sis, ...sirir.—3, 2, 18 [402].

2
 Deduct 'cave' 1
 —
 1

5

Ne me sectere gratiis, of Ussing. p. 59, is best taken as 'lest.' Ritschl has 'sectarere,' which is irrelevant as evidence. Si non est, nolis esse neque desideres 4, 8, 84 [914] is simply negative, not prohibitive.

Imperative 2.

¹ Irata with Elmer taken as *adjective*, as is shown by the subsequent l. 55 and as it must be in Ter. *Heaut.* 4, 6, 16, Iam non sum iratus.

² So Nisard 'pardonnez-le-moi.'

³ Forms an independent sentence in Ussing's ed. and must therefore be prohibitive.

⁴ Nisard 'ne me permets pas.'

⁵ Nisard 'ne m'abandonnez pas.'

Obsecro, parentes ne meos mihi prohibeas.—5, 2, 7

[605].

Ne tu nescias.—5, 3, 46 [724].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct vide} \quad 9 \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 8 \end{array}$$

Parasitum ne amiseris in 5, 2, 1 [599] is taken as 'lest' by Riley and Nisard.
Imperative 3.

Epidicus.

Ne imbites.—1, 2, 42 [145].

Ne abeas (v. l. abitas).—2, 2, 121 [304].

Ne quid tibi huic in spem referas.—3, 2, 3 [339].

Cave praeterbitas.—3, 4, 1 [433].

Ne attigas.—5, 2, 57 [723].

Ne feceris.—1, 2, 45 [148].

Cave siris.—3, 3, 19 [400].

Cave retuleris pedem.—3, 4, 3 [435].

Ubi noles, ne fueris pater.—4, 2, 25 [595].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave'} \quad 5 \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 4 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave'} \quad 4 \\ \quad \quad \quad 2 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 2 \end{array}$$

Ne feceris in 1, 2, 45 [148] is a good example of abrupt prohibition, to a man meditating suicide whence Nisard 'n'en faites rien.' The other example of Perfect ne fueris pater, is a warning, 'you will cease to stand as &c.,' and may therefore be allowed to rank as prohibitive.

Imperative 2.

Menaechmi.

Ni¹ mala ni stulta sies.—1, 2, 1 [110].

Molestus ne sis.—2, 1, 25 [249].

Cavero: Ne tu delinquas neve ego irascar tibi.—2, 2, 4 [270].

Proin tu nequo abeas.—2, 2, 52 [327].

Ne frustra sies.—4, 3, 18 [692].

Quid ille faciat, ne id observes.—5, 2, 37 [789].

Vosque omnes quaeso, si senex revererit,

Ne me indicetis².—5, 2, 127 [881].

Ne feceris.—2, 3, 67 [415].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cavero' and 'quaeso'} \quad 7 \\ \quad \quad \quad 2 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 5 \end{array}$$

Neu sinas in 5, 7, 20 [1008] seems dependent on obsecro and does not count. Ne clam me comesses in 4, 2, 53 [611] is, with Ussing, as against Ritschl, simply negative, not prohibitive, which requires comessis. Let it be noted that the two deductions above (270, 881), are liberal concessions, since in both instances 'ne' opens a line, and dramatic vividness claims them as being not under regimen.

Imperative 1.

Mercator.

Ne rogites.—1, 2, 56 [165].

At ne deterioorem tamen

Hoc facto ducas.—2, 2, 50 [322].

Ne duis.—2, 3, 66 [402].

Ad portum ne bitas.—2, 3, 127 [465].

Mea non es, ne arbitrare.—3, 1, 30 [528].

Neu te advexisse dixeris.—2, 3, 66 [402].

Cave tn istie dixis.—2, 4, 16 [484].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave'} \quad 2 \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 1 \end{array}$$

5

Ne frustra sis, 3, 1, 30 [528] not included, since Riley and Nisard take it as='that you may not be mistaken.'

Imperative 7.

¹ Ni here, traditionally=ne.

² 'N'allez pas lui indiquer le chemin.'—Nisard.

Miles Gloriosus.

Ne quaeras foris (exemplum).—3, 1, 42 [638].
 Ne nomines.—3, 1, 210 [807].
 Ne sis cupidus¹.—4, 5, 16 [1215].
 Ne tu mirare plus mulierem.—4, 6, 59 [1274].
 Vide ne sis in expectatione, Ne illam animi exerceas.²
 —4, 6, 64 [1280].
 Ne morere.—4, 8, 50 [1361].
 Ne me deseras³.—4, 8, 52 [1363].
 Ne me moneatis.—4, 9, 1 [1378].
 Ne sis frustra.—5, 1, 29 [1422].
 Ne quid speres.—5, 1, 30 [1423].

11
 Deduct 'vide' 1
 —
 10

Mihi ne dixis.—2, 3, 12 [283].
 Ne videris quod videris.—2, 6, 90 [571].
 Ne me noveris.—2, 6, 92 [575].
 Hanc nil tu amassis.—4, 2, 17 [1007].
 Istuc cave faxis.—4, 3, 32 [1125].
 Ne interveneris, quaeso.—4, 8, 23 [1333].
 Cave istuc feceris.—4, 8, 57 [1368].
 Cave faxis.—4, 8, 61 [1372].

8
 Deduct 'cave,' 'quaeso' 4
 —
 4

Ne polliciteris, 4, 2, 67 [1058] being under regimen of interdixi, is only adminicular. Feriatus ne sis of 2, 2, 63 [283] disappears in Ritschl's text as 'an larvatus est'. Ne algeas hoc hieme, 3, 1, 94 expresses a *purpose* (lest). Etiam illud, quod scies, nesciveris of 2, 6, 90 [571], if we read as 'ne sciveris,' becomes an example of Perf. Subj. and might be added to the second column. But, as nesciveris, it may best be taken with Parry (Terence, p. 134) as future Perfect Indic.

Imperative 8.

Mostellaria.

Molestus ne sis⁴.—1, 1, 71 [74].
 „ „ „ —3, 1, 76 [601].
 „ „ „ —3, 2, 84 [771].
 „ „ „ —4, 1, 28 [877].
 „ „ „ —4, 1, 39 [886].
 Id tu mihi ne suadeas.—1, 3, 58 [215].
 Cave ne cadas.—1, 4, 11 [324].
 Cave modo, ne accumbas.—1, 4, 13 [326].
 Aedes ne attigatis.—2, 2, 37 [468].
 Ne porro postules.—3, 1, 81 [603].
 Ne sane id multum censeas.—3, 1, 92 [628].
 Te obsecro, ne hero indicium facias meo⁵.—3, 2, 57 [745].
 Ne metuas, nil sciet ex me.—3, 2, 58 [745].
 Cave tu illi objectes.—3, 2, 124 [810].
 Ergo irridere ne videare⁶ et gestire.—3, 2, 126 [812].
 Ne me te vocare censeas.—4, 4 (3), 13 [1005].
 Ne ire inficias postules.—4, 4 (3), 29 [1023].

17
 Deduct 'cave' 3
 —
 14

Minime feceris.—1, 3, 115 [272].
 Cave muttire quemquam siveris.—2, 1, 54 [400].
 Cave respexis.—2, 2, 91 [523].
 Nil me curassis, inquam.—2, 2, 92 [526].
 Cave tu flocci faxis.—3, 2, 122 [808].
 Ne ad alias aedes deveneris.—4, 3, 29 [968].
 Ne occupassis, obsecro, aram, (obsecro='prithoe'
 and parenthetic).—5, 1, 48 [1097].
 Ne faxis.—5, 1, 66 [1115].

8
 Deduct 'cave' 3
 —
 5

Ne nequidquam dixeris, dabo, 1, 3, 95 [252] is of *purpose*, 'That you may not.' Similar as to vide, sis, ne forte devorteris, 4, 2, 50 [966]=Weise, 4, 3, 27, 'See that you have not perchance been dropping into,' etc. The reading in Tu cave . . . ne neges in 4, 4 (3) 31 [1025] is unstable. Tu ne molestus in 4, 3, 16 [956] almost certainly has sis understood, but, for fairness, is not included in the enumeration.

Imperative 3

¹ 'Don't be over anxious.'—Riley.

² Riley and Nisard='Don't,' etc.

³ Riley: 'Don't,' etc., but Nisard, 'à fin que,' etc.

⁴ 'Cesse de m'importuner.'—Nisard.

⁵ Riley and Nisard make independent of regimen = 'Don't.'

⁶ 'N'ayez donc pas l'air de,' etc.—Nisard.

Persa.

Ne mihi incocta detis.—1, 3, 13 [93].
 Ne frustra sis.¹—1, 3, 60 [140].
 Ne enices fame, 2, 5, 17 [318].
 Pol, ne te indotatam dicas quoui sit dos domi.—3,
 1, 63 [390].
 At, ne permutes domum, moneo te.²—4, 4, 8 [680].
 Cave, sis, ne attigas.—5, 2, 39 [816].

Cave, sis, tu istuc dixeris.—3, 1, 61 [389].
 Ne, sis, mo uno digito attigeris.—5, 2, 15 [795].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave' } \frac{2}{1} \\ 1 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave' } \frac{6}{1} \\ 5 \end{array}$$

Ne temere dicas of 4, 4, 48 [597], is best taken as 'lest.' The reading in 4, 4, 92 ne inducas is uncertain ; Ritschl has inducat.

Imperative 4.

Poenulus.

Cave dirumpatis.—117 [117].
 Vide, sis, ne tu hunc pugnus pectas.³—1, 2, 148
 [358].
 Ne nos servos tu esse addictos censeas.—3, 1, 18
 [521].
 Ne tu opinere.—3, 1, 24 [527].
 Ne nos tam contentim conteras.—3, 1, 34 [537].
 Dico, ne dictum neges.⁴—5, 3, 36 [1155].
 Ne mirere.—5, 7, 2 [1373].

Nos tu ne curassis.—3, 1, 50.—[553].
 Ne parseris.—5, 2, 33 [993].
 Cave, sis, feceris.—5, 2, 63 [1023].

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave' } \frac{3}{1} \\ 2 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'cave' and 'vide' } \frac{7}{2} \\ 5 \end{array}$$

Ne quid clam censeas of 5, 2, 62 [1023], is taken as='lest' by Riley and Nisard. Weise's punctuation favours the other view. It must be left therefore *in medio*.

Imperative 4.

Pseudolus.

Molestus jam ne sis mihi.—1, 1, 116 [118].
 Ne praedices.—1, 3, 41 [275].
 Vide, sis, ne in quaestione sis.⁵—2, 2, 68 [663].
 Molestus ne sis.—3, 2, 99 [889].
 Monendus, ne me moneas.—4, 1, 11 [915].
 At vide, ne titubes.⁶—4, 1, 26 [942].
 Nunc ne expectetis.—4, 7, 135 [1234].

Id quidem tibi, ne parsis, dabo.—1, 1, 77 [79].

1

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Deduct 'vide' } \frac{7}{2} \\ 5 \end{array}$$

Ne dictum tibi neges 1, 1, 111 [118]=Lest, and so nequid harpax feceris 2, 2, 59 [654] Lest.

Imperative 4.

Rudens.

Ne invisas habeas neve⁷...vitio verbas.—3, 3, 39
 [700].
 Cave tu harum conchas spernas.—3, 3, 43 [704].

Nec tu me indicassis.—4, 3, 100 [1028].
 Tu mihi nullus (R. nullum) ostenderis.—4, 4, 90
 [1135].

¹ Riley and Nisard = 'Don't be mistaken.'

² 'But don't you be changing your quarters, I recommend you,' Riley, and similarly Nisard. So taken, the ne clause is independent.

³ 'N'allez pas ensuite caresser...à coups de poing,' Nisard.

⁴ Prohibitively = don't. Riley and Nisard.

⁵ 'Ne va pas me donner la peine de te chercher,' Nisard.

⁶ 'Surtout ne bronche pas,' Nisard.

⁷ Riley and Nisard take as independent, the foregoing obsecro being far distant.

Ne tu mihi esse postules.—4, 3, 5 [941 b].

Mane, ne ostenderis.—4, 4, 111 [1154].

Ne tute speres.—4, 3, 40 [968].

Ne frustra sies.¹—4, 3, 41 [969].

Ne feras.²—4, 3, 64 [992].

Ne postules.—4, 3, 84 [1012].

Ne molestus.³—4, 7, 28 [1254].

Ne tu frustra sis.—4, 7, 29 [1255].

Ne censionem semper facias.⁴—4, 3, 8 [1272].

Ne duis.—5, 3, 12 [1368].

Ne tu leno postules.—5, 3, 29 [1385].

Mea (opera); ne tu dicas, tua.—5, 3, 34 [1390].

Ne speres.⁵—5, 4, 58 [1414].

3

Deduct 'cave' and No. 4, 7, 28 2

12

3, 3, 39 is a double example, but is not counted twice in the enumeration. 'Vel tu mi aias, vel neges' in 2, 4, 14 [430], may be claimed in its second member as in so far an example of Present Subj. In 2, 4, 24 [436], ne nequidquam me ames is taken by Riley as 'that you may not, etc.' and similarly 'ne frustra sies' 4, 3, 41 [969]; whereas Nisard has 'ne t'y trompe pas.' In 4, 3, 85 [1013] 'ne quo abeas' Riley takes as 'lest.' The presence of 'ut' introductory makes it fair to remove 4, 3, 103 [1031], from the list of plausible Presents Prohibitive. At, ne videas, velim 4, 4, 23 [1067], is not conclusive.

Imperative 2.

Stichus.

Ne cures.—2, 2 [1], 51.

Id ne vos miremini.—3, 1, 37 [446].

Cave quemquam flocci feceris.—2, 2 [1], 12, [289]

2

Deduct 'cave' 1
0

Neque ego te celabo neque tu me celassis in 1, 2, 93 [149], is probably a Future Perfect. Nolo obscaeves in 5, 4, 52 [732], though auxiliary, is uncertain as to the reading.

Imperative 3.

rinummus.

Ne expectetis.—Prolog.—16.

Mihi amicus ne fuas unquam.—1, 2, 47 [267] [Ritschl].

2, 1, 33].

Tu modo ne me prohibeas accipere 2, 2, 93 [370].

Cave, sis, feceris.—2, 4, 112 [513].

Cave, sis, dixeris.—2, 4, 154 [555].

Neque tu occultaris mihi.—3, 2, 1 [627].

Ne animum induxeris.—3, 2, 78 [704].

Ne destiteris currere 4, 3, 5 [1012].

3

Deduct 'cave' 5
2
3

2, 1, 17 [294], neu colas, neu imbuas ingenium, are possible examples of Present, as also 2, 2, 74, Quod habes, ne habeas=you are not to have. Nolo quidquam praedices 4, 2, 103 [945], is adminicular, as also 2, 4, 117 [519], neve alius quisquam (dicat). Per deos dico, ne tu siris 2, 4, 119 [520], may be an example of Perfect.

Imperative 3.

Truculentus.

Ne attigas me.—2, 2, 22 [276].

Ne expectetis.—2, 6, 1 [482].

Edico prius, ne duplices habeatis linguas.—4, 3, 7 [781].

None.

¹ 'Ne t'y trompe pas.' Nisard. Riley gives as=lest.

² = 'You are not to walk away with it.'

³ Weise in note supplies 'sis.' See similar in Mostellaria. Ritschl has 'nam molestus's.'

⁴ Don't be always making a reckoning, Riley. Note the presence of semper, justifying facias, not, as frequent in this verb, feceris.

⁵ Riley, 'don't you be expecting it.'

Diversae state, neve inter vos significetis.¹—4, 3, 14 [788].
 Vide, quaeso, homini ne facias injuriam.—4, 3, 62 [836].

5

'Ibitur. Ne me morari censeas' 3, 1, 21 [640], is a possible example of Present, but Riley gives 'lest.' 'Ne molestus sis' in 5, 1, 5 and 5, 1, 27 are introduced by ut. Cave faxis of Ritschl. in 5, 1, 51 [943] is unstable in reading.

Ne quis quaerat ex me 2, 7, 4 [554], and nequi censeat in 1, 1, 54 [73], are auxiliary to the examples with Present, being virtual prohibitives, though in 3rd person: and so with vasa nolo auferant in 2, 7, 36 [585]. They are, however, left *in medio*.

Imperative 2.

TERENCE.

Andria.

Edico tibi.
 Ne temere facias; neque tu hoc dicas² tibi non praedictum.—1, 2, 33 [204].

Te obtestor, ne abs te hanc segreges neu deseras.—1, 5, 55 [291].

Ne tu hoc mihi posterius dicas.³—3, 3, 29 [510].

Huic, non tibi habeo, ne erres.⁴—4, 2, 21 [705].

Ne vacuum esse me credas.—4, 2, 23 [707].

Ne me attigas, sceleste (attingas, Nisard).—4, 4, 50 [790].

Ne expectetis dum exeat hinc.—5, 6, 16 [981].

7
 Deduct 'obtestor' 1
 —
 6

Nec tu ea causa minueris.—2, 3 (14), 18 [393].
 Cave excessis.—4, 4, 21 [701].

2
 Deduct 'cave' 1
 —
 1

Catonian Rigour might also eliminate this example, since nec is the conjunction, not neve, and nec minueris, may mean only 'you need not' instead of 'do not.' It is allowed to stand in deference to Parry, who takes it 'But do not you alter,' etc.

Deprecatory or Prohibitory examples with Ut ne are not included, as 2, 1, 27 [327]; 5, 1, 15 [835]; 5, 3, 27 [900]. Also two examples of ne in mora sies 2, 5, 13 [425] and 3, 1, 9 [468] are not included, since Nisard renders as 'lest.' Parry's punctuation separating by a semicolon will, however, justify the meaning 'don't' in the earlier instance. Nihil promoveris 4, 1, 16 [641] is predictive='you will gain nothing,' and is therefore irrelevant.

Imperative 3.

Eunuchus.

Ne istuc tam iniquo patiaris animo.—2, 1, 6 [212].

Ne sis [tristis].⁵—2, 2, 42 [274].

Si certum est facere, facias; verum ne post conferas

Culpam in me.—2, 3 (4), 96 [388].

Cave ne priusquam hanc a me accipias, amittas.—4, 6, 13 [750].

Ne metuas.⁶—4, 7, 16 [785].

Edico tibi,

Ne vim facias.—4, 7, 37 [805].

Here, ne me spectes.—5, 5, 18 [987].

Neque istum metuas ne amet mulier.⁷—5, 8, 50 [1079].

8
 Deduct 'cave,' 'edico' 2
 —
 6

None.

Ne te afflictes 1, 1, 30 [76] a possible example, is not included.
 Imperative 1.

¹ Ritschl reads 'istuc volo: nil inter vos significetis': which is kindred example.

² Parry 'and don't you say etc.'

³ Parry gives as an independent sentence. Nisard attaches to previous sentence, in which case *lest* be-

comes possible.

⁴ 'Ne vous y trompez point.'—Nisard.

⁵ 'Point de chagrin.'—Nisard.

⁶ 'N'ayez pas peur.'—Nisard.

⁷ 'Vous n'avez pas a craindre.'—Nisard.

Heautontimorumenos.

Vide sis, nequo abeas, obsecro.—1, 2 (3), 38 [212].
Ne me in laetitiam frustra conjicias.—2, 3 (2), 50 [291].

Cave ne falsam gratiam studeas inire.—2, 3 (2), 61 [303].

Vide sis, nequid impudens ruas.—2, 3 (2), 128 [369].

Ne quid accusandus sis, vide.—2, 3, 111 [352].

Sed si quid, nequid [succenseas].¹—3, 2, 43 [555].

Hoc te oro, nequid credas me etc.—4, 1, 10 [623].

Quamobrem? Ne quaeras.—4, 4, 23 [745].

Chreme, ne quid vereare.—5, 1, 66 [940].

Obsecro, ne istuc in animum inducas tuum.—5, 4 (5), 5 [1030].

Mi vir, te obsecro ne facias.—5, 5 (6), 4 [1050].

Cave faxis.—1, 2 (3), 12 [187].

Cave quicquam admiratus sies.—4, 6, 22 [826].

Nec precatorem pararis.—5, 2, 22 [978].

Deduct 'cave'	3
	2
	1

Deduct 'vide,' 'cave,' 'obsecro'	11
	7
	4

Ne me admisceas in 4, 5, 35 [783] is rendered by Parry as Prohibitive 'only do not mix me up with them,' and is a plausible case, but is not urged. Hoc te oro in 4, 1 10 is not deducted, as the regimen by hoc is complete for oro, and so the ne clause becomes independent.

Imperative 7.

Adelphi.

Dehinc ne exspectetis.—Prol. 22.

Auscita : ne me obtundas de hac re saepius.—1, 2, 32 [114].

Audi : ne te ignarum fuisse dicas.—2, 1, 6 [161].

Cave oculis demoveas.—2, 1, 16 [171].

Ne gravere.²—5, 8, 19 [946].

Periimus. Cave dixeris.—3, 4, 12 [459].

Deduct 'cave'	1
	1
	0

Deduct 'cave'	5
	1
	4

In 2, 4 (5) 6 [271] ne existimes=lest.

Imperative 2.

Heccyra.

Vide ne impulsus ira prave insistas.—3, 5, 34 [484].

Non visas : ne mittas quidem.—3, 2, 7 [342].

Interdico, ne velis.—4, 1, 48 [563].

Ne me in breve conjicias tempus.³—5, 2 (4), 2, [843].

Nullus dixeris.—1, 2, 4 [79].

1

Deduct 'vide' and 'interdico'	4
	2
	2

Professor Elmer takes 3, 2, 7 as prohibitive and so Nisard, who renders 'n'y allez pas, croyez moi ; n'y envoyez même pas.'

Imperative 0.

Phormio.

Actum, aiunt, ne agas.—2, 3, 72 [419].

Ita fugias, ne praeter casam.—5, 2, 3 [767].

Unam praeterea horam ne oppertus sies.—3, 2, 30 [513].

¹ 'N'allez pas.'—Nisard ; succenseas, supplied by Parry.

² Parry's reading. Nisard's is 'ne gravare.'

³ Nisard takes as a prohibition.

Cave ne pecces.—5, 3, 20 [802].
 Obsecro, Ne facias.—5, 7, 51 [944].
 Cave isti quicquam creduas.—5, 8, 4 [992].

Ne me posthac appellassis.—5, 1, 15 [741].

5
 Deduct 'cave' and 'obsecro' 3
 —
 2

In 3, 2, 24 [507] 'Hera, ne parum leno sies,' appears not to be prohibitive but is best taken as an expression of apprehension. 'Obsecro' above has separate regimen and punctuation in Nisard, and so ne facias might fairly be included as a good example, but it is franked for uniformity.
 Imperative 2.

RESULT IN PLAUTUS.

Clear examples of the two sequences, omitting those less valid or only adminicular.

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>				<i>Perf. Subj.</i>			
Amphitruo ...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	0
Asinaria ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	2
Aulularia ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	3
Bacchides ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1
Captivi ...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	2
Casina ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	0
Cistellaria ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1
Curculio ...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	1
Epidicus ...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	2
Menaechmi ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1
Mercator ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1
Miles Glor. ...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	4
Mostellaria ...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	5
Persa ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1
Poenulus ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	2
Pseudolus ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1
Rudens ...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	3
Stichus ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	0
Trinummus ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
Truculentus ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	0
				119				33

RESULT IN TERENCE.

Andria ...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	1
Eunuchus ...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	0
Heautontim. ...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	1
Adelphi ...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	0
Heeyra ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1
Phormio ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2
				24				5
Joint net result ...	...	...	...	143				38 ¹

Remark in the above plays of Plautus the frequency of 'ne molestus sis,' which can only be the equivalent of our 'Don't

bother' or 'Don't tease me' addressed to an individual on the comic stage. It is mere torture to avoid this plain signification or to

¹ The above enumeration, it is right to note, includes instances with other negatives than ne and neve, such as nil, nunquam, nullus, &c., where the meaning is not so clearly prohibitive. Many of

these instances Professor Elmer (*Studies*, p. 130-1) reserves and relegates to a different category. Eliminating these, the list would then stand 140 for Pres. Subj., 27 for Perf. Subj.

twist it into a Madvigian interpretation of 'One is not to be bothersome,' or 'This is remarked, lest one' etc., whereby dramatic liveliness is extinguished. A similar remark applies to 'ne frustra sis,' of which there are 6 occurrences.

The rough and masculine Plautus may be ruled out as boorish, but Terence the 'Dimidiatus Menander' and paragon of elegance, cannot be so summarily dealt with. In the face of his evidence, which presents

a proportion practically of five to one, it seems impossible to maintain the Canon of Madvig as to classical Latin confining the Pres. Subj. in prohibition to a 'ficta persona' or a *tu*s and excluding it in the case of a specific individual. The two instances of *Plurals* (= *vos*) in Terence, and the frequent instances of *Plurals* after *ne* in Plautus explode the doctrine into thin air, so far as the Dramatic authors are concerned.

W. D. GEDDES.

OBLIGATION AS EXPRESSED BY THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

MR. ELMER'S article in the May number of the *Classical Review* on the use of the subjunctive in expressions of obligation, while on the whole to be commended in its interpretation of the passages cited, is, I believe, fundamentally wrong in its implied explanation of this force in those passages. A method that rests upon translation for its classifications, cannot offer deductions to be received with great confidence. The same passage may seem to take on different shades of meaning as it is viewed with different insight into the context, or even as it is viewed at different times, though this is perhaps another way of saying the same thing. Two cases cited by Mr. Elmer as illustrating the 'subjunctive of obligation' are sufficient to make this point clear.

Terence, *Heaut.* 273 :

mane: hoc quod coepi primum enarrem,
Clitipho.
Post istuc veniam :

This certainly might mean 'allow me to finish what I have begun': in fact the vocative in the line almost compels that translation.

Plautus, *Poen.* 152 :

Cur ego apud te mentiar?

This seems like a question of *motive*, rather than of obligation, i.e. 'what motive have I to try to deceive you'?

I trust that this will suffice to show how insecure is the foundation which consists of classes whose members have no stronger tie than the meaning assigned them by the individual translator. I hope to show that there are other and safer lines of classification, and that Mr. Elmer, in disregarding

these, has, in some cases at least, lost sight of fundamental differences and based his classification on what is a mere accident of the situation; in other words, that the force of obligation in many of the cases cited by him is not the determining factor that calls for the use of the subjunctive mood. If I can establish that proposition, then it is obvious, for those cases at least, that there is no need to attempt to derive a 'subjunctive of obligation' from a postulated I. E. modal usage.

With this end in view, I will examine two of the classes cited in the article under discussion.

(a) Present subjunctive, 1st sing., in interrogative sentences, with no introductory particle (except *-ne*) :

My deductions are based on a complete collection of cases from Cicero's Orations, and these are reinforced by two or three cases from Plautus. Under this head Mr. Elmer cites cases that I prefer to call 'repudiating questions,' i.e. they repudiate the desire or suggestion of another. The cases which occur in the Orations,¹ though more obscure than might be the case in a less formal style, lead to the conclusion that the circumstance which calls for the use of the subjunctive mood is the fact that this type of question echoes in an indignant tone the (perhaps unexpressed) will or desire of some other person, thus becoming the

¹ I give the list that they may be examined by any who are interested. *In Verr.* ii. 1, 61, 157, ii. 3, 10, 25, ii. 5, 58, 150, *p. Caec.* 10, 26, *de Imp. Pomp.* 12, 32 and 33, *p. Clu.* 26, 70, *p. Sulla*, 30, 83, *p. Arch.* 8, 18, *p. Flac.* 11, 25, *de Har. Res.* 25, 53, *p. Balb.* 4, 8, *in Pis.* 20, 47, *p. Planc.* 13, 33 and 39, 93, *p. Scauro*, 15, 35, *p. Rab. Post.* 9, 23, *p. Lig.* 8, 24, *Phil.* iii. 5, 12, xi. 10, 25, xii. 7, 16, xii. 10, 24, xiv. 9, 25. Apparently of Doubt or Deliberation are: *p. S. Rosc.* 11, 29, *p. Sest.* 25, 55.

expression of the repudiation of that will or desire; and that the *ground* of the repudiation (be it obligation or otherwise) is a secondary matter, being determined by the situation, and varying in different cases. I feel sure that the study of one's mother tongue on the subject of syntax will greatly aid in the solution of many problems. In the present case I would like to illustrate by the repudiating question in English before proceeding to the Latin cases. Suppose that one man should suggest to another that he steal from a relative. He replies indignantly, 'I steal from him?' If the reason for the repudiation of the suggestion is clear to the other person, that may be a sufficient answer. If it is not clear, the speaker may add a defining clause: as, 'I steal from him, who has been so kind to me?' 'I steal from him, who is so sharp?' 'I steal from him, who is going to leave me his all?' In all these the form of the question remains the same, and is due to the one factor common to all, *i.e.* repudiation of the will or desire of some other person: the ground of the repudiation (obligation, possibility, advisability, etc.) being merely the colouring of the question. Note that the simple question without defining clauses might have all of these meanings and probably others, if the situation does not need definition. In speaking, the tone or look might give the desired hint.

The cases of this idiom in Latin display a surprisingly similar range of phenomena. I hope that the presence of defining clauses and of *auxiliary verbs* will make this clear.

1. *pro Arch.* 8, 18. Hunc ego non diligam, non admirer, non...defendendum putem?

The context implies obligation (cited by Mr. Elmer).

2. *in Verr.* ii. 3, 10, 25. Quantum poposcerit Apronius, dato...Ego tantum dem, quantum ille poposcerit? *poscet omne, quantum exaravero.*

This case shows the demand and the answer: the speaker repudiates the demand on the score of justice (or obligation) to himself.

3. *Phil.* xii. 10, 24. Hisce ego me viis committam, qui *Terminalibus nuper in suburbium...ire non sum ausus?*

This is repudiation on the score of the (in)advisability of the act, cp. p. Sulla 30, 83.

4. Plautus, *Pseud.* 288-90.

C. Egon patri subrupere possim quicquam, tam cauto seni?

This is a good case. To the same statement of obligation¹ (*surruperes*) Pseudolus answers with a repudiating question (*surruperet*) that has its ground in obligation or propriety, while his master repudiates it by a question having as its ground the (im)possibility of the performance. This is shown by the use of the auxiliary *posse* and the phrase, *tam cauto seni*.

5. Plautus *Poen.* 149.

Egone istuc ausim facere, praesertim tibi?

Here the repudiation may have its ground in the obligation to the slave (*praesertim tibi*) or in the (im)possibility of the master's stooping to the thing suggested (*ausim*).

Note that in these two last cases, if the auxiliary verb were dropped out and the verb in the infinitive were changed to subjunctive, the sense would still be clear, particularly in the first case of the two, as that is doubly defined.

I must leave it to the reader to decide whether it is more likely to be true to the facts of language, to follow Mr. Elmer in the attempt to find a 'subjunctive force' to justify the colouring in each of these questions and such others as may be found, or to accept as the full explanation of the use of the subjunctive the one fact common to them all, *i.e.* repudiation of the wish or suggestion (even expectation) of an outside party.²

One more class we will take up in which the facts are, to my mind, much as in the case just discussed.

(b) Present subjunctive, 3rd pers. sing., in non-interrogative sentences.

Not to go into detail, which is hardly called for here, as it is not likely that the statement will be questioned, the study of active and deponent verbs of this person and number in the Orations, brings to light at least the following classes: the verbs express:—

1. Direct concession of the speaker to the subject of the verb.

2. Concession to the subject of the verb at the instance of another.

3. Exhortation to allow the subject of the verb to act.

¹ Possibly only suggestion.

² To guard against misapprehension, it might be well to state that light is thrown upon the nature of the repudiating question by cases outside of this person and number: these aid in reaching the above view.

B. Surruperes patri. Ps. Surruperet hic patri, audacissime?

Non periculumst, nequid recte monstres.

B. Non lenoniumst.

4. Exhortation to cause the subject of the verb to act.

5. Exhortation directed to the subject of the verb action.

Generalizing on the basis of these divisions we may say that the subjunctive of this tense, person and number in Cicero's Orations is the expression of the will (or concession) of the speaker in regard to the action of the subject of the verb, sometimes involving a third party.¹ Let me once more appeal to English for an illustration. Suppose that we translate 'veniat' by 'Let him come.' Though that is rather formal, it may bear the following meanings in English.

1. He may come.

2. He may come (as you or they wish).

3. Allow him to come.

4. Have him come (as might be said to a servant of one in waiting).

5. I want him to come (he should come).

Thus we see that this one expression will translate very fairly all of the five uses noted in Latin. In Latin, as in English, the cases falling under (5) would be the ones among which we would naturally look for cases that express an obligation devolving upon the subject of the verb-action: naturally, because the speaker would be apt to exhort the subject to acts of obligation or propriety. Be it noted that the exhortation is at times of a very formal kind and is directed toward no one in particular, but lays down a rule for the *general* third person; here, of course, the force of obligation would be specially prominent.

In the English, examples of this usage would not be numerous; we have other more direct and less formal ways of expressing the idea of obligation. This may be in a measure true of the Latin usage as well. May it not be true then again in this case that the subjunctive is not due to the idea of obligation primarily, but is rather called forth by the relation of willer and actor, the fact that obligation is sometimes expressed being merely an incidental circumstance due to the situation?

The discussion of the two classes we have examined is sufficient to illustrate the wide

difference of method which it is the aim of this paper to bring out. Mr. Elmer follows a functional classification, selecting from formal groups instances which in their individual context show a similarity of meaning; then attempting to trace these meanings back through a course of development from prehistoric times. I have tried to show that in so doing he often tears apart cases that have a deep underlying likeness, and has chosen his examples, in the two cases discussed, on the basis of what may be only an accidental similarity. It needs no argument to prove that deductions drawn from such classification are not likely to lead to a right inference as to early modal usages.

I trust that I have likewise made it probable:

(a) That great underlying similarities may be looked for along the lines of the divisions that are formal: as person, number and the form of the sentence,² these being, if you please, the moulds into which language is cast.

(b) That, if we seek to understand I. E. modal uses, inferences based upon data so classified are more likely to lead to right deductions, than those based upon what may be only an accidental resemblance. The I. E. realm is so misty, however, that we can hope to make little advance in certain knowledge of modal uses in general, by speculating about it.³

In regard to the cases cited of *opinor* and *credo* used parenthetically or paratactically with the subjunctive, it is unfortunate that the data are not more complete.

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² See E. P. Morris's article in vol. xviii. of the *American Journal of Philology*, on the uses of the subjunctive in Plautus, particularly page 133 and pages 275 ff.

³ Paul in his *Principien* tends to the belief that different forms (as for instance subjunctive and optative forms) in early time were used without clear distinction of meaning, and that time and use gradually portioned out a set of ideas for a form to express. (See Strong's translation, §§ 410 and 433.) If that be true, it is almost impossible to tell how far this process of differentiation of meaning had advanced when Latin began its independent development: so the subject is almost hopeless.

See also E. P. Morris's article cited above, pages 400 and 401.

¹ This of course excludes *wishes*, which do not readily class with the other cases.

DOMI HABEO, ETC.

M. SONNENSCHN, *Class. Rev.* xii. (1898), p. 360 (comp. p. 465) rappelle un emploi figuré des locutions *domi habeo*, *domi est*, etc., dans le sens de: j'ai...à moi, j'ai en provision, j'ai en abondance (sans avoir à recourir à d'autres). Il pense avec M. Tyrrell que *domi est* a le même sens dans un vers de Catulle, 31, 14: *ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum*. M. Owen, *ibid.* p. 407, conteste cette explication et doute que la locution existe au sens figuré après Plaute. Il me paraît difficile de conserver ce doute en présence des exemples suivants, que je n'ai pas cherchés, mais que j'avais notés au passage depuis quelque temps déjà, avec plusieurs de ceux que cite M. Sonnenschein, y compris Cat. 31, 14:—

1. *domi est*: Plaute, *Cas.* 547: Cic., *Phil.* 2, 5, 11; *de or.* 1, 55, 254; Salluste, *hist.* 1, 11 (l. 12) Maurenbr.; 1, 77 (*or. Phil.*), 15; Sénèque, *contr.* 2, 3, 21; Sénèque, *benef.* 3, 3, 1; Juvénal, 1, 119.

2. *domi habeo*: Plaute, *Aulul.* 110; Cic., *Verr.* 2, 4, 3, 7 (il joue sur le mot); Cic. dans Quintilien 6, 3, 98; *ad Att.* 7, 18, 4 (avoir en caisse, opp. *uersuram facere*).

3. *domi* avec d'autres verbes: Cic., *Acad.* 2, 25, 80 et [Tac.] *Dial. de or.* 9 (*nascuntur*); *ad Att.* 1, 19, 3 (*innascantur*); Sénèque, *ep.* 23, 3 (*nasci*); 9, 15 (*colitur*); 81, 22 (*remanet*).

4. *domo*: Sénèque, *benef.* 3, 8, 2 (*protulisset*); *ep.* 26, 8 *de domo fiet numeratio*.

5. *a me (= domo)*: Plaute, *Trin.* 182 *a me argentum dedi* (au sens propre, *Stich.* 647, etc.).

Comp. encore Brix sur Plaute, *Mil.* 194; Ussing sur *Amph.* 637 (631) et *Bacch.* 225 (222); Reid sur Cic. *Acad.* 2, 25, 80. On y trouvera quelques-uns des exemples ci-dessus, et plusieurs autres, très instructifs.

MAX BONNET.

COLLATION OF MADRID MS. OF STATIUS.—ADDENDA.

By the kindness of Señor Don Manuel Flores Calderón, Principal Librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, I have been enabled to obtain the correct reading in every place, where the Löwe-Krohn reading in Vollmer's edition (Leipzig: 1898) differs from my own. It is to be understood that, in the case of differences between us unmentioned below, my reading is the correct one, and that in Vollmer wrong.

1. praef. 33 gallico est ualent T i. (see *supra linea erasum*).

i. 73 trepidâs ii. 203 intiade 219 ac procul. iii. 42 *potius* imitantia iv. 3 *antea scriptum* cadit, *postea emendat.* redit 23 *potius* carmine; *post* 86 *exstat* attollam cantu gaudet thrasymennus et alpes.

2. lib. ii. 104 et uinctas 116 pressisset *m*² *in margine* 162 *comam emendat.* comas iii. 26 *decrescit* 57 *umeris man.* 1. *in margine* vi. 43 *man*² *marg.* *horrore* vii. 55 *laudas* (*laudes*) *ita emendatum ut non possis discernere utrum e an a scriptum fuerit.*

4. lib. i. 23 *astris marg. man.* 1. iii. 35 *reperit* (*linea transversa addita, ut reperit significetur*) 36 *ac nunc.* 159 *non facile lectu: sed potius* *abnuesque* vi. 64 *ad corr. ex ab.*

5. lib. i. 76 *potius* nauamque *quam* uauamque *dices* ii. 153 *subibis corr. ex subillis m.* 1. iii. 209 *luoque.*

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PORSONIANA.

ANY gleanings about Porson have an interest for scholars. I possess: (1) some specimens of his handwriting; (2) copies of a few letters, which do not appear to be mentioned in the accounts of him that I have seen. Kidd says in his Preface to Porson's tracts, 'A gentlewoman...has many un-

rivalled specimens of R. P.'s penmanship;... such passages as Eur. *Med.* 193-206.' Barker in his *Literary Anecdotes* writes: 'Miss Raine is the Lady.' Others however had some; and among them Miss Lunan, Porson's step-daughter: who gave a few to my father in 1845: also an engraving from

Hoppner's portrait of the Professor. And of some letters which she had my father took copies or extracts. All these I still keep. Inscribed on one letter is: 'Copy of a Letter sent by Porson to the Book Committee of the London Institution, and verses in Porson's own handwriting, given me by Miss Lunan, Porson's step-daughter. G. R. Green.'

Porson, as is well known, married Mrs. Lunan, 1795: she died in 1797.

He had a fondness for nice penmanship; not only (as Watson remarks) did he spend time in writing with superfluous care, but in producing extremely small writing. This is shown in the specimens which I possess: they are on three pieces of paper.

On the first is the following: Eur. Med. 193-206:—

Σκαιὺς δὲ λέγων, κοῦδέν τι σοφοῦς
Τοὺς πρόσθε βροτοὺς, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις·
Οὔτινες ὕμνους ἐπὶ μὲν θαλίαις,
Ἐπὶ τ' εἰλαπίναις καὶ παρὰ δέλτοις
Εὔροντο, βίου τερπνὰς ἀκοάς·
Στυγίους δὲ βροτῶν οὐδεὶς λύπας
Εὔρετο μούσῃ καὶ πολυχόρδοις
᾿Ωιδαῖς παύειν, ἐξ ὧν θάνατοι,
Δειναί τε τύχαι σφάλλοισι δόμον·
Καίτοι τάδε μὲν κέρδος ἀκείσθαι
Μολπαῖσι βροτοὺς, ἵνα δ' εὐδαίμωνι
Δαΐτες, τί μάτην τείνουσι βοάν;
Τὸ παρὸν γὰρ ἔχει τέρψιν ἅψ' αὐτοῦ
Δαιτὸς πλήρωμα βροτοῖσιν.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔ. Μηδ.

A favourite passage, as will presently appear.

On one side of the second scrap is this:—

Ad NOTARIUM voces dictantis
AUSONIUS. velocissime excipientem.

Then follows the whole of *Epigram* 146, *Puer rotarum*—volò.

On the other side of this paper are the following, from a well-known French song, M. de la Palisse:—

Il faisoit son Mardi gras
Toujours la veille des cendres.

Et le jour de son trépas
Fu le dernier de sa vie.

And, written in very minute characters, the following, I know not whence, nor am I sure of the meaning and punctuation of some lines.

Mais en vain,
Madame Picholine,
Mais en vain se revolt Antonin;
L'air divin De sa mine,
De ses regards l'air serein
Tout en fin determine
A l'aimer jusqu'a la fin.

Sur cet air Pour les vers indocile
Sur cet air Le moyen de rimer?
Sur cet air Vaudeville
Vaudeville sur cet air
Sur cet air difficile
Vaudeville coute cher.

Mais pour vous
Notre illustre Princesse,
Mais pour vous Phoebus facile
Et doux vient chez nous
Du Permesse,
Du Permesse vient chez nous,
Plus que tous Il s'empresse
Quand il faut rimer pour vous.

Vos attraits sur l'air le plus sauvage,
Vos attraits font naître des couplets,
Ces forêts, Ce rivage,
Que Phoebus inspire exprès,
Nous ont faits Au langage
Dont il chante vos attraits.

The third strip of paper is much smaller, but is crowded with writing. There are first some Arabic numerals of no apparent connexion, one or two Greek letters and words. Then 'The rites derived from ancient days With thoughtless reverence we praise.' Follows the Euripidean passage in very small characters σκαιὺς...ἀκοάς: and lower down the last two lines, τὸ παρὸν... βροτοῖσιν, microscopically small. Then, 'Some pursue the winged wealth, Some to honours do aspire.' And a signature microscopic, 'R. P. scr. 8 Julii 1806.' Some more figures follow, a series 1, 4, 9, 16... 961. Memoranda about 'Souchong, leaden inkstand, stone bottle, glass bottle, the leaden and glass inkstands mixed' are on the back of this strip of paper. Souchong is transliterated into σουχόγγ. And the two English lines written before appear as θε ριτες δεριβδ φρομ αγκιεντ δαιζ ουιθ θουγτλεσ ρεβερενσ ουε πραιζ.

The writing in every case is beautifully clear, and one cannot be in doubt as to a letter: but on this last scrap the items are rather confusedly mixed.

For the letters, they are four: I give them in order of date, as I have them in my father's handwriting.

I.

SIR,
I hereby offer myself a Candidate for the Greek Professorship, and if it be agreeable to you and the other Electors I shall choose Euripides for my Author.

I am,
Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,
R. PORSON.

ESSEX COURT No. 5
12 Oct. 1792

PS. I purpose being
at Cambridge
the beginning of
next week.

II. Copy of chief part of a Letter.

DEAR PERRY,

On Tuesday last I presented myself before the venerable Electors as Candidate for the Greek Professorship. No Competitor offering himself my services were accepted: and I was appointed to read my probationary exercise next Wednesday. The Subject is Euripides upon which I am to *tip them the stuff*: but whether they will twig it I cannot determine. The Election will take place I believe the day after. If therefore you have a Mind to hear Composition and Eloquence, you will doubtless arrange matters so as to be present next week and visit this Ancient Seat of Sound Learning and Religious Education. I presume you have heard already the many elegant and witty sayings that passed between me and Dr. Kipling. I am somewhat uncertain when I shall revisit London, for I am afraid that as soon as I become Greek Professor I shall have to examine for the very University Scholarship that I myself have resigned.....

Believe me to be
Yours sincerely
R. PORSON.

TRIN. COLL. 26 Oct. 1792.

Porson, we see from this letter, was intimate with Perry some three years before he married his sister, Mrs. Lunan.

III. Copy of chief part of a Letter.

DEAR MARIANNE,

I beg a thousand pardons for my neglect and ingratitude in not sooner answering your most polite Epistle. But to say the truth great part of my time was taken up with the business of examination which first called me hither, and the rest was occupied with what we call pleasure and happiness. Thank God! the business of examining is over. They were a set of dull Fellows as ever I had the honour of seeing. I daresay that when I come to Town and examine you in French and English I shall find you pass muster much better than they have done in Greek and Latin. Apropos you may if you please convey to the Morning Chron. an article of News couched in the following terms. 'Cambridge Jan. 13. This day Mr. John Keate, Undergraduate of King's College, was elected into the University Scholarship on Lord Craven's

Foundation vacant by the Resignation of the Revd. Edwd. Maltby.'.....

Dear M.

Your affectionate Friend and
Faithful Servant
R. PORSON.

TRIN. COLL.
13 Jan. 1794.

Who Marianne was, I have no means at hand to determine. It is interesting to Etonians to find their future Headmaster, Dr. Keate, thus mentioned as examined by Porson; though he does not estimate the competitors of that year very highly. E. Maltby was Craven Scholar in 1791, Samuel Butler in 1793, which would be Porson's first time of examining, alluded to in the letter of 1792 to Perry.

IV. To the Book Committee of the London Institution.

GENTLEMEN,

If they who accuse feel an unwillingness to assume the Character of Complainants, they cannot take it ill, if I have the boldness to state a few Circumstances in mitigation of some of the most heinous charges: The First accusation is, that no Control, or superintendence is exercised over the Sub-Librarians. I can only say that I have frequently discoursed with them on the progress they were making in their main List, have given some general Instructions, have suggested particular corrections, and have frequently enquired concerning Books wanting. But the Committee will easily perceive in the formation of an Infant Library, how many Articles might be mentioned by the Librarian, in which one or other Member of the Committee had already anticipated him, and perceived the Collection to be deficient.

The Book Committee resolved that Letters should be written to acknowledge the presents made to the Library: but I think at the same time they resolved that a printed form of Acknowledgment should be adopted, only leaving the necessary blanks to be filled up by the hand of the Librarian. If the Committee will give their Librarian any authorized form, or agree to the form which he proposes, he will engage to pay off the arrears of this part of his Debt within a week after such Engagement. The want of personal attendance in the rooms makes another Charge. I have here been guilty of a mistake, but it was merely a mistake. I thought it was only exacted from me to be within call at such and such hours; and certain it is that I strictly enjoined Mr. Upcott and Mr. Ilberry to summon me immediately to any proprietor or visitor, who could expect to receive from me any assistance or information. But this mistake also may be easily corrected in future—if my patrons afford me the opportunity.

When I offered myself candidate for so honourable and important an office as Librarian to the London Institution, I was well aware what talents and acquirements such an office demanded, if they were exacted with Stoical rigour. An intimate acquaintance with all languages, a command of all Arts and Sciences, together with a complete and critical knowledge of Title-pages and Indexes. To this ideal perfection I was not so vain (nor I suppose anybody else) as to aspire. I thought that if I was reasonably

competent in any one branch, with a smattering of one or two of the others, I might pass muster well enough, in the present state of human Affairs. 'If therefore I supposed my powers of Judgment chiefly to lie in the Classical Critical and Philological Department, why did I not exert my best abilities to improve that part of the Library?' This I presume is the Objection. I will find fault with nobody; and therefore I will not condemn myself. It is however, I think, nine or ten months since I hinted to the Committee as civilly as I could, that I wished to be indulged with some powers concerning the buying of books, powers that I thought reasonable enough. But whether they did not hear me distinctly, or I had not the luck to express myself clearly, I could not obtain a definite answer.

I need not tell you, Gentlemen, that duties presuppose rights. To make a man answerable for what is not in his power is to demand bricks, where you have not allowed straw. I have however ventured of late without order to send in a few books, a very few indeed, of my own choice. I am not quite certain how far the Committee would like to purchase the *principes editiones*, such as the Aldine &c. &c. And certainly if my advice were asked I should caution them against the indiscriminate acquisition of such expensive rarities. But some of them are without dispute useful as well as curious: and such I take to be the Aldine Edition of Herodotus, a Copy of which is one of the few books I just mentioned. That it may be the more useful, and the more easily consulted, I have added in the Margin the numeration of Chapters, by which learned men for a long time have agreed to adjust their references: a numeration which has prevailed if I am not mistaken in all Editions down from Paul Stephens's 1618 inclusive to the present time. And now I mention this, it puts me in mind of an Agreement which I think will prove, almost to demonstration, that I sometimes have been in the Library Rooms. You may remember, Gentlemen, it was one of the Instructions you gave the Librarian to look out for the imperfect and mutilated Copies of Books that were in the Library, that they might either be completed or exchanged for others that were perfect. Now our Copy of Boswell's Life of Johnson had a leaf torn off at the middle. What was wanting of this Leaf you will find supplied by my handwriting. In this I take no praise to myself but of the mere labour of writing. I own that one of the Gentlemen who visit the Library brought a copy of the deficient part. Still I think it is apparent that I must have been in the Library either when I espied this deficiency, or when I replaced the Book after supplying it. I shall mention only one more instance for fear of growing tedious. Beck in his edition of Euripides professes to give all Musgrave's notes, but has omitted two of the very best and most interesting notes, one on the Bacchae, and one on the Ion. In the Library you will find these Notes added in their proper places, each printed on a separate Leaf opposite the page where it ought to have been inserted. Here again I own that this insertion was not first made for the exclusive benefit of the Institution Library, but I am content if it proves in any shape my attention to the Duties of my Situation. I could dwell longer on this subject, but I forbear, partly that I may not exhaust all that I have to offer in Apology, partly lest I should seem to claim some merit from what I conceived to be an indispensable obligation.

When I was first elected to this Office, it was a

promise made virtually and in conscience to devote the Execution of my wit, hands, heart, to the service of the Institution. If this promise has been imperfectly performed, the Committee will have the goodness to recollect how different are will and power, how distant purpose and effect, how quick Conception, how slow execution: they will consider how many rubs and hindrances intervene between pure mathematics and practical mechanics.

I make it therefore my request to the Committee that if on the whole they see tolerable good reason to continue me in my present Situation, they will be kind enough to give me their Instructions rather in retail than by wholesale, that they will define the extent of my powers and prerogatives, be they few or many, small or great, that I may not be reduced to the necessity of arguing where I might command.

But it is time to come to an End. I shall therefore close this long harangue by assuring you, Gentlemen of the Committee, that I am much gratified by the mildness of the terms in which you signify what you are pleased to call your regret: I hope that in my Answer I have not overstepped the bounds of Moderation, and that when you have duly considered the premises, your candour and justice will unite in drawing a favourable conclusion.

R. PORSON.

OLD JEWRY,
2. Feb. 1808.

P.S. Near a twelvemonth ago I offered some Books to the Committee for their acceptance or rejection. As the Committee never signified their acceptance or rejection, I am at a loss for their opinion: I have however annexed to this paper a list of the said books.

P.S. 2. If the Committee approve of it, I should be ready to give them in a list of libri desiderati to a considerable amount, in a very short time.

I suppose there is no doubt that Porson was irregular in the Library matters: his own friends, Maltby and Dr. Raine own it. But he has something to say for himself; and there may have been faults on both sides. His supplying the Aldine Herodotus with marginal numbers is mentioned by his biographer Watson: it is done 'with such nicety and regularity that the eye of the reader, unless upon the closest examination, takes them for print.' Porson speaks of 'the mildness of the terms' of the Committee's letter. One letter to him, however, contained (says Mr. Maltby) this cutting remark, 'We only know you are our librarian by seeing your name attached to the receipts for your salary.'

Dr. Burney was, it is known, one of Porson's staunchest friends: he speaks much of him in his Prefaces to *Tentamen de Metris*—a book perhaps now not much known—the one preface being in 1807, the second written in 1809, after Porson's death, and chiefly about Porson.

W. C. GREEN.

LUDWICH'S *HOMERVULGATA*.

Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinische erwiesen, von ARTHUR LUDWICH. Leipzig, Teubner. 1898. Mk. 6.

UNTIL the year 1891 the critical material for the text of Homer consisted of statements in scholia, quotations in authors of all ages, and manuscripts. The latter, mainly Byzantine and eked out by some dozen uncials and papyri reaching back about as far as the Christian era, were homogeneous among themselves, and presented a text various indeed but on the whole sufficiently uniform to be called a vulgate. To this vulgate the readings of the Alexandrian critics, on the one hand, and certain of the quotations on the other, stood in contrast.

In the year 1891 this state of things was altered, or thought to be altered, by the discovery (by Mr. Flinders Petrie) and publication (by Professor Mahaffy) of a fragment of Λ older than any yet found papyrus, and offering remarkable variants: for some time this fragment stood alone. In 1894 M. Jules Nicole put forth a second similar document, and this was followed in 1897 by several such fragments found and published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. All these documents agreed in being apparently of the Ptolemaic period, that is to say of the second or third century B.C., and in making very remarkable additions to the ordinary text, additions which if not different in kind are different in a very high degree from any hitherto found in an actual manuscript.

These discoveries excited natural interest among scholars generally, both those who were conversant with the existing evidence for the Homeric text, and others who appear to have been less abreast of it. Thus we have had articles in various journals by MM. Diels, Gomperz, Menrad, Meyer and possibly others: while it was not to be supposed that the historian of Aristarchus, Prof. Arthur Ludwig, would be idle on an event which touched his province so nearly. In 1891, directly after the first publication, there appeared from his pen a programme 'Die sogenannte voralexandrinische Ilias,' in 1897, a treatise 'Ueber Homericitate aus der Zeit von Aristarch bis Didymos,' and finally the substantial book of 204 pages which I am now discussing.

Two claims have been made for these new fragments by their editors or critics. First, that they represent the prae-Alexan-

drian state of the poems, the state out of which by the critical labours of Zenodotus and his successors the existing text or vulgate was produced. This legend, false as most legends, dies hard, and Prof. Ludwig may well be indignant that even his exhaustive work upon Aristarchus, published as long ago as 1884, has not driven it from the minds—I do not say of editors, of whom omniscience is not expected, and who have produced their documents with conspicuous ability—but of self-appointed critics. It is known to anyone who has examined the evidence that the reverse of this statement is the truth: the Alexandrian school, singular as it may appear, had little or no influence upon tradition. The vulgate indeed coincides in certain proportions with Aristarchus' readings: but it is an open question whether those coincidences are effects of Aristarchus' editions or not. In any case the common text was generally speaking unaffected by Alexandria or by any other school, and to see in these fragments the raw material out of which the vulgate was critically formed is a misapprehension.

A different and more subtle suggestion has been put forward by the distinguished editors of the last discovered fragments, and it is against this claim that the more novel and weighty part of Prof. Ludwig's book is directed. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt wish us to believe (and they return to their opinion in their last book, *Oxyrynchus Papyri* I. p. 46¹) that, Alexandrians apart, the fact of the occurrence of such remarkable additions to the text in nearly all the very few Ptolemaic papyri of Homer that have been found proves that the vulgate, as we have it, cannot have been in existence at the time to which these documents belong—that it must have come into existence later. The fact is certainly striking, and must be admitted to prove the abundance and diffusion of 'eccentric' texts of Homer on a larger scale than was otherwise known. If there had been no other evidence, these phenomena might justifiably have led to a suspension of judgment upon the age of the vulgate: though even then it would have been open to point out the enormous working of the element of chance, and that

¹ 'This [the insertion of a new line] shows the influence of the Ptolemaic manuscripts of Homer.' The influence of the Ptolemaic MSS. will not have waned till manuscripts ceased to be written.

another happy find of Ptolemaic Homers might throw these four scraps into a minority.

However other evidence is in existence, and we are relieved from the uncomfortable situation of balancing improbabilities. This evidence is of two sorts: (1) the clear statements of Didymus and Aristonicus, who distinguish between on the one hand, the editions of Aristarchus and the other Alexandrians, the πολιτικάί, the κατ' ἄνδρα and the other particular categories, and on the other αἱ κοιναί, ἡ κοινή, αἱ δημώδεις and so forth. Even supposing this vulgate were not the same as our vulgate, still these expressions evidently posit a vulgate as existing in the time of the Alexandrians.

(2) The second class of evidence consists of the quotations in prae-Alexandrian writers, from Herodotus downward. Prof. Ludwig has collected and arranged these from page 71 to 133 of his book, with a diligence and acuteness that can be appreciated only by anyone who has himself attempted such a collection. The results are tabulated p. 138 *sqq.* and deserve the most serious attention. Twenty-nine separate writers quote 152 portions of the Homeric text, amounting to 480 lines more or less. In these 480 lines there are not more than nine to eleven lines of addition to the ordinary text.

These figures may possibly be slightly modified, but in substance they may be taken as correct. The element of chance enters largely into quotation as such, but not more largely than into the discovery of scraps of papyrus. On the whole the nature of the evidence is undeniable, and shows beyond dispute that the text of the fourth and fifth centuries was essentially the same as ours; that is to say, that the vulgate existed as far back as the fifth century.

I regard this calculation as the striking merit of Prof. Ludwig's book. The reader is so apt to be impressed by the four lines added to © in the second Alcibiades, and by the different version of Ψ 77 *sq.* in Aeschines' speech against Timarchus, that it is a real service to be recalled by the impartial proof of figures to the reality of the case. I should however mention that there is much beside these statistics in this book: the author has reprinted all the papyri in question, and in a most handy form; having established the age of the vulgate, he follows out a series of bold and original conclusions which concern both the linguistic and the historical critic. Every page is rich

in acute and well-supported statements brought from the abundant store of the acknowledged master of his subject.

I return to the papyrus-fragments. If they are not the material out of which whether by Alexandrian or by natural processes the vulgate was constructed, what are they, and what is their importance? In the first place they are nothing new, or *sui generis*: additions to, and subtractions from, the text of the Homer, are of all common phenomena the commonest; they are found in full life from the earliest quotations to the latest Renaissance manuscript, they form the greatest field for the operation of Aristarchus' athetesis. It is true they are never found on the scale of the additions in these fragments, except indeed so far as Zenodotus' edition affords a parallel. Secondly, history has known ever since the Venetian scholia were published, that there existed beside the vulgate and the Alexandrian editions, a number of sporadic or 'eccentric' texts, some called by the names of individuals, some after places. We unfortunately know very little about them, and their recorded variants (though this may be accidental) are mostly verbal. Further, quotations show the existence of copies differing very widely from the vulgate. The phenomena exhibited by Aeschines' speech against Timarchus and by the Platonic Second Alcibiades, are exactly of the same character as we find in the four papyri. Unfortunately names cannot be put to any of these manuscripts or editions. The only distinctive mark about the papyri is an interlinear variant in one of them which is ascribed by the scholiasts to Antimachus; the Aeschines-passage agrees in one verbal variant with some of the City editions, and there are similar coincidences in some Platonic quotations. However there can be little doubt that the papyri belong to one or more of these eccentric editions, and I see no absolute improbability in Menrad's suggestion of the πολύστιχος. The importance of the fragments is that they at last furnish us with a specimen, actually in writing and on papyrus, of such editions,—in other words, that they confirm the quotations. Their effect in this direction is most important and salutary. Quotation has always been a discredited source of evidence. All sorts of obvious conditions (lapse of memory, association, carelessness, deliberate alteration to suit a context, on the part of the writer; and all these plus his own private sins on the part of the scribe) have allowed critics to disregard almost any given

quotation. We know now that Plato and Aeschines were not the victims of recollection, and did not adapt passages to their ends: they consulted, on these two occasions, copies more or less resembling the four fragments. I will take a more striking example to show how the credit of quotation is raised by these discoveries.

The lines Ψ 222 *sq.* which in our MSS. and editions run:

- 222 ὥς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα
καίων
223 νυμφίου ὅς τε θανὼν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε
τοκῆας
224 ὥς Ἀχιλεὺς ἐτάριοι ὀδύρετο ὅστέα καίων
225 ἐρπύζων παρὰ πυρκαϊήν, ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων

are thus quoted by Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 117 C;

- 222 ὥς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα
καίων
223 νυμφίου ὅς τε θανὼν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησέ τοκῆας
223a ἄρρητον δὲ τοκεῦσι γόνον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε·
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δῆλον εἰ δικαίως
ὀδύρεται, ἀλλ' ὅρα τὸ ἐξῆς·
223b μούνης τηλύγετος πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι.

The two new lines are as typical a specimen of epic 'padding' as could be wished; neither are essential, both exist elsewhere (P 37, I 482). Short work would be made

of this quotation by anyone who sought to prove the extinction of all texts but the vulgate in Plutarch's time. However, if we consult *Greek Papyri Series II.*, Oxford, 1897, p. 11, we find at the top of a column

χρηωσεν δ
αρη ν δε τ
224 ως α υσ ετ
225 ερπυζων παρ

where the line beginning *αρη* is evidently Plutarch's 223a, and yet another line of 'padding' shows itself between 223a and (as far as we can tell) 223. Plutarch's accuracy is therefore vindicated; he verified his references. His copy was not the same as Bodl. MS. Gr. class. b. 3 (P), but was similar to it. Time has submerged them both: a bit of one has been dug up. It must follow that quotations are to be treated with more respect than heretofore,¹ and this I take to be the real lesson taught us by these finds. It is much to be hoped that the energy of the explorers may again be rewarded, and that they may supply us with fresh evidence to establish the proportion and relation between the vulgate and the editions independent of it.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Even Aristotle's, on which Prof. Ludwich and critics generally are over-severe.

LEAF AND BAYFIELD'S *ILIAD*, VOL. II.

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ. The *Iliad* of Homer with Introductions, Notes and Appendices, by W. LEAF, LITT. D., and M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A. Vol. ii. (xiii.-xxiv.). London, Macmillan & Co. 1898. Pp. lxxiii + 634. 6s.

THE second volume of Mr. Bayfield's school edition of Dr. Leaf's *Iliad*, containing the last twelve books, brings to an end a work of considerable practical importance from its bearing on the study and teaching of Homer in England. Dr. Leaf represents the advanced disintegrating school of German criticism, which has never been very favourably regarded here in spite of Grote's ably advocated Achilleis theory. Still even those who cannot accept these extreme views may be glad to welcome a handy edition, which sets forth the ideas of a prominent—they

themselves would perhaps say, a predominant—school of Homeric criticism. How boys will like the constant calls to observe that the poetry is a vile piece of patchwork is problematical. They will probably wonder why the editors ever stooped to deal with so faulty a production. Apart from this the merits of the volume are conspicuous and undeniable. It is admirable for accurate scholarship, for thorough mastery of Homeric lore and for judicious consideration of all difficult points. In short it possesses all the advantages belonging to Dr. Leaf's well-known larger edition, set forth with effective conciseness. Nor does it lack new features of its own, for which Mr. Bayfield deserves the thanks of his readers.

In the present volume of nearly 700 pages, of which the text occupies about 300, we have first a General Introduction giving an

interesting account of the probable origin of the poems. Next we come to the questionable theory of the composition of the *Iliad*. The First, Second and Third Strata are boldly distinguished, and the only objection that need be taken to the sketch is, that the juvenile reader ought perhaps to be more explicitly warned—I am afraid he is hardly warned at all—that many scholars have no belief whatever in this marvellous piece of geology. As a form of ingenious trifling it may have some interest, as indeed it would be amusing to attempt to determine with respect to any other poet what passages he composed before or after his breakfast, his dinner or his supper, or even when he had omitted one of these occasionally necessary meals. Seriously, it would be well for students to write on the fly-leaf of this edition the words of ‘the noblest German of them all’:—‘I am more than ever convinced of the indivisible unity of the *Iliad*: the man lives not, nor ever shall be born, who can destroy it’ (Goethe).

Meanwhile we may be thankful that Mr. Bayfield has restored to the title-page the old familiar name of Homer.

The Grammatical Introduction is a very excellent and clear summary of the main facts of the Epic Dialect, and is likely to be of considerable assistance to the beginner. Perhaps unavoidably several points are dogmatically stated, about which there must be room for doubt. For instance it is by no means certain that the dat. sing. of nouns in *-is* is sometimes *-ī*: *μήτι τοι* is quite probably *μήτι τοι*. So *νό* and *σφώ* are almost certainly better written with Cobet *νό* and *σφώ*. Again *μύθειαι* is not a convincing instance of hyphaeresis, as obviously it can only occur where there might just as easily be an elision of the last syllable of *μυθέαι*. In the instances of reduplicated aor. it should be explained that the first *ε* of *ῥειπον* has nothing to do with the reduplication, which exists only hypothetically in the second syllable. The scansion of *βέβληται* (Δ 380) as a dactyl, twice referred to (pp. 39, 62) is merely a traditional blunder. The line begins with a spondee, as Dr. Leaf has himself suggested. Should not *χέω* (p. xl. l. 1) be in ordinary type as being Attic only? In the section on Assimilation the really paramount influence of the contracted forms is unfortunately ignored altogether. The external accusative is so briefly treated, that a learner would be sure to run away with the idea that it occurs after words of *speaking* only, instead of being the ordinary object after the great majority of transitive verbs.

The rule about the nom. for voc., when two persons are addressed, though it rests on respectable authority, depends on one example only and is quite worthless. The fact is, Homer uses the nom. for the voc. under any circumstances whenever convenient, and the usage never quite passed out of Greek. It is true the scrupulosity of later grammarians has removed the nom. in many instances: but the truth is plainly discernible. In the list of Improper Propositions the brackets might be removed from the final letter of both *ἐκτοθεν* and *ἐνδοθεν*.

In the discussion of the usage of *κε*, *ἄν* an attempt is made to reconcile the old belief that these particles are indefinite with the more recent notion that they are particular and definite. The subject will probably require considerable discussion, before it is finally, if ever, satisfactorily settled. Some of Mr. Bayfield's original views on conditional sentences have already been set forth in the *Classical Review*.

The appendix on Homeric armour is of considerable interest and value. Mr. Bayfield deserves thanks for making Dr. Reichel's conclusions generally accessible, though there are many points in the description of the shield which need to be established by evidence perhaps necessarily here withheld. The peculiar shape represented in the frontispiece and Plate V. is certainly not pleasing. The warrior stands holding before him a rather unmanageable sort of umbrella with two badly broken ribs. There is also a curious suggestion about Plate V. of the old-fashioned coal-scuttle bonnet. For my own part I should hardly agree that *εὐκυκλος* is an epithet which such a structure merits; nor do I see why, as the editors claim, it makes *πάντος' εἴση* readily intelligible. Again the tiring of the left shoulder is far more likely to result from holding the shield out with the left hand, than from the pressure of the supporting band, *τελαμών*, as seems to be implied.

θώραξ as a general term to express shield, helm and *μίτρη*, but not corslet, requires a free rejection of inconvenient passages. Even the first stratum is not spared. *λινοθώραξ* is very difficult to deal with, if the view be right. The ancient athetesis of B 529–30 amounts to nothing. The reason is too palpable, even if Schol. A did not give it in terms:—*Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐχρῶντο λινοῖς θώραξι· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ χαλκοχίτωνας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ*. In B 820 the device of explaining *λινοθώραξ* as ‘slinger’ (*σφειδονήτης*) or ‘bowman’ (*τοξότης*) was tried; but as neither of

these would do for l. 529, it had of course to be athetised.

λαίσκιον is made out to be 'a rug' instead of a light shield, on little or no evidence. As for the helmet the φάλοι, I should think, need not be so obtrusively cow-like. Even though originally borrowed from bovine sources, they would almost certainly become more or less conventional.

We have three further Appendices: one on the use of μέλλω drawn mainly from Prof. Arthur Platt's article in the *Journal of Philology*: another on the Homeric House, for which Prof. Jebb's plan is taken, and the third explaining the construction of the war-chariot and of the Doric χιτών.

I will now refer to a few points in the Notes, in which, I fancy, there is justification for a different opinion. We are told on N 29 that this is the only passage in which a distinctly human emotion is attributed to inanimate nature, and this is made use of as an argument for relegating the whole paragraph to the Fourth Stratum. Are then spears and arrows portions of animated nature, or do μαϊνώσασα (E 661), λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι (Λ 574), ἐπιπτόσθαι μενεαίνων, &c. express non-human emotions? The fact is Homer freely attributes human emotion—there is no other kind—to any inanimate object on occasion. So in this very book l. 142 ἐσσύμενός περ, 'for all its eagerness,' (Bayfield) of a boulder-stone: Ξ 17 ὀσσόμενον of the sea. On T 362 I observe the rendering 'smiled' is given perhaps rightly for ἐγέλασσε, though the usual version is less romantic.

N 115. 'But let us mend this; if we are brave we can mend matters.' What they have to mend is the desperate military situation. The ordinary misinterpretation is almost the sole plea for the attempted dissection of the speech. ἀκεσταί τοι φρένες ἐσθλῶν is merely our 'It's never too late to mend.' The whole line means 'sense and courage will save all.'

204. I should say ἐλιξάμενος means 'making it spin,' just as a cricket ball is bowled with 'spin' or 'break.' It is not at all necessary for the thrower to whirl either the head round or himself.

496. οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀλκαθόφ. These words need not be connected. The prepositional phrase belongs to the verb ὠρμήθησαν. So also Ψ 233.

Ξ 81. We read 'The construction of βέλτερον, ὅς is unexampled in Homer, but there are several instances in Attic.' What is the use of this annotation? The Attic

instances or one at any rate should be adduced. The real difficulty, however, is at the other end, ἤε ἀλώη for ἧ ὅς ἀλώη.

129. ἐχώμεθα δημοῖος. I suggest 'Let us keep in touch with the battle.' The traditional interpretation is 'Let us hold aloof from': but the parallels only justify 'Let us desist from.'

483. The substitution of ἄτιμος here for ἄπιτος is scarcely to be approved. ἄτιμος in the *Iliad* always means 'unhonoured,' and though there is one place in the *Odyssey* where it means *unpaid-for*, still ποινή ἄτιμος is a very questionable expression 'an unpaid-for penalty.'

O 105. ἄσπον ἰόντες has no hostile implication, as ἔπει here shows, cf. Ψ 8.

140. The difficulty is in the ἀνθρώπων. Why not ἀθανάτων?

625. ὑπαὶ νεφέων not 'reaching up to the clouds,' but 'in the midst of cloud,' in cloudy weather. This use of ὑπό to express accompanying circumstances is common enough.

645. ἄντυγι ἄλτο is read for the impossible πάλτο, but ἄντυγ' ἔπαλτο is certainly right. The Greeks would deprecate the elision of the ι of the dat. far more strongly than the hiatus.

O 675. ἀφέστασαν is hardly 'stood apart from one another,' but 'stood back from the Trojans.'

679. The feat here attributed to Ajax is not very likely. Such a bulky warrior would more easily clear the distance between the ships, than keep bobbing up and down in the manner described.

727. From this note anyone might suppose the spear was not used as a βέλος.

II 120. μάχης ἐπὶ μῆδεα κείρε 'his plan of fighting,' 'his tactics,' not 'his skill in war,' as the editors say.

203. 'In wrath' is all that χόλω need imply. The child is supposed to inherit the mood of the mother at the time she suckles it.

394. Read Patroclus for Hector here and again 814.

P 330. Brock's ὑπὲρ Διά is very properly printed for the corrupt ὑπερδέα.

373. How does μεταπανόμενοι, 'resting at intervals,' conflict with δόλγῃ δέ τ' ἀνάπνευστι πολέμοιο? The heroic warrior must have had more muscular exertion in battle than the modern soldier. Hence the necessity for intervals of rest. In any case he certainly took occasional rests. It was the regular heroic practice to do so except on rare occasions.

756. οὐλον κεκλήγοντας, 'a death-shriek' is here beside the mark. It is really too dangerously near 'shouting murder.'

Σ 188. ἐκείνοι implies distance rather than dislike. κείνοι might be read.

318. ἡνυγένειος 'deep-bearded' will not do. 'Noble' (εὐγενής) is the correct rendering.

475. Knight read χουσσὸν τιμήντα. There can be no objection to this grouping of the four metals into two sets in accordance with the popular classification.

486. The editors seem here to reverse the natural mythological development.

T 70. The explanation here given of ἔτι is exceedingly doubtful.

104. I suggest ἐκφανέει πάντεσσι περικτιόνεσσι ἀνάσσειν as preferable to Menrad's emendation here quoted.

342. Brugmann's views are after all by no means certainly right.

335. ξυμβλήσεται. ξυμβλήεται is the right form.

Φ 94-6. The grounds for condemnation are very trifling, and the same may be said of T 230, &c.

X 381-90. Inconsistent or not, the passage is inevitable. It supplies the only possible escape from an obvious dilemma. An assault upon the city would naturally follow the removal of its one great defender. Unfortunately, if the assault were successful, the last book at any rate of the poem would be impossible: if it were unsuccessful, the hero in the height of his triumph would sustain an intolerable check.

Ψ 84. It cannot be said with accuracy that 'the shortening before τρ is without a parallel in Homer.'

345. I cannot but think παρέλθοι is a step in the wrong direction.

758. τοῖσι δ' ἀπὸ νύσσης τέτατο δρόμος. It is perhaps worth while suggesting that the real meaning is 'They started the race from scratch.' No competitor was handicapped.

770. μοι ἐπέρροθος. There is little doubt μ' ἐπιτάρροθος is right.

Ω 49. The active sense of verbals in -τος is much more common in Homer than the editors seem disposed to admit.

527. Mr. Monro's parallels seem to me absolutely decisive in favour of there being two jars only, not three. Plato clearly thought so.

687. τοι can hardly be enclitic in this position. It is the relative *i.g.* ὅσοι.

In one passage (Σ 128) the note is not applicable to the reading adopted and the notes on T 276 and X 481 should be cancelled. The text of Dr. Leaf's edition is improved upon by the adoption of ὁμοίου πολέμοιο (N 238, &c.) and of ἀνέδνον for ἀνάεδνον (N 366), also ἄγρετο for ἔγρετο (Ω 789). Reversely P 45 ἀσπίδι ἐν κρατερῇ is not to be commended for ἀσπιδ' ἐν κρατερῇ. Still less is βλεῖο (N 288) to be accepted for Dr. Leaf's βλήο.

The note on X 202-4 has not been approved by Dr. Leaf, who in this instance suspends his judgement. I cannot agree with Mr. Bayfield's view: but as I have already dealt with the passage elsewhere (*Journ. Phil.* xxv. p. 312), I will only say that in what is here given as the usual version the words 'up to this point,' for which Dr. Leaf is really responsible, should be altered to 'in the race,' which is continued until we reach at least l. 222, next that 'assisted' should rather be 'came to,' which is all that ἦνρετο really means. After ἀντιάω we have κνίσσης (A 66), ἱρῶν (Υ 435), ὀνήσιος (Φ 402) and γάμον (Ω 62).

Let me conclude by saying that the remarks on the Shield of Achilles are excellent, and are accompanied by a useful illustration of the probable arrangement of the design.

T. L. AGAR.

POSTE'S AND FESTA'S TRANSLATIONS OF BACCHYLIDES.

Bacchylides: A Prose Translation by E. POSTE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London. Macmillan. 1898. 2s.
Le Odi e i Frammenti di Bacchylide: testo greco, traduzione e note: a cura di NICCOLA FESTA. Firenze. 1898.

The readers of Mr. Poste's 'Prose Translation of Bacchylides' will be surprised to find that only about half of the odes and one of the fragments are included, and of these all portions not completely restored and easily

intelligible to any one who knows anything of Greek poetry are completely omitted. The order of the odes in the *editio princeps* is entirely neglected, and no reason is assigned for this departure from the usage of other edd. They are presented in this order: 5, 11, 17, 18, 9, 13, 19, 3, 15, 16, *frag.* 46. No reference is made to the corresponding numbers in Kenyon's edition, and the lines are not numbered; so that a comparison with the text is rendered as inconvenient as possible. In no place is the

slightest information given as to the particular reading translated; but we gather that he generally follows the *editio princeps*, often, however, preferring the text of Blass, and sometimes translating a reading not presented by any text, as for instance, in xi. 119, where he appears to have had before him Prof. Platt's *πρὸ γονοῖ*, as his rendering is 'in compensation for thy lost sanctuary.' In the same passage the Italian translator reads *πρόγονοι ἐσάμενοι Πριάμοι ἐπὶ χρόνῳ*, where *ἐπὶ χρόνῳ* seems very doubtful Greek for 'in the time of.' In the same ode l. 32, apparently supplying in the lost verse some such words as Festa's *οὐ τι δολοφροσύνα*, Poste renders

παῖδ' ἐν χθονὶ καλλιχόρῳ
ποικιλαις τύχαις πέλασσεν,

'[No malice] in that sacred vale assailed the youth with tortuous guile.' But the words could not bear such a meaning. Festa gives an equally impossible rendering: 'non certo la frode nel paese dalle belle contrade trasse il giovinetto nei multiformi artifizii.' Most probably we have here again the sentiment of ll. 22, 23

οὐκ εἶδε νιν ἄλσιος
κείνῳ γε σὺν ἅματι πρὸς γαῖα πεσόντα,

and the meaning of ll. 32, 33 is '[No skill of competitors] by cunning arts brought the youth to the goodly ground': the figure *imesis* by which here *ἐν* is separated from the verb in *ἐμπελάζω* is common in epic and lyric poetry: a good instance is in Pind. N. viii. 38 (Bgk.)

καθ' χθονὶ γυνὴ καλύψαιμ'.

Would this view of the passage, if accepted, give any added probability to the conjecture *ἐμπελῶ πέδῳ* for *ἐμπέδῳ βαλῶ* in a well known passage (1172) in the *Agam.* of Aeschylus? In the same ode l. 65 neither the English translator nor the Italian sees any absurdity in the reading *βληχρᾶς...ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς*. 'Strife implacable from slightest cause' is the rendering of the one, 'discordia implacabile fin dalla più tenera origine' is the other's. The meaning plainly is that of the passage quoted from Apollodorus. Proetus and Acrisius *κατὰ γαστρός μητρὶ ἔτι ὄντες ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. Now a difference between two embryonic creatures could hardly involve any momentous literary or political divergence of view. Yet we are asked to believe that a Greek lyric poet thought it necessary

to mention that a quarrel between two babes in their mother's womb did not turn on any important issue. The remedy suggested in the Nov. Number of the *Classical Review*, p. 413, to read *βληχρᾶς...ἀπ' ἄκρας* 'from their first baby cry,' seems to be imperatively demanded, unless some more reasonable interpretation or correction of the text can be devised.

The English translation is as a rule very tasteful and spirited. But it often leaves something to be desired in the way of accuracy. In iii. 5 Mr. Poste translates (apparently supplying *πέτοντο*)

[πέτον]το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχῳ τε νίκᾳ
σὺν ἀγλαίᾳ τε

'with transcendent victory and grace they flew along.' But the word *ἀγλαία* means in lyric poetry 'triumph,' 'glory,' and is almost synonymous with *νίκη*. We should restore *γένοντο* with Blass, and give *νίκᾳ* and *ἀγλαίᾳ* capital letters with Weil. It is another case of *imesis*; Victory and Glory the racing steeds had for their companions and comrades (*συνεγένοντο*).

In the beautiful Meleager ode (v.) Poste probably accepts Housman's excellent *ἔρ' ἀφνεόκροτον* in l. 48. His somewhat strange rendering is 'along shouting nations he speeds.' But it is hard to suggest what he reads instead of *ἐμβρύχας* in l. 115, for the adjective certainly cannot mean 'tusked,' as he renders it; or what participle he would put in the place of *ἐγκαύσασα* or *ἀγκαύσασα* in l. 142. 'She dragged from rich carved casket and kindled' would suggest *ἐκκύσασα*, which would be a very bad conjecture indeed—almost as bad as Festa's *ἐγκαύσασα*. One would gladly accept, as Blass does, Jebb's very pretty *ἀγκλαύσασα*, even though Althaea is called *ἀτάρβακτος γυνή* in the same passage. But consider what a terrible woman was the furious mother in the ninth book of the Iliad: it is true that she wept:

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοῖα
κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Ἥερσεφόνειαν
πρόχυν καθεζομένην, δέοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι,
παῖδι δόμεν θάνατον (568-571):

but those were no tears of ruth, but of bitter unsated revenge. Bacchylides would not have forgotten or wilfully modified the Homeric picture, as Ovid did. Reading *ἐγκλάσασα* we have a not uncommon idiom *καίε φιτρὸν ἐγκλάσασα* = *καίε φιτρὸν ὃν ἐνέκλησε* as in Soph. *Aj.* 676 *λύει πεδήσας* = *λύει ὃν*

ἐπέδησε. Again ἐκ λάρνακος ἐγκλᾶσασα 'from the chest in which she had shut it' is supported by ἐκ δίφροιο καθήμενος *Od.* xxi. 419, 'from the chair in which he sat.' In l. 186 Festa translates εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον 'il fiore della felicità,' a hardly possible meaning for πέταλον, (what would one think of *folium felicitatis* in Latin?); Poste's 'bringing to Hiero a sure token of heaven's favour' goes nearer to the Pindaric meaning of 'a vote' or 'ballot leaf,' which is probably the true one. In ix. 10 Poste translates Housman's [φοι]νικάσπιδες, while Festa reads λευκάσπιδες in spite of the papyrus. 'Felon snake' for δράκων ὑπέροπλος (l. 13) is good, and felicities like this abound in the translation; but the version of l. 28 assumes that διακρίνειν can mean 'to be conspicuous among,' and so does Festa's 'vince i chiarori delle stelle.' The English version of ll. 42-46 though mainly following the lines of Housman's admirable explanation (fully accepted by the Italian) spoils the diction by divorcing ποταμῶν from ἀναξ, 'rued, Oh famous river, the prowess of a child of thy flood.' The appanages of a ποταμός are ρεύματα, ῥοαί, νάματα, but not ποταμοί. Besides 'rued' is too strong for γέυσαντο, 'felt the prowess of thy seed.'

'Closed Cereyon's wrestling school' is, perhaps, a too modern-seeming rendering of τὰν τε Κερκύονος παλαίστραν | ἔσχεν, xviii. 26. Festa as a rule follows the text of Blass, whose strange theory, making — τω ὁ equivalent to one long syllable, he seems to commend in his note on iii. 22. In his text he gives the original reading in which γὰρ is quite displaced. The reading θέλοντες ἀγλαΐζεθ' and the change of γὰρ to παρ' (which should there be read, not πάρ') are defended in the November Number, p. 412. In ii. 10 he understands ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν στεφάνοισιν to mean 'a chorus of seventy garlanded youths,' which seems hardly possible; Blass rightly explains 'tot victorias Cei ex Isthmo reportaverant.' In xii. 76 he accepts Blass's παρμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων for παρμαχίαν ἀναφαίνων, but has inadvertently printed ἀνὰ φαίνων. Neither English nor Italian translator could have heard of Mr. Walker's admirable Ἀΐονα in xvii. 112, a correction which was not published until after their works had appeared. We hope future editors will give Ἀΐονα a place in their texts.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

SANDYS' FIRST PHILIPPIC AND OLYNTHIACS.

Demosthenes. The First Philippic and the Olynthiacs, with Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by J. E. SANDYS, LITT. D. Macmillan & Co. 1897. 5s.

THE qualities of Dr. Sandys' work on Demosthenes are well known, and in this edition of *The First Philippic* and *The Olynthiacs* there will be found the carefulness, the accuracy, the moderation and judgment, the completeness, which appear in his edition of the oration against Leptines. Indeed if any fault can be found with the book, it is that it is too elaborate; more than once we come upon mere strings of names in the notes which might well be omitted, e.g. p. 102, where an excellent note on the unity of the *First Philippic* ends with an enumeration of nine writers who are against the unity to twenty-four who are in favour of it!

The text we are told 'though founded mainly on that of the Teubner edition, not unfrequently departs from it, not only in cases where Blass himself has changed his mind, but also in others where the evidence

of the MSS. seems too strong to be overruled.' In this Dr. Sandys is much to be commended. Corrections made in obedience to Blass's 'law,' that Demosthenes avoided three short syllables in succession, except under certain conditions, are liable to the objection brought against corrections made to preserve the law of the 'cretic' in an Iambic line: no reason can be given why a scribe should blunder at these points in the line or sentence more frequently than elsewhere. Why then should the MSS be wrong in these instances more frequently than in others?

Dr. Sandys arranges the orations in their chronological order, and indeed they cannot otherwise be read intelligently. The order of the *Olynthiacs* is discussed in § vi. of the Introduction. 'Whatever uncertainty there may be as to the relative position of *Or.* 1 and *Or.* 2, *Or.* 3 is clearly the last'—is the conclusion with which the editor is content.

A few points may be noticed. In *Phil.* 1, 32 Dr. Sandys keeps the MS. reading: πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στό-

μασιν ῥαδίως ἔσται, and translates, 'it will easily hold a position off the country itself and close to the entrances of the sea ports,' 'it' being ἡ δύναμις, which has to be supplied from τῇ δυνάμει in the preceding sentence. But can ἔσται have this meaning? No parallel is quoted. Dr. Sandys has it is true the support of Sauppe, Blass, and Westermann, but it is difficult to believe that Demosthenes can have ended a sentence so tamely.

In *ib.* § 35 Dr. S. reads ἄν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἄν τ' ἰδιώται [οἱ] τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελησόμενοι, but in his explanatory note he seems inclined to keep the article. If the article is retained, is there any valid reason for rejecting ἐπιμελούμενοι, the reading of S? In *ib.* § 43 he has altered the relative positions of περί and ὑπέρ to avoid hiatus—following Blass; but who was likely to have been at the pains of disturbing the original order? ἀλλὰ μὴν—κωλύσει in the same section are printed, after Blass, in small letters 'quia sententia nexum aperte turbat.' The words take up τὴν τελευτήν just before. 'That end will come, for P will not stop, unless some one checks him,' is the connection. In *ib.* § 44 Dr. S. follows S¹ in reading μὴ where Bekker has οὐ μὴ, accepting the rule that οὐ is not inserted between οὐδεὶς μὴ, οὐδὲν μὴ. In *Olynth.* 1 § 5 we find in the text κινδυνεύουσιν taken from Max. Planudes instead of the πολεμοῦσιν of the MSS.—a far stronger word, and doubtless correct, in spite of the small inaccuracy involved. An excellent specimen of Dr. S.'s criticism will be found in *Ol.* iii. § 6 where he prints παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν as a quotation,

on the ground that σθένος is an archaic word never found in the Greek of Demosthenes, and that κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν not only involves five short syllables, but is a phrase never used by Demosthenes.

The notes on grammar, antiquities, and history are all excellent. Dr. Sandys assumes that the διωβελία is identical with the θεωρικόν (p. 197), and this view is at any rate more probable than that put forward by Wilamowitz—that it was a state pension. Beloch claims to have proved that the διωβελία introduced by Cleophon was the juror's fee, or mainly so, which, as he thinks, when reintroduced after the Four Hundred, was two obols only (*Griech. Gesch.* ii. 77 A.), an explanation which is hardly consistent with the account given by Aristotle (!) in *Ath. Pol.* c. 28. On Eubulus there is an interesting note (p. 144) contributed in part by Mr. Whibley. It is the fashion now to whitewash Eubulus, and Holm has done so *con amore* in his *History of Greece* (iii. 222). Yet there is no doubt that Demosthenes, who had the means of forming an opinion, thought that the revenues were misapplied, when under his care. The war with Philip was not carried on with vigour; expeditions were commonly too late; the soldiers were not paid; the generals picked up money where and how they could; and meanwhile streets were paved and houses whitewashed, and the festivals went on with the regularity of clockwork. If there is any truth in these statements, it is clear that Eubulus put the lower interests of the city above the higher.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

BUTCHER'S AND BYWATER'S EDITIONS OF THE *POETICS*.

Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, by Prof. S. H. BUTCHER. Second edition. Macmillan. 1898. 12s. 6d.

Aristotelis de Arte Poetica liber. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit I. BYWATER. Oxonii. MDCCCXCVII. 1s. 6d.

PROF. BUTCHER'S book was noticed in these columns in May 1895, and has since appeared in a second edition, as has also that separate part of it which consists of the text of the *Poetics* with translation and critical notes (*The Poetics of Aristotle*, Macmillan, 1898). In the essays which form the bulk of the book there seems to be little

change, but a few notes have been added or enlarged. I ventured to dissent before from Mr. Butcher's suggestion of οὐ (for the MS. οὕτω) τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα in 9, 5, though it is supported by the Arabic version. He has now adopted it in his text and defended it in a note, mainly by a statement that the names in 'Middle Comedy' were representative and significant of the character of the person much more than those of Old Comedy. To the best of my belief the facts are the other way. In Aristophanes the names of important characters, when not real names (*Socrates*, *Euripides*) are very frequently significant

(*Dicaeopolis*, *Paphlagon*, *Phaidippides*), as Mr. Butcher himself admits. But, as far as we can judge from Greek fragments and Roman imitations, this habit dwindled (I should have said) instead of growing and the names of persons in Middle and New Comedy do not usually indicate anything as to the character. The historical argument seems to tell against Mr. Butcher rather than for him. So, I must hold, does the run of the whole passage.

The translation has been materially improved in many places. It is, however, possible to point out a few, where justice seems hardly yet done to the meaning. ὅψις throughout means a good deal more than *scenery* or even *scenic equipment*, and *declamation* is not a good equivalent for ὑπόκρισις (ὑποκριτική 19, 4), which is rather *delivery*. In 4, 5 οὗτος ἐκείνος means rather 'This is so and so' than 'This is he.' In 5, 2 I should not have said there was anything about 'comic poets, *distinctively* so called,' only 'poets whose names are known.' In 7, 7 κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος is not limitative, 'so far as beauty depends on size,' but 'by reason of its size.' In 13, 6 is it certain that ἂν κατορθωθῶσιν means 'if they are well *represented*' and that εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ should be understood as 'Euripides faulty as he is, &c.'? For anything I see κατορθωθῶσιν may refer to the author, and I cannot help doubting whether εἰ καὶ here admits the fact, when I read such passages as *De Caelo* 3, 1, 5: cf. *Pol.* 6 (4), 1, 5, where it is καὶ εἰ. See Krüger's *Grammar* 65, 5, 15, and Jebb on *Soph. O.T.* 395 (Appendix). In 16, 5 it seems impossible that αἰσθέσθαι should be used of the sort of 'feeling' usually expressed by πάσχειν, e.g. *Dem.* 19, 195 ὥστε τὸν Φίλιππον παθεῖν τι καὶ δοῖναι. Finally in 18, 2 and 24, 1, although Prof. Jebb in his *Homer* takes the same view, I cannot think that παθητικὴ (τραγωδία, ἐποποιία) refers to *passion*.

I venture to add that the readings adopted in 4, 1449 a 8 and 24, 1460 a 27 are highly questionable and that the former could hardly be translated as Mr. Butcher translates it. As to 21, 1457 b 1, it is very difficult to follow Diels in adopting τῶν Μασσαλιωτῶν from the suggestion of the Arabic, until the improbability has been surmounted that most (τὰ πολλὰ) Massilian words were compounds of at least three other words. Mr. Butcher ἡδύνει τὸ ἄτοπον by rendering τὰ πολλὰ *many*, but even then it would be considerable.

In spite, however, of these minute criticisms it should be repeated that Mr.

Butcher's book is a most excellent one and that the essays are probably the best contribution that has been made to the literature of the *Poetics* since the *Beiträge* and the critical editions of Vahlen.

The Oxford Regius Professor, ὃς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς δαπάνης ἡμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀποπέμπει, contents himself for the present with a text and very sparing critical notes, but holds out hopes of the commentary to come. It is, of course, a work of sound and cautious scholarship, yet not so conservative as we might judge at first sight or as might seem suggested by the warning given in the brief preface, *ne librariis imputemus quae non est incredibile deliquisse ipsum*.

Mr. Bywater has embodied in his text some of the suggestions he has previously published: others he seems tacitly to renounce. Besides *Δελιάδα* (1448 a 13) and 'Ἀνθεῖ (1451 b 23), which of course do not emanate from him, we note among the changes αὐτόν for τὸν αὐτόν in 1448 a 22), κωμωδῶ (1449 b 1), <διὰ> μέτρον μεγάλου (*ib.* 10), τῶν ἐν λόγῳ (1450 b 12), συστημάτων for σωμάτων (1451 a 3), θεῖναι (1459 a 22), <πρὸς> ἅπαντα (1461 b 29). On one or two of these, especially θεῖναι, one would be glad to see what he has to say. At present I prefer ἅπαντα to πρὸς ἅπαντα, remembering πάντα μιμῆσται in *Republic* 397 A, nor do I think χορὸν κωμωδῶν...ἔδωκεν impossible, especially in view of *Peace* 806 (cf. *Birds*, 787) ἦνίκα τῶν τραγωδῶν τὸν χορὸν εἶχον ἀδελφός τε καὶ αὐτός, where τῶν τ. can hardly be a partitive genitive with ἅ, τ, κ, ἄ. It is a little surprising that neither editor notices the suggestion, revived by Prof. Margoliouth, of πράττοντες and δρῶντες for the accusatives in 3, 2. Although it is, of course, true that the nominative partly confuses author and actor, for the author cannot strictly be said πράττειν, still 1449 b 32 πράττοντες ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν supplies confirmation, if any is really needed, of its correctness. All imitators μιμοῦνται πράττοντας (1448 a 1): dramatists μιμοῦνται πράττοντες (δρῶντες 1449 b 27), or as he says elsewhere ἐν τῷ πράττειν (1459 a 17). But on these and other far more important points, such as the value of the Arabic version, which Mr. Bywater rates much lower than Mr. Butcher does, and the general trustworthiness of the traditional text, we await the full commentary which he is understood to have long had in hand. It is a pity for the sake of practical convenience that he could not adopt the same division of chapters into sections as Mr. Butcher and save both pupils and teachers a good deal of trouble.

In conclusion I will seize the opportunity to suggest a few small changes that have from time to time occurred to me. Most of them explain themselves. 1449 b 20 ἀ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ: 1450 a 5 αὐτὴν τὴν σύνθεσιν (Mr. Bywater makes the reverse change in 1449 b 36, reading τοῦτον for αὐτὴν): 1452 a 4 exchange μάλιστα and μᾶλλον: 1452 b 36 before ἐπιεικὲς insert some word like λίαν or

σφόδρα, ἐπιεικὲς not being strong enough in itself: cf. τὸν σφόδρα πονηρόν in 1453 a 2 where σφόδρα is really less needed: 1454 b 25 ἀστέρες: 1455 b 23 οὕτω δὲ: 1458 b 21 Εὐριπίδου καὶ Αἰσχύλου, καὶ going closely with τὸ αὐτό. In 1459 b 5 the ludicrous πλέον ὀκτώ perhaps took its rise from a confusion of πλέον ἢ—with πλέον ἡ.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

DIYROFF'S *ETHIK DER ALTEN STOA*.

Die Ethik der alten Stoa. Untersucht von Dr. A. DIYROFF. Berlin. 1897.

UNDER an ambitious title this book includes a medley of topics: ethics, politics, paedagogy, and a long string of minor details discussed in appendices. Amongst them all the first place should be accorded to the laboured attempt, p. 238 *sqq.*, to prove that the spurious treatise *De educandis pueris*, with which Plutarch's *Moralia* opens, is based upon a work of Chrysippus, and that possibly Quintilian, i. 1. 4-10. follows the same authority. The treatment of the main thesis is less happy. To another exposition of Stoic ethics no one could object if it threw fresh light upon the subject. But this is hardly the case. The author, following a hint of Zeller's, believes he has rediscovered the principles on which Chrysippus (according to Diog. Laert. vii. 84) subdivided the subject, and boldly applies his discovery. The result is that, while his exposition contains few new facts—which is perhaps not surprising—its arrangement is fantastic in the extreme. The passage just mentioned appears to indicate three main divisions and six subdivisions (ὑποδιαίρουσι). In place of this the author gives us 'eine Darstellung der allgemeinen Ethik' on the lines of Chrysippus, but omitting one of his subdivisions (viz. περὶ προτροπῶν καὶ ἀποτροπῶν), followed by 'Untersuchungen zur parainetischen Ethik,' which seems mainly to consist of the προτροπαὶ καὶ ἀποτροπαὶ, the 'Ermahnungen und Abmahnungen,' previously omitted. This may be thought to misrepresent the author's meaning: but as he has replied to critics of his book in an article in the *Archiv f. Philosophie* xi. 491 *sqq.* and explained his position more precisely, we are content to refer to his own words *l.c.*

502 *sqq.* He expressly eschews a twofold division of Stoic ethics, whether expressed by the terms 'general' and 'special' (or applied)—or by the terms 'theoretical' and 'practical' ethics. He has guarded himself (he says) from ascribing to the early Stoics the distinction between 'general' (allgemeine) and 'paraenetic' ethics, though he is careful to add that such a distinction is not wholly unjustified. He appears to regard paraenetic ethics as consisting of 'an inquiry which determines what concrete actions correspond to the notions of Virtue and Vice'—thus introducing a picture of the Stoic sage—together with 'exhortations and dissuaves adapted to particular important spheres of life' (p. 185).

Both the execution and method of this work are open to criticism. Even the author does not defend the logic of his classification. There is no examination of the sources. Occasionally there is padding. We have the inevitable chapter on the historical position of Stoicism. We have in Excursus iv. five pages vindicating the authority of Cleanthes and Chrysippus with the later Stoics by references as recondite as the following: 'Gerade in der Zeit des Plutarchos wurde Chrysippos wieder fleissig gelesen. Die Ausfälle des Horatius gegen Chrysippos können nur so erklärt werden, dass Chrysippos wieder zu Ehren kam... Auch aus Persius (satir. 2, 5. 13, 184)'—this should be Juvenal—'sieht man dass Chrysippos als der erste glänzte. Von Cornutus wurde er verehrt,' etc., etc. The problem of reconstructing the ethics of the early Stoics may indeed prove practically insoluble from insufficient materials, though no doubt when these are collected and properly sifted as by Mr. A. C. Pearson in his *Fragments of Zeus and Cleanthes*—a work to which the one under review is con-

siderably indebted—the main outlines of the later system are already plainly discernible. But to collect further materials in a similar fashion would seem essential if any under-

taking of this nature is to be profitably undertaken.

R. D. H.

LEGRAND'S *ÉTUDE SUR THÉOCRITE*.

Étude sur Théocrite, par PH.-E. LEGRAND. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris. Albert Fontemoing. 1898. Pp. 111, 442.

THIS is a book of a kind which does not flourish amongst us. Studies of ancient poets we have in plenty and many of them excellent. But they deal only with the literary side of the poets and in the broadest outlines. A few works in greater detail we possess, such as Sellar's study of Virgil. But in English I know of nothing which, like the present work, combines excellent literary criticism with the most elaborate philological investigation of the vocabulary, the syntax and the metre of the poet.

The author is well equipped at all points. The only subject with which he does not deal that might be expected in a study of Theocritus is the manuscript tradition, and an occasional vagueness of reference might lead one to conjecture that in this field M. Legrand has not laboured with the same ardour as in some others. But it is clear throughout the book that he has both read and digested everything of importance in the immense literature upon Theocritus, and to this labour, great enough in itself, has added careful studies of the contemporary Alexandrian poets.

The work is divided into five chapters which deal (1) with the works of Theocritus, including a discussion of the poems which should be rejected as not Theocritean, (2) with the biography of the poet and his relations with other poets like Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, (3) with what the author calls *l'invention des motifs*, under which he includes in seven subdivisions an examination of Theocritus' own studies, his treatment of love, of city and of rural life, his character drawing and his art in narration and description. (4) The fourth chapter deals under six heads with the poet's power of expression, the dialects he uses, his vocabulary, grammar, versification and style. (5) The final chapter deals with the individual poems from the point of view of

their success or failure as works of literature.

It is needless to say that in these five chapters there is plenty of material for argument and plenty of room for disagreement on points of detail. Of this M. Legrand is well aware. But he moves with certain step amidst the many pitfalls which beset the student of Alexandrian literature, discusses the various views, some of them bizarre enough, which are held on vexed questions, and makes up his mind definitely and clearly for acceptance or rejection. The footnotes set forth an apparatus of philological learning not surpassed even by German works. But this learning smothers neither author nor reader, although perhaps chapter iv. might have been curtailed without serious loss.

In chapter i. the discussion of the authenticity of the separate poems is interesting. The result of the discussion is that M. Legrand rejects as non-Theocritean idylls xix. xx. xxi. and xxiii. (of the ordinary numbering), but with considerable hesitation over xxi. He keeps xxv. and rejects xxvii. (the *Ῥοπιστὺς*), but maintains the authenticity of xxx., of the *Syrinx* and of the Epigrams, though he doubts that of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 14. He sifts the evidence for Ahrens's 'first collection' and comes to the conclusion that it is only a Byzantine 'Golden Treasury.' He rejects Idyll ix. altogether; of viii. he thinks verses 63–70, 72–80 may be the remains of a poem by Theocritus, but retains also verses 53–60, not from any conviction of their genuineness, as he candidly admits, but because they have been so much admired. He discusses anew, but without throwing any fresh light on the question, the value of the part of the Paris MS. D which is known as D^c for deciding the authenticity of Idyll xxv.¹ He shows (p. 25) that the epigrams, if 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

¹ Through the kindness of M. Delisle I have recently been enabled to make a prolonged study of this MS. Its bearing on the textual problem seems to me different from that asserted by Ahrens, as I hope soon to prove elsewhere.

and 14 are removed, fall into a symmetrical scheme, A.F., A.F., A.F., A.A., F.F., A.A., F.F., A.A. where F is a funerary and A a descriptive or votive epigram.

The materials for a life of Theocritus are scanty in the extreme, and the greater part of them may be adduced to support very different hypotheses. M. Legrand holds that there is nothing to disprove the belief of the ancients that Theocritus was a Sicilian. He thinks, however (page 66), that the poems, except xvi., were written either at Cos or elsewhere in the East. He contends that there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that the panegyric of Ptolemy precedes the appeal for patronage to Hiero. This appeal he dates between the summer of 275 and the early part of 274 B.C. I cannot but think, however, that the evidence for this date, in itself probable enough, is insufficient. The evidence consists of verses 73-75 of Idyll xvi.

ἔσσεται οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐμὲ κεχρήσεται αἰδοῦ,
ῥέξας ἢ Ἀχιλεὺς ὄσσον μέγας, ἢ βαρὺς Αἴας
ἐν πεδίῳ Σιμόεντος.

Even if we grant that M. Legrand is right in arguing that ἔσσεται shows that Hiero is still only at the beginning of his career would it occur to any one who had not an axe of his own to grind, that Ἀχιλεὺς μέγας is not the 'great Achilles whom we knew,' but the Aeacid Pyrrhus who did not evacuate Italy till the beginning of 274 B.C. and whose exploits would therefore form an ideal for the youthful Hiero? Could Theocritus' χάριτες be guilty of such a left-handed compliment as to urge Hiero to emulate the fame of one who had been compelled to retreat from Sicily some fifteen months before, and whose disastrous defeat since at Beneventum must still have been in all men's mouths?

As regards Theocritus' travels M. Legrand admits (p. 56) that there are two possible theories: (1) that Theocritus born about 320-315 B.C. was the pupil of Philetas at Cos in his youth, and at that time composed some of the idylls, that for some unknown reason he returned to Sicily about 275 B.C. and presently returned to the East; (2) that born about 305-300 B.C., Theocritus remained in Sicily and Italy till about 274 B.C. (273, p. 67), that finding no opening for his talents in the West he migrated to the East, stayed for some time in Cos, where he composed the *Aïtes*, and then passed on to the court of Philadelphus, and that (p. 67) he never returned to the West. M. Legrand follows

Mr. Paton in supposing that the poet may have been descended from a family of Cos which had removed to Syracuse at the time of Timoleon.¹ The connexion, however, between the East and West of the Greek world was very close and communication very frequent. It had been so for centuries. Cos was connected with 'Daunia' by its colony Elpiae which it had founded along with the Rhodians (Strabo 653), and Epicharmus had connected Cos and Syracuse almost as closely as Theocritus himself has done.

On the question of Theocritus' relations with Callimachus and Apollonius M. Legrand's conclusions are negative (p. 77). I confess that to my mind the evidence deduced from the poems for his relations with other poets, which has been a fertile source of theories in recent years, seems equally negative. When conclusive evidence is adduced that the whole of the Idylls are only conundrums concealing the names of Theocritus' friends or rivals it will be necessary to believe. That the theories are ingenious is undoubted; their ingenuity is all the more remarkable in that they are all founded on the same few facts and yet are so widely different. Nothing is left to the imagination of the poet, but a good deal to that of his commentators.

M. Legrand's account of Theocritus' literary sources of inspiration is both interesting and instructive. But surely the suggestion that Theocritus could not use the words in ii. 48 *ἱππομανὲς φυτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀρκάσι* without having previously engaged in a controversy regarding the nature of *ἱππομανὲς* is very far-fetched. M. Legrand is sufficiently critical of his author. Of the *Aïtes* he says (p. 109), 'la pièce, somme toute, me paraît assez faible.' He hardly allows enough, I think, for the intentional humour of Idyll iii., humour of the kind displayed also in the love-melancholy of the Cyclops. The study of Simaetha pp. 113 ff. is admirable. With the further study of Theocritus' sources for his great character I confess I have no great sympathy. In the life of Lord Tennyson a protest of the poet is recorded against the practice of counting

¹ In this connexion ought not Gorgos' expedition to recolonise Gela (Plut. *Timoleon*, chap. 35) start from Cos rather than from Ceos? ἐκ Κέω πλεύσαντες is read by Sintenis and also by Holden, but the chances of confusion between Κέω and Κῶ are very great. Timoleon's expedition was altogether a Dorian venture with which the Ionic Ceos would not probably be connected, even if it had been a likely place at which to assemble the former inhabitants who had fled to the East.

an accidental similarity of phrase as plagiarism. The case of Theocritus is much harder. He *must* have imitated, we are told, poems of which we know nothing but the name, if even that. Considering the number of records of magic which are preserved to us from ancient times we are entitled to assume that Theocritus was as familiar with its methods as most people were in this country till a century ago, and as the rural population in many districts is still. Without impeaching M. Legrand's eulogies of some of the idylls of Herondas (p. 136), I think he is hardly just to the excellence of Theocritus' fourteenth idyll. 'Dans l'idylle xiv,' he says (p. 139), 'une fois prononcé le nom de Ptolémée, adieu l'étude des mœurs et des passions; Eschines oublie son chagrin pour demander un portrait du prince; Thyonichos, pour le satisfaire, se trouve être, à Syracuse, aussi bien informé qu'un courtisan habitué du Bruchium; et la pièce finit, non point par un retour sur l'aventure amoureuse qui faisait l'objet de la première partie, mais par le conseil adressé aux lecteurs, mercenaires ou poètes, d'aller, s'ils veulent tirer profit de leurs talents, les porter à la cour du Lagide.' There is, I think, nothing in the idyll which necessitates the supposition that the scene is laid at Syracuse rather than at Cos. Moreover it seems to me that M. Legrand misunderstands the situation. Thyonichus, whether Syracusan or Coan, is a worthy who has already seen service, but has for some reason returned home, or at any rate to some place where he had known Aeschines earlier. He finds Aeschines his old friend 'down on his luck,' and like the recruiting sergeant of our own islands, advises him to follow up his notion of 'taking the shilling.' Aeschines is not fool enough to go without hearing something of the merits of the service. That it happens to be Ptolemy into whose army he is recommended to enter, and that Ptolemy happens to be a patron of the poet, are two elements which are not of the essence of the matter. Dugald Dalgetty in the dungeon at Inverary puts practically the same questions with regard to the service of Argyle and receives practically the same answers (*Legend of Montrose*, chap. xiii.). Fortunately in this case our knowledge of the chronology suffices to show that Sir Walter Scott was not under any obligation to that Argyle.

I quite agree with M. Legrand in declining to accept all the hidden allusions Reitzenstein discovers in the genuine

Bucolics. The harmless advice of Corydon to Battus in iv. 56 'Don't walk on the mountains without shoes' is explained as advice from Alexander the Aetolian to Callimachus not to attempt rustic subjects with his delicate talents. The obscene rustic gossip which follows is interpreted as a hint of a λόγος ἰωνικός which Alexander is preparing. There is nothing to equal this but the remarkable lessons which, according to the story, a preacher drew from the text 'Put a knife to thy throat when thou sittest to eat with a ruler.' It is a pity that Reitzenstein should have admitted such perverse ingenuity into his remarkable book and a still greater pity that M. Legrand should have wasted so many pages in discussing it.

The remarks of M. Legrand on the rural life portrayed by Theocritus are true and just. Theocritus would have had more sympathy with Peter Bell than with Wordsworth. There is nothing that lies 'too deep for tears' in his contemplation of Nature. M. Legrand realizes that the Bucolic was likely to attain a wide popularity only when men lived more and more in great cities and less in the country or in country towns and thus appreciated more the country and sleep under the pine trees' shade. Hence the fallacy of the late Mr. C. H. Pearson's dictum that the Bucolic 'is doomed' by the conditions of modern life.

The long chapter on expression represents a great amount of labour on the part of M. Legrand in addition to the obligations he acknowledges to Morsbach and others. As regards forms used in verse he does not allow enough perhaps for the necessities of the metre. For example πελέκεις (p. 240 n. 2) could come into the verse only if contracted, εἰμενέες if not contracted; so also with τέτορες and τέσσαρες (p. 243 n. 4). And surely θρῦλλοιμι (p. 248 n. 2) is only in appearance uncontracted. The form διδυμάτοκος (p. 274) is necessary for the verse. In support of his theory that Theocritus uses ἀγαπητέ etc. to avoid too great a collocation of sounds of the same kind he might have appealed to the similar though not identical usage of the new Bacchylides from whom he quotes on other points. He might have mentioned (p. 264) that in both passages where ἀποτρεῖς is found, there is a various reading, be its worth what it may.

φυσιογνώμων (p. 276) is correctly formed, though the form φυσιογνώμων which begins with Aristotle has usurped its place. It has, however, a parallel in ὑβριγέως coined apparently by the contemporary Manetho.

I have noted various other small matters

of the same sort. None of them are worth quoting except as corrections for a second edition, which I hope will soon be needed. In the multitude of statements contained in this book no one can complain of an

occasional trivial oversight, and I end as I began with wishing that we had more books like it.

P. GILES.

CHRIST'S HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE.

Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur bis auf die Zeit Justinians, von W. CHRIST, dritte¹ vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, mit 28 Abbildungen. München, 1898.

SINCE June 1890, when the second edition of this the seventh volume of the *Handbuch* appeared, many finds of capital importance to the historian of Greek Literature have been made public—Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, Herondas' *Mimiambics*, the Poems of Bacchylides, the Alexandrian Erotic Fragment, and other papyrus novelties. Moreover, special periods and subdivisions of the subject have for the first time received adequate treatment in such works as Susemihl's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, or Harnack's *Altchristliche Litteraturgeschichte bis Eusebius*, or Reitzenstein's *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*. So that, even without reckoning the steady flow of new editions, monographs and periodicals, much fresh material has accumulated. Indeed to keep abreast of the times in traversing so wide a field as the whole of Greek Literature might well tax the energies of a Chalkeuteros. And already fourteen years ago, in the Preface to his text of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Prof. Christ, looking back to a date more than thirty years earlier when he had published a dissertation on the same abstruse theme, described himself as 'an old man hankering after the pleasures of his youth.' But if Prof. Christ is a veteran, he is a veteran accustomed to march in the van-guard. Throughout his book a phrase here and a footnote there attest the diligence and judgment with which he has turned to account the recent contributions to his subject. Historical and archaeological side-lights are not neglected. And, though he expressly disclaims any desire to be exhaustive ('ich wollte eben kein Repertorium aller möglichen litterarischen Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete

der griechischen Autoren liefern'), his range of reading and his familiarity with German *reperta* at any rate, are truly astonishing. The chief change made in this edition is naturally the insertion of paragraphs dealing with the papyrus finds enumerated above. About a page (480 f.) has been devoted to the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία and the fragments of the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά contained in the Flinders Petri (*sic*) Papyri. Bacchylides now claims three pages (165 ff.) and Herondas one (542 f.). In each case the author has pursued his old policy, wisely content to summarise ascertained facts and accepted or acceptable theories without ventilating new views of his own. As a fair sample of his style, which suffers from compression not to say congestion, I translate his remarks about the Erotic Fragment. '§ 378. THE MAIDEN'S LAMENT. Akin to the mime is a papyrus fragment recently brought to light by an English scholar, Grenfell, *An Alexandrian erotic fragment and other Greek papyrus (sic)*, Oxford, 1896. It is an aria which in style and metrical treatment resembles Euripidean Tragedy, and affords quite a new insight into the metrical and musical art of the early Alexandrine period. The piece, which is not quite intact, contains in varying rhythms, for the most part tumultuous dochmiacs, the passionate outcry of a deserted maiden, who despite her forlorn condition cannot forget her faithless lover. We are probably justified in recognising here a sample of the *magodia* or *simodia* much in vogue during the Alexandrine age, whose paeanic rhythms found a Roman echo in the *cantica* of Plautus.² Crusius has discussed the fragment in *Philologus*, lv. 353-384 and supposes that the hilarodist Simos of Magnesia, from whom this type of

¹ The first edn. was reviewed by Dr. F. B. Jevons in the *Class. Rev.* (1889) iii. 461 ff.

² 'This suggestion is worked out by Wilamowitz in his admirable elucidation of the new discovery, 'The Maiden's Lament, an Alexandrine aria,' *Nachr. der Gött. Ges.* 1896, Heft 3. Cp. Fr. Leo *Die plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik*, Abhdl. d. Gött. Ges. 1897.'

poetical composition derived its name *συμφῶδια*,¹ was actually its author.' The extract here given as a specimen is solid stuff, so far as it goes. We do indeed miss the obvious comparison with Theocr. *Id.* ii.; and the possibility that the Fragment is after

¹ 'Cp. Strab. 648. On the other hand Dieterich *Pulcinella*, p. 30 derives the word from *Διδύκκος* [*sic*] *Δύκος*.' [This sounds nonsense: Prof. Christ means that the word *Δυσίφδοι*, which in Strabo *loc. cit.* is linked with *Μαγφδοί* and closely follows *τὴν Συμφῶδιαν*, is according to Dieterich connected with *Διδύκκος* *Δύκος*, not as Strabo implies with *Δύσις*.]

all rhythmical prose (Grenfell, Diels, Blass, Weil) rather than poetry (Crusius, Rohde, Wilamowitz) should have been recorded. Still, everything cannot be said. The second edition contained six sheets more than the first; the third contains ten sheets more than the second, and runs up to 946 pp., exclusive of the eighteen plates of authors' busts and statues given at the end. The book as it stands is certainly the widest and fullest one-volume history of Greek Literature in existence.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

STRACK'S DYNASTY OF THE PTOLEMIES.

M. L. STRACK: *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*. Pp. x. + 294. Berlin. 1897.

THERE are few periods of ancient history for which at once the literary sources are so scanty, the materials afforded by archaeology so considerable and so miscellaneous, as that of the Ptolemies. The author of this book has performed a most valuable service in putting together the widely-scattered evidence bearing on the chief problems connected with the Ptolemaic dynasty, and in attempting a critical estimate of the very divergent views which have been held on most points. While some few of the difficulties admit of a definite solution, it is not our author's fault that in a great number of questions our sources of information are still insufficient for him to obtain a very convincing answer.

The book is divided into four chapters, of which the first deals with the order and relationship of the various sovereigns and of those associated with them. In the third century B.C., in which the baleful custom of intermarriage between brother and sister and the recognition of the rights of queens to sovereignty had not yet produced a cloud of complications, there are but few difficulties. The chief problem is the personality of the mysterious son of Philadelphus, who appears with his father in the protocols of papyri dated between the nineteenth and twenty-seventh years of the second Ptolemy. Strack, following Wiedemann, identifies him doubtfully with Euergetes, but confesses his inability to account for his disappearance from the dates in the year 27. Another explanation has recently been advocated by Prott (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. 460), that the *viós* in

question was an obscure son of Philadelphus mentioned by Athenaeus and Trogus, a theory which is as impossible to prove or disprove as the other. The only fact that is tolerably certain is that the *viós* was not a son of Arsinoe II., since it is now known that she did not live till the twenty-seventh year, and according to the scholiast on Theocritus she died *ἄτεκνος*. Hence Krall's explanation that the *viós* was a son of Arsinoe II. and died in infancy is a degree worse than the other two. In the second century B.C. we are met by a more serious difficulty, the position of Eupator and Philopator Neos in the order of kings. Which of these was the son of Philometor, murdered by Euergetes II. in 146, and who was the other? As regards Eupator the question would seem to be settled, as Strack observes, by a Cypriote inscription which calls him the son of the gods Philometores. Philopator Neos is supposed, on the strength of a coin with a double date (year 50 = 1) to have been regent in Cyprus about 120 B.C. This, however, is far from certain.

The dates in papyri of the second Euergetes' reign cause some difficulty owing to their varying statements concerning the king's wives. He is represented as reigning sometimes with Cleopatra II. 'the sister,' sometimes with Cleopatra III. 'the wife,' sometimes with both. By making a chronological list of all the authorities, and rejecting a few that were inconvenient, Strack reaches the general conclusion (p. 49) that there were at least twelve changes between B.C. 145 and 116. From the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth years only Cleopatra II. is assigned to the king. But in a recently discovered papyrus of the

thirty-second year (Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri* ii., No. 15) he is stated to have been reigning with both Cleopatras; so that two more changes would have to be postulated. Future discoveries will probably extend the number of variations further. But is this the way to construct history? Strack takes the Egyptian scribes much too seriously. Their dates can generally be trusted for what they actually say, but extreme caution is necessary in arguing from what they omit. It would be just as reasonable to argue from the alternate omission and insertion of Philopator Neos in the lists of deified Ptolemies found in papyri of Soter II.'s reign, that his name was being constantly struck out and re-admitted. As Mahaffy has remarked, it is much more probable that during the greater part of his reign Euergetes II. was really reigning with both Cleopatras, and the omission of one or the other in the dates is largely accidental. A good illustration of the weakness of the *argumentum a silentio* occurs in connection with the titles of Ptolemy Alexander. Strack (p. 135) infers from the omission of the title Soter in Leyden Papyrus O, dated in the twenty-sixth year of that king, that although he had the title during the early part of his reign, he renounced it in B.C. 101, when he murdered his mother. But in an unpublished papyrus, also dated in the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy Alexander, in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, the reigning sovereigns are called *θεοὶ φιλομήτορες σωτῆρες*, showing that the omission of the title *σωτήρ* in Leyden pap. O is almost certainly accidental.

The second chapter deals with the laws of succession to the throne. Here we are met at the outset by the doubt whether any definite or consistent law of succession existed. Wide generalities are perhaps possible, but are not very enlightening; and when we come to questions of detail, which are, of course, what we want to know, so many reservations are necessary that it is very difficult to apply rules at all. Underterred, however, by these obstacles, Strack arrives at the following conclusions (p. 75). (1) The throne descends in the male line, *perhaps* on the principle of division of the kingdom between sons, without any special privileges for the eldest. (2) From the time of Cleopatra II. onwards, when the equal rights of queens to sovereignty were admitted, the throne devolves upon the surviving queen, who is required, however, to share it with a male member of the family. (3) Daughters have no claims to

the throne in the lifetime of legitimate male descendants. (4) Illegitimate children have no rights to the throne. Under the term illegitimate are included children not born in the purple.

On this it may be observed that the second point, if not inconsistent with, at any rate profoundly modifies the first, and that much the most important point is the last, that children born before their father's accession were illegitimate, an ingenious theory suggested by Mahaffy. The question is, unfortunately, very difficult, because it is in the first century B.C. that we hear most of these illegitimate princes and princesses, and for that period the literary sources are more than usually worthless, and contemporary records are still very rare. If we knew who Ptolemy Apion was, who was Ptolemy Auletes' mother, what became of the two children born to Lathyrus after he became king, or even what Strabo meant when he asserted that of the three daughters born to Auletes after he came to the throne, only the eldest was *γνησία*, then we might be in a position to decide what was meant by the common charge of illegitimacy. With regard to the passage in Strabo, indeed, Mahaffy adopts the heroic remedy of inserting *οὐ* in the critical place. But it is not very encouraging for the theory that where by a happy chance it became open to verification, it has signally broken down. Soter I. assumed the kingly title in 305 B.C., and since there was never any doubt about Philadelphus' legitimacy, it was necessary for Strack, in the interests of the theory, to place Philadelphus' birth not earlier than 305-4, a date which, in the absence of direct evidence, was tenable, though for various reasons not very satisfactory. But since the publication of Strack's book the new fragment of the Parian Chronicle has been discovered, which places Philadelphus' birth in 309-8 B.C., a date which is likely to hold the field for some time.

In his third chapter Strack discusses the individual names of the Ptolemies. The most interesting problem arises in connection with the second Ptolemy. Did he have the title Philadelphus during his lifetime, or was it transferred to him afterwards from the great Arsinoë? Strack decides for the first alternative, but his arguments on a priori grounds have not weakened my adherence to the other view, advocated by Wilcken, to which the evidence at present seems to point. The continued absence of any mention of Ptolemy II. with the title *φιλάδελφος* until the second century B.C., the

use of ἡ φιλάδελφος in the Revenue Papyrus in reference to Arsinoë, and still more the fact that although Arsinoë was deified as θεὰ φιλάδελφος, Ptolemy II. and Arsinoë together are not θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι, but θεοὶ ἀδελφοί, seem to me to outweigh Strack's objection, that if the second Ptolemy was not deified as θεὸς φιλάδελφος in his lifetime, it is not easy to see under what title he was deified. The question of Philadelphus' title is of some importance because it is bound up with the larger question of the origin of these titles in general; and it follows from my disagreement with Strack about the name Philadelphus, that I think he has considerably underestimated the connection between these titles and the religious cults.

On the general question of the chronology of the period, which forms chapter iv., Strack pins his faith to the canon of Ptolemy, the geographer. There follows a very useful chronological table with elaborate notes giving the authorities for the dates. Last, but not least, comes a most welcome collection of Ptolemaic inscriptions bearing on points discussed in the book. I only wish that Strack would go a step further and give us a full collection of Ptolemaic inscriptions, a task which is much required and which no one is more competent than himself to undertake. In inscription 95 (p. 251) occurs the mutilated passage...καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι... ΙΣ Ν...ΥΑΙΑΣ τοῦ Χρόμου Νεβήϊβ καὶ θεῶν... The first doubtful word is presumably ἱερείς and the last must be φιλίας, cf. *Berlin. Griech. Urkund.* i. 17, al. ἱερῶσι πενταφυλίας Σοκορπαῖον θεοῦ μεγάλου, from which it may be safely conjectured that the intervening word in the inscription is a number, perhaps II.

One of the great difficulties confronting anyone who writes about the Ptolemies is that many of the most important papyri are written in demotic, and that the decipherment and translation of them are far too often in doubt. Strack rightly makes full use of the contributions from scholars

like Brugsch and Krall, and in discussing those of Revillout he often shows great judgment in separating the wheat from the chaff. But he is somewhat apt to mislead the unwary by arguing from uncorroborated versions of Revillout's demotic texts as if they could be depended upon almost as much as a Greek text. How much caution is necessary in dealing with Revillout's readings and inferences from demotic papyri, where he generally cannot be controlled, may be gauged by an examination of his readings of and inferences from Greek papyri, where he generally can. I quote a rather amusing example which occurs in Strack's book (p. 144), and to which Strack hardly brings his customary acuteness; but there are numbers of hardly less egregious blunders throughout Revillout's *Mélanges sur la métrologie, l'économie politique*, etc. A letter of a soldier in the Louvre collection, written in the fifteenth year of an unnamed king, concludes according to Revillout thus—καὶ εαυτῶν δ' ἐπιμελομενοὶ γλοντ/ ἀγροῦτε, and he positively infers from this that γλοντός ('rump') was a nickname of Euergetes II. This is too much for even Strack to believe, though he fails to detect where the error lies. Of course, the sentence should be read καὶ εαυτῶν δ' ἐπιμελομενοὶ ἐν γγίαντρε, one of the commonest formulae in ending a second century B.C. letter.

I have had occasion in this review to point out several alterations, which even in the short period since the publication of Strack's book are necessitated by fresh discoveries. That this process will continue far is certain; how far, it would be idle to speculate. But as a storehouse of information up to 1897 about the problems connected with the Ptolemaic dynasty and as a comprehensive and generally judicious survey of the various explanations which have been suggested, the book will be of the greatest service to every student of the Ptolemaic period.

B. P. GRENFELL.

KENYON'S GREEK PAPYRI, VOL. II.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue with texts, Vol. ii. Edited by F. G. KENYON, with 123 Facsimiles, 1898.

THE rapidly-swelling papyrus literature has lately received a notable addition in Mr.

Kenyon's second instalment of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum. The new volume covers the acquisitions made by the Museum between 1891 and 1895—some 400 documents in all. Of this number 262 texts are here printed in full, and careful

descriptions are given of the remainder. The extraordinary fertility of Egypt in papyri during the last few years has rendered some principle of selection very desirable. Unfortunately, none of the texts included are of a literary character; the nearest approach in this direction is made by a fragment of a Graeco-Latin vocabulary of the fourth century. Several genuine literary fragments are described; but texts or collations of the most important of them had already appeared in various periodicals. The others were apparently not considered worth reproducing, though this inferiority is not always obvious from the particulars of them given.

The strictly classical appetite will not therefore derive much satisfaction from this portly volume, which, nevertheless, if comprising nothing of quite first-rate importance, contains much of interest for scholars of less exclusive tastes. The arrangement adopted is primarily chronological, the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods being dealt with in turn; and these sections are conveniently subdivided according to subject matter.

The Ptolemaic papyri are few in number and comparatively unimportant. There are portions of a couple of second century wills, which are too fragmentary to add much to our imperfect knowledge of the testamentary regulations and customs of Ptolemaic Egypt. An inventory of household effects includes—as lists of this kind so frequently do—a number of words unknown to the *Lexica*. The only other well-preserved and not previously published member of this group is a loan of the year 111 B.C., which follows the usual formula.

The Roman period is much more strongly represented, and the section devoted to it constitutes the bulk of the volume. Practically all these papyri are from the Fayûm, and the majority of them from *Socnopaei Nesus* (Dimeh), on the north side of the lake. They are distributed into a variety of classes, of which the first in order and probably in importance refers to the census and poll-tax. These institutions lay at the base of the economic administration of the province, but there are still many obscurities attaching to the details of their origin and working. From the new evidence furnished by Mr. Kenyon three chief facts emerge. (1) The periodical census, held every fourteen years, is carried back to the year 47–8 A.D. (2) The limits of age between which the poll-tax was levied were 14 and 60 years, not 65 as in Syria. That the

Egyptian law also differed from the Syrian in exempting women is a more doubtful though not improbable inference. (3) The explanation of the term *ἐπίκρισις*, proposed by Wilcken and P. Meyer, as an examination of persons liable to military service, is inadequate. Mr. Kenyon finds reason for believing the *ἐπίκρισις* to have been an official scrutiny in virtue of which persons of Greek birth were transferred from the list of *λαογραφούμενοι*, or those liable to poll tax, to the list of *κάτοικοι* who were exempt. A point in favour of this hypothesis is that the *κάτοικοι* were originally a military class, which would account for the use of the undoubtedly military terms *ἐπικρίνειν*, *ἐπίκρισις*, in reference to the acquisition of the status. But the theory is by no means free from objection. There is the initial difficulty of the use of the single term *ἐπίκρισις* in distinct, if originally related, technical senses. The connection, secondly, between any form of *ἐπίκρισις* and Greek descent can hardly yet be considered as sufficiently established. It may also be observed that there seems to be some confusion in Mr. Kenyon's argument between actual military service and the examination which preceded it. Obviously not every one who underwent such an examination would become a soldier. It may perhaps turn out that the *ἐπίκρισις* served several purposes. Possibly it was a scrutiny which all males of a certain age (and, it may be, of certain classes) had to go through, and at which not only future recruits were selected, but various other points affecting individual status were determined. Further information on these questions may be looked for from the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*.

An important section is devoted to documents concerned with taxation, for the most part similar in character to those already published at Berlin or Oxford. Special interest attaches to a camel-return for the year 163 (No. 328), in which reference is made to an imperial caravan service maintained between the Fayûm and Berenice, the port on the Red Sea, *viâ* Coptos. The writer of this return had been requisitioned for a camel for the transport of a porphyry column. Under the head of miscellaneous official documents comes a report of a lawsuit which had been carried before the *δικαιοδότης*, the chief judicial authority. This papyrus is unfortunately mutilated, but not so seriously as to obscure its general drift; for some emendations see *Cl. Rev.* for Dec. More conspicuous in their legal bearing are, among the petitions, a demand (No. 177) for the restitution of some property bequeathed

to the petitioner and his brothers, but appropriated by a married sister, who, it is stated, had already received a dowry, and was therefore not included in her father's will; and a third century letter (No. 171*b*) addressed by the widow of a Roman soldier to the Strategus, requesting him to see her husband's will opened. Along with these must be placed a couple of second century receipts, one (No. 178) an acknowledgment by a woman of the repayment of part of her dowry on separating from her husband, the other a receipt for the deposit of a sum of money, in which it is expressly stated that liability for twice the original amount in case of failure to repay was 'in accordance with the law of deposit.' Among the sales and leases we have a bid from four fullers for the laundry-work (*γναφική*) of two villages during the year 88 A.D. A small selection of private correspondence is chiefly remarkable for a strange letter (No. 144), more probably from an inferior official to a superior, than, as the editor suggests, from a servant to his master, in which the writer declares that he has been without food for two days, and begs for relief. The phrase 'So that I did not even dine with the Nomarchs' sounds like a joke, though it can hardly have been intended as such.

In the Byzantine group the chief place is occupied by the correspondence of Abinnaeus, who was the commander of a troop of cavalry stationed at Dionysias in the Fayûm in the middle of the fourth century. These papers formed part of a considerable find, most of which has been divided between London and Geneva, whose share is yet to be published. They are a welcome edition to our historical and palaeographical material, although the discoveries at Oxyrhynchus have much reduced the scarcity of papyri of this period. Individually the most important document is No. 234, in which the *dux*, the *procurator fisci* and the *procurator patrimonii Caesaris*, who were then the chief military and financial officers, all figure. Among the late Byzantine papyri interest is almost monopolised by a unique and perfect example of an *emphyteusis* or perpetual lease, of the year 616.

Mr. Kenyon's transcriptions are as a rule both careful and cautious. It is of course impossible for a first editor to attain finality, especially when he works single handed; and that diaereses should sometimes escape notice, or that brackets should be occasionally misplaced is hardly a matter for serious criticism. Mr. Kenyon has

adhered to the method of publication adopted in the previous volume of this Catalogue. The only innovation admitted is the convenient system of designating doubtful readings by placing dots beneath the uncertain letters. The use made of this expedient is perhaps not always quite judicious. Opinions will of course differ on questions of this kind; but letters are sometimes marked as uncertain when no reasonable doubt appears possible. To indicate suspicions where none exist is hardly less misleading than to set down boldly what the original does not justify.

The preparation of this volume has occupied a good deal of time, and considerable advances have been made since the type of some of these pages was set up. A few supplementary notes are to be found in the Addenda et Corrigenda. The list might, however, have been extended with advantage. For instance, it is no longer true that Annianus Syriacus is only known from No. 328, as stated on p. 75; and it would have been better to remove the mis-statement of the law of *recto* and *verso* on p. 13, where it is implied that writing at right angles to the fibres of the papyrus is the same thing as writing on the *verso*. A few misprints may also be noted:—Neos Sebastus p. 20, Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeiger pp. 45, 258, *υπεκ* for *υπερ* No. 298 l. 16, *Ταουρι* for *Ταουρητι* No. 334 l. 25, *εν* for *ενε* No. 248 l. 15. The reader who takes the trouble to verify these references will discover another small point inviting criticism, namely, the very inconvenient method of numerating the texts of this volume. The documents are only assigned their Museum numbers, which have no relation to the order of publication. To find a particular text, the catalogue prefixed at the beginning must be consulted. An awkward result of this system is apparent in the indices, otherwise excellent, which only give references to pages.

All these, however, are details of small significance, and detract nothing from our congratulations to the editor on the completion of a work, which, he informs us, places practically the whole collection of the British Museum before the world.

The series of colotype plates which accompany the volume are by far the finest set of Papyrus-facsimiles yet issued, and do infinite credit to the photographic establishment of the Clarendon Press. They will be invaluable to all students of Greek Palaeography, who need hardly go beyond them for a general knowledge of the cursive forms of the first four centuries A.D. Of special

value for their bearing on the history of literary writing are Nos. 6 and 31, which offer examples of hands closely approximat-

ing to the literary type, dated respectively B.C. 10 and A.D. 88.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

HOLDER'S *BELLUM CIVILE*.

C. Iuli Caesaris belli civilis, libri iii.; recensuit ALFRED HOLDER. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898.

THIS edition of the *Bellum Civile*, framed on the same general plan as the edition of the *Bellum Gallicum* published by the same editor in 1882, aims at restoring as far as possible the actual text of the archetype whence the existing MSS. were derived. Three MSS. have been collated for the first time for this edition: E now in the British Museum, dating from the eleventh century (see Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, Septième Livraison, Planche 50A 1), V now at Vienna, of the early twelfth century, and U a Vatican MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century. Use is of course also made of the two MSS. X and Y (here rechristened D and Z, with the disregard of convenience so general among foreign scholars) that were first collated for B. Kübler's edition of the *B. C.* published in 1894. The relative value of these and other better known Caesarian MSS. Holder promises to discuss at length on some future occasion.

At the foot of each page Holder gives a conspectus of the readings, and not content with this he reproduces in the text the exact reading and spelling of the archetype. Hence we meet with such words as *pr<a>esidium*, *pr<a>emittere*, *pr<a>eda* on almost every page, because the writer of the archetype is supposed from indications afforded by the MSS. to have usually omitted the *a* of *prae*. Hence, also we find Holder's text occasionally adorned with such striking features as 'c<a>[n]t[u]r[i]atis,' 'abla<t>i[n],' 'inu[is]lati[tatis].' Again, if, when a passive infinitive is required, some MSS. present the active, others the passive form, Holder concludes that the archetype had the termination *-ei* and prints accordingly; so, too, a dative termination *-ei* is supposed to harmonise the variations between the dative and ablative frequently found in the MSS. e.g. *Caesare* and *Caesari*. It is difficult to see what object is gained by thus disfiguring the text with inconsistent variations. What, for instance, is gained by

printing *excussat* in iii. 16 and *excusare* in iii. 20, or *relicum* in i. 32 and *reliquum* in i. 54, or *pollicerei* and *polliceri* within the space of five lines in i. 11, or *naueis* three times in i. 56 and *naues* in i. 57? These eccentricities make the book a difficult one to read however useful it may be for reference.

So-called 'emendations' are inevitable in a new edition of a classical author, and there are a few in this book mostly contributed by F. Bücheler. Suggestions by other scholars are as a rule only mentioned where the editor thinks fit to adopt them, for the rest he would doubtless refer his readers to that appalling work Meusel's *Lexicon Caesarianum*. Bücheler's alterations are often ingenious but seldom convincing. His *quadrina* for *quadraginta* i. 17 is tempting, reducing as it does the magnitude of Domitius' promises to reasonable dimensions. Few will accept *inope re* for MSS. *inopere* (most editors *inopiae* after L) in i. 48. The attempts to make a connected whole of the faulty chapter ii. 29 cannot be considered successful. The clauses *civile bellum: genus hominum quod il liceret libere facere et sequi quod uellet*, if read and punctuated thus, and viewed in the light of the context, inevitably suggest an oblique construction, yet the next clause *legiones hae, quae paulo ante apud adversarios fuerant* dissipates our illusion, nor does the last sentence but one with Bücheler's *multi de* and *commenteique* at all resemble the hand of Caesar. Bücheler's *in Petram* iii. 42 for *in porta* (*in petra* E) is attractive, but what are we to say of Holder's *qui fuerant ab alebribus* in the sadly mutilated opening sentence of iii. 48? Does he seriously think that there was a class of commissariat officials in Caesar's army styled *ab alebribus*?—for this is the only interpretation that I can attach to the words. Some other suggestions due to Bücheler are plausible, such as *frus* (= *fruns* = *frons*) for *fructus* in iii. 58, *spatiis* for *portis* iii. 70, *sua manu* for *usu et manu* iii. 86. The alteration of *suetissime* into *quietissima* in iii. 75 instead of the *serissime* of other editors seems to me to make no sense.

In conclusion we may express a hope that

Mr. Holder may go on to edit the narratives of Caesar's continuators, discarding the eccentricities which make his *Bellum Civile* so unpleasant to read, eccentricities which are

almost absent from his *Bellum Gallicum*, and may also give us his promised inquiry into the value of the MSS.

A. G. PESKETT.

HOFMANN AND STERNKOPF'S *SELECT LETTERS OF CICERO*.

Ausgewählte Briefe von M. Tullius Cicero, erklärt von FRIEDRICH HOFMANN. Erstes Bändchen. Siebente Auflage besorgt von WILHELM STERNKOPF. Berlin, Weidmann. 1898.

THE lamented death of Lehmann, who seemed likely to prove the chief architect of the restoration of the Letters of Atticus, has compelled the publishers to entrust the preparation of the seventh edition of this standard selection to Herr Wilhelm Sternkopf: and they have put it into good hands. Sternkopf is best known by his valuable treatises on the chronology of various portions of Cicero's Correspondence (50-49 B.C., Marburg Diss. 1884: 68-60, Elberfeld Programm 1889: 48-47, Dortmund Programm, 1891: 59-58, Jahrb. 1892: on the dates of Fam. xv. 20, 21, Jahrb. 1893, a most solid piece of reasoning) and by some critical remarks in Jahrb. 1894. Since the 6th ed. of Hofmann's Selections, three most important works on Cicero's Correspondence have been published, viz. Mendelssohn's Crit. ed. of Fam.: Lehmann's 'De epp. ad Att. recensendis et emendandis'; and O. E. Schmidt's 'Die Briefwechsel Ciceros' from 51 to 44, not to speak of many articles by other eminent scholars, especially Gurlitt. Of all these Sternkopf has availed himself, and done his work admirably, adopting the latest theories and criticisms which are of substantial value, especially those bearing on chronology; yet altering as little as possible the notes of the previous editors. The volume is materially increased in size, and is characterised throughout by a soundness and judgment which will maintain the high reputation which the selections have so long deservedly held.

Sternkopf adopts Leo's theory (advanced in 1895) of the publication of the Epp. ad Att., viz. that Atticus had in his possession 11 bundles of Cicero's correspondence dating from Cicero's consulship to his death; and that Nepos saw these bundles (cf. Nep. Att. 16. 3), but that Atticus did not publish this correspondence. Some subsequent

editor (about 60 A.D.—after Asconius) reduced this material to the 16 books which we now possess, adding some of Cicero's early letters and omitting those of the last year of his life. The Epp. ad Fam. were published first by Tiro (as Gurlitt as shown) in separate small volumes, some perhaps formed according to the nature of the subject matter (e.g. xiii. Letters of Introduction. This was probably the actual *συναγωγή* referred to by Cic. Att. xvi. 5. 5); some, again, according to the correspondent to whom they were addressed (e.g. iii. Letters to Appius); and about the 4th or 5th century the collection in the form in which we now have it was made of all the letters which could be collected at that time. Sternkopf has utilized Mendelssohn's and Lehmann's works to set forth their views of the relative value and position of the MSS. of the correspondence—views which have won on the whole general acceptance.

The alterations of the text of the 6th edition are many. By far the most important is the restoration of the MSS. reading in Fam. viii. 1. 4: 'Ego, qui scirem Q. Pompeium Baulis *embaeneticam facere* ('taken to the boat business') et usque eo, ut miserer eius, *esurire*,' etc. This is defended by the inscription from Baiae referred to in *Cl. Rev.* xi. 367 L. Caecilius Dioscurus curator augustalium Cumanorum duplicarius et perpetuus *embaenitariorum trierum pisciniensium*. These words, as Mr. Walters says (who refers to this passage of Cic.), must relate to makers of fishing boats which were used on the *piscinae* attached to large villas such as were possessed by Nero at Baiae and Severus Alexander. For the phrase Sternkopf compares *piraticam facere* (Red. in Sen. 11), *naviculariam facere* (Verr. v. 46). Another very happy restoration, of an eclectic nature, is the much vexed passage Att. xi. 6. 2-3, *Reliquo tempore me domo tenui* [So Hofmann cp. Red. in Sen. 29: de Domo 6]. *Ad Oppium* <et Balbum scripsi> [Cratander, Wesenberg and Lehmann] *equonam cum his placeret modo propius accedere* [Sternkopf]. The

Medicean reads 'recipio tempore me domo te nunc ad oppidum et quoniam his,' etc.

Equally satisfactory is the reading given of Att. vii. 9. 3 'At sic malo, inquires, quam cum exercitu.' Certe: sed istud ipsum sic, *scio*, [the Med. gives 'ipsum sic. O.'] magnum malum putat aliquis. Thus Sternkopf improves on Tunstall's reading 'istud ipsum sic, dico'; quoting for parenthetic *scio* Balbus in Att. viii. 15a. 3, and *puto, credo, spero* often in Cic. Other emendations, clever, but not perhaps necessary, of Sternkopf's own are Att. i. 16. 12 consul autem ille *deterior* [deterioris M vulg.], *histrionis similis*, referring to Piso who is generally contrasted with his colleague Messalla: Fam. xv. 4. 6 *tectus iis* for 'toto iis': 7. 1 *quem mei* for 'tum mei.' He rightly adopts in Att. i. 19. 1 *facile* of Manutius for 'facere'; and *absque* of Wölfflin (Rh. Mus. 37. 97) and Praun (Archiv. für lat. Lexik. vi. 202) for the vulgate 'sine' (sino absque M., a corrupt gloss having got into the text): iv. 2. 7 *absens praesens* of I. F. Gronovius: Fam. i. 7. 9 *emoneo* of the MSS., a word which Prof. Ellis has rightly

introduced into Avianus iii. 4; in §10 he properly *omits* (as do the MSS.) 'posse' with 'adsequi arbitrabantur.' (C. F. W. Müller quotes several passages similar to this, one of the best being Fam. iii. 6. 4 qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent.) In ii. 4. 1 the editor adopts *domesticos* of Ursinus for 'domesticorum': 16. 5 *mihimet* (Orelli) for 'mihi fuit': and at v. 12. 6 he justly discards Madvig's alteration 'mutationes' for *mutasque actiones* of the MSS. One cannot altogether approve of Sternkopf's emendation Att. i. 16. 13 qui *in simul*<tate> cum lege Aelia magistratum iniit, which seems awkward, if even Latin: nor in vii. 3. 6 of the omission of 'ad privata redeo'; nor of *exituque* for 'redituque' in Fam. v. 12. 5. But on the whole the mantle of Lehmann has fallen on worthy shoulders, and we trust that the second volume of Hofmann's selections will soon appear under Sternkopf's direction, and reach the high level of excellence which the present volume has attained.

L. C. PURSER.

ROTHSTEIN'S *PROPERTIUS*.

Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius, erklärt von MAX ROTHSTEIN. 2 vols. 8vo. (Pp. xlviii., 375, 384). Berlin, Weidmann. 1898. 12 Marks.

THIS, the first edition of the poet with a German commentary, forms part of a series which in books like Weissenborn's *Livy* and Lorenz's *Plautus* has in different ways done a good deal for Latin scholarship. The comparatively brief introduction deals with the poet's biography and other preliminary matters; there is not much new in it nor is it very acute or profound; but it shows a certain independence of judgment, and the reader will find in it a fairly moderate and sensible account of the subjects with which it deals. Of the plan of his edition the editor writes himself that 'überhaupt kritische Zwecke dieser Ausgabe zunächst fern liegen.' The statement requires but little modifying to make it exactly descriptive of the text to which he has pinned his commentary. Herr Rothstein is no critic, and his text is corrupt and retrograde. It is significant that he selects the Haupt-Vahlen recension of 1885 as his point of departure, and that the name of Baehrens hardly occurs

even in his 'Kritischer Anhang.' To examine this part of his work in detail would be little but a long polemic, and on this I have no desire to embark. Let it suffice to quote a single instance. In iii. 8. 19 *sqq.* Propertius explains that he likes a violent temper in his innamorata; 'hostibus eueniat lenta puella meis! | immorso aequales uideant mea uulnere collo, | me doceat liuor mecum habuisse meam. | aut in amore dolere uolo aut audire dolentem, | siue meas lacrimas siue uidere tuas. | (v. 24) odi egoquos (so Herr Rothstein reads against the MSS., unnecessarily) pungunt suspiria somnos. | semper in irata pallidus esse uelim' (27, 28). Between however 24 and 27 the MSS. have 'tectata superciliis si quando uerba remittis | aut tua cum digitis scripta silenda notas,' a couplet which has nothing whatever to do with pain or passion on either one side or the other, but is a fragment of a scene where the young woman is calmly carrying on by means of signs a clandestine correspondence with one lover in the presence of another,—a fragment inserted here because the editor of the mangled archetype could find no better place for it. But Herr Rothstein finds no difficulty. He says the

distich has *sole* reference to '*meas lacrimas*' that these tears are the tears of masculine jealousy, and that this masculine jealousy is excited at the dinner table where such means of deceit were commonly employed. An editor who can do this is much mistaken if he imagines himself to be a conservative critic. He thrusts his own thoughts upon the author to an extent which would be thought surprising in the most audacious of textual emenders.

Conformably to 'the plan of his edition' Herr Rothstein admits into his notes no alternative explanations, quotes from no previous commentaries, except here and there in the 'Kritischer Anhang,' gives no bibliography nor even a list of previous works to which his own is indebted. This may be in conformity with the plan of his work; but that does not make it commendable. The time is not ripe for an edition of Propertius whence discussion is excluded, and from Jacoby's selections from Tibullus, a book of far less size and pretensions than his own, Herr Rothstein might have learned the value and utility of a careful bibliography. The reader then who is thus invited to put himself in Herr Rothstein's hands will naturally inquire how far his guide is trustworthy. The following specimen extracts will inform him. They are given, it will easily be seen, according to the order of the poems: and not classified and rearranged according to relative importance.

i. 4, 22 '*heu nullo limine carus eris*' '*nullo limine* is more vivid and forcible than *nulla domo* would have been. Bassus as *exclusus amator* will have to lie on the threshold (i. 16, 22...) without being listened to. The sense is similar in i. 13, 34 *non alio limine dignus eras*'—This is all beside the mark and shows sad confusion of thought; *limine* is simply a poetical substitute for *domo*. So in i. 13, 34 there is not the slightest hint of the lady-killer Gallus being either in the past or in the present an *exclusus amator*.

i. 5, 21 '*nullus sum* for *nihil sum* with assimilation of the predicate to the gender of the subject comes from the conversational style; *nemo sum* would be correct.'—On this extraordinary note it is enough to remark that *nemo* would here have been absurd and that to talk about assimilation would be relevant if *nemo* were an adjective and *nihil* its neuter.

i. 12, 7 '*olim gratus eram: non illo tempore cuiquam, | contigit ut simili posset amare fide.*' 'Cynthia's love has made it possible for the poet to be true: she has given

him no reason for seeking solace with other women.'—There is not the slightest reference to a possibility of the poet being untrue: the burden of this poem is his unconditional fidelity, '*mi neque amare aliam neque ab hac desistere* (Rothstein) *fas est.*' *simili fide* refers to Cynthia and *amare* is pregnantly used for being in the position of an *amator* (cf. i. 8, 42 *amo* which it has been proposed to alter to *amor*). This is perhaps difficult; but it is not senseless.

In i. 14, 5 '*et nemus omne satas ut tendat uertice siluas.*' So Herr Rothstein reads against the MSS. which have *intendat*, and (in spite of Lachmann's and Buecheler's warnings) takes *uertice* as a *dative*, here and in iv. 1, 125, and compares Virg. *Aen.* ii. 688. He finds the same dat. in iv. 8, 10 *ore* and, very probably, in i. 18, 11 '*limine*' and ii. 12, 16 '*adsiduusque meo sanguine bella gerit*' which he there explains as a *dative* after a verb of fighting.—This will form an agreeable variation upon previous grammatical methods. Formerly we used to say of an anomalous or recalcitrant usage, that it was e.g. an ablative put for a genitive; how much simpler it will be to say that it is the genitive!

On i. 16, 13 '*has inter graubus cogor deflere querelis*' (a corrupt passage) Herr Rothstein explains *has inter* as 'in der Nacht selbst' (*noctes* has to be fetched from v. 9 for this purpose) and adds '*inter noctes* wie *interdiu*.'—Is *interdiu* then a preposition with an acc. plural?

i. 17, 11 *sq.* '*an poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis | ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu?*' '*reponere* to give back to earth' Virg. *Aen.* vi. 655 *tellure repostos*. The poet purposely speaks as though in his case there might be a real burial, that the whole magnitude of the calamity may not be apparent till he has added an explanatory observation with *que*.—What can we say of an exegesis which forgets that three lines above the poet has been speaking of desolate sands covering his dead body, v. 8, where Herr Rothstein comments '*parva arena* is the sand of the narrow shore which covers the corpse of the poet, drowned or starved in the wilderness...in opposition to the high mound which would be erected in a burial at the hands of men' (my italics)?

ii. 20, 31 '*atque inter Tityi uolucres mea poena uagetur.*' After a quotation from *Od.* 11 in which it is said of Tityos γῶτε δέ μιν ἐκάτερθε παρημένω ἦπαρ ἔκειρον we read 'The poet, like Tityos, is to be punished by a vulture (embodying for him the idea of his punishment...), and this vulture joins

the two vultures of Tityos' (soll sich mit den beiden Geiern des Tityos vereinigen).—We should like to know the authority for understanding *uagari inter* as 'sich vereinigen mit.' It is hardly surprising that Herr Rothstein thinks the expression of the thought 'highly artificial.' 'Artificial' is a mild word to use.

ii. 25, 39 sq. 'at uos, qui officia in multos reuocatis amores, | quantum sic cruciat lumina nostra dolor! | uidistis pleno teneram candore puellam, | uidistis fusco; ducit uterque color.' Thus, in spite of *uos* in 39 and *uidistis* in 41 the editor reads and explains 'as the eyes of men in general'!

ii. 32, 5 'cur aut te Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur.' To support the hasty alteration of L. Mueller *cur aut te*, which should at least be *aut cur te*, the editor quotes as parallel, ii. 13, 50 'diceret aut' 28, 12 'Palladis aut' though the metre there requires the post-position.

On iii. 3, 11 'Phaeacas...siluas.' 'Phaeacas' is an adjective (in form similar to *opacus*, *meracus*) formed from *Phaeax* as *herous* from *heros*—*herous* is ἥρως (ἥρώς) borrowed. If *Phaeacus* had been similarly formed, it would have been *Phaeacius*.

iii. 4, 1 'arma deus Caesar dities meditatur ad Indos' 'with *meditatur* the idea *ferre* must be supplied: the omission of a verb of motion is very common in usages like *in Tusculanum cogito*.—*ad* is to be taken with *arma* and means 'against' as in ii. 24, 25 'Lernaeas pugnet ad hydras' on which Herr Rothstein has nothing better to say, than that it is like 'fortes ad proelia turmas' ii. 10, 3.

iii. 7, 45, 46 'uiueret ante suos dulcis conviva Penates, | pauper, at in terra nil ubi flere potest.' The last words are said to be a short and difficult expression for '*ubi ita vivere potest ut nihil flet*.'—Now Paetus was dead, and elementary Latin grammar is dead too, if *potest* is to stand for *posset*. iv. 5, 9 'illa uelit, poterit magnes non ducere ferrum' is quoted as parallel; but *poterit* (which is not *potest*) is there corrupt for *poterat*.

iii. 15, 7 sq. are punctuated 'tertius, haud multo minus, est cum ducitur annus: | uix memini nobis uerba coisse decem' and explained thus. 'The poet was originally only going to say *tertius annus est cum uix uerbum cum ea feci*.' [Latin idiom requires *facio* as in the passage (ii. 20, 21) quoted by the editor]; 'but the idea of the sun's course bringing in the changing years and seasons (compare i. 15b, 30 *annus et inuersas duxerit ante uices*, Virg. Georg. i. 5 *uos, o clarissima mundi | lumina labentem caelo quae ducitis*

annum) rose before the poet's mind, and he consequently united both in such a way that the grammatically independent principal thought was now emptied of contents, while a substantial part of the thought had to be appended in the form of a separate sentence.'—Those who can digest this will have no difficulty with anything in Propertius.

iii. 20, 6 'forsitan ille alio pectus amore terat.' '*pectus amore terere* means pretty much the same as *animum amoribus exercere*.'—We thought this explanation had long been exploded. Herr Rothstein is acquainted with the true one, which is very obvious. A coarser passage (ii. 16, 27) is still more ludicrously misunderstood.

iv. 4, 20 'pictaque per flauas arma leuare iubas.' The editor explains that Tatius was on horseback and swinging his painted shield which was entirely covered (ganz bedeckt) by the flowing mane of the horse.—We should be glad to know how it was possible for a horseman so to carry his shield, and secondly how Tarpeia could then have seen it, as in the next line 'obstupuit regis facie et regalibus armis'?

On iv. 4, 3 et iv. 9, 33 he writes '*lucus* and *antrum* are identical conceptions,' and on iv. 9, 24 '*lucus* ab umbroso fecerat orbe nemus' '*lucus* and *nemus* are identical; . . . *umbroso* simply takes up the idea of *lucus* and *nemus*.'—The editor has as much notion of the sense of the last-cited passage as he has of the proper meaning of these so-called synonyms.

The reader will probably by this time have formed an estimate of Herr Rothstein's qualifications to edit Propertius; but he must not suppose that his edition is worthless. On the contrary it contains much that is valuable, and had it been published eighteen or nineteen years ago, it would have deserved a very large measure of favourable recognition. A great deal of pains and conscientious research has been expended in producing it; and in it is collected a large quantity of illustrative matter that cannot fail to be of use to the student. Here and there, as at iv. 1. 18 *pendula turba*, it helps, instead of hindering, the interpretation of Propertius. Here and there, as at ii. 30, 29, we light upon notes of a really scholarly character. This makes it all the sadder that its criticism and exegesis are as a whole so hopeless, nor is our melancholy diminished by the reflection that it is by no means the only work of the kind which has appeared within recent years in that country to which classical scholarship is so much indebted.

J. P. P.

JAHNKE'S *LACTANTIUS ON STATIUS*.

P. Papinius Statius, Vol. iii. *Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur Commentarios in Statii Thebaida et Commentarium in Achilleida* recensuit RICARDUS JAHNKE. Leipzig. B. G. Teubner. 8vo., pp. xii. 522. 8s.

THE third volume of the Teubner edition of Statius, left incomplete by the untimely death of Kohlmann, who had edited the *Achilleis* and the *Thebais*, contains the commentary passing under the name of Lactantius. Dr. Jahnke has not attempted to deal with any of the difficult critical questions raised by this collection of notes. He does not endeavour to throw any light on the personality or the date of the unknown author or collector, nor even, except to a very small extent, to determine what parts of the commentary are of early date, and which are late accretions. Nor again, has he attempted to use with any completeness those MSS. in which the notes of Lactantius are, with others, written on the margin of the text. His recension is based on three MSS., one at Munich and two in Paris, which contain nothing but these commentaries. Hitherto Lactantius has been known to scholars solely from the Roman edition of Statius (1475) and more fully from that by Lindenbrog (Paris 1600), corrected here and there from Paris MSS. by Dubner (1845). The MSS. from which the first edition was derived do not appear to have been identified: those of Lindenbrog, if not identical with the two now in the National Library at Paris, were at least closely akin to them. But Dr. Jahnke holds that the Munich MS. is greatly superior to these, and he has made it the base of his edition. It cannot be said that the commentary gives much help in reconstructing the text of Statius: its date is certainly late; such a phrase as 'pagani credebant' (on i. 105) is sufficient to show this, even without the quotations from Servius, or the references to Moses and Esaias. Jahnke prints, without indicating any suspicion, the passage on vi. 342 (364) which identifies him with the patristic author, Lactantius; but this is doubtless only due to his purpose of following the MSS. without entering on critical questions. There is no probability in the identification. The *lemmata* almost invariably follow the text of the second class of MSS. and rarely suggest the means of emending them: it is perhaps only by accident that on i. 390 the reading *tranquille*

agrees with the conjecture of Gronovius for *tranquillae*. There are inconsistencies, which possibly point to different sources: we find e.g. on i. 282 'Tydeum qui fratrem suum Toxeum occiderat'; on i. 402 'quia occiderat auunculum suum Thoantem, Altheae matris fratrem, uel ut quidem uolunt, Apharea. Manifestus tamen est, quod Menalippum fratrem suum, dum uenatur, occidit.' Jahnke's proposal to read *toxico* in the former passage does not remove the contradiction, and is not attractive in itself. Is there any case of poisoning in heroic legend? The stories as to the cause of the exile of Tydeus are so varied that one more divergence does not much matter. It is to be noted, however, that Lactantius occasionally recognises the existence of two readings: e.g. on iii. 558 *numerataque semina lunae* he writes 'si semina [PL], propter spumam magicæ artis, si semita [BG²SM], propter obliquum circulum, quo cursus exercetur': and while his *lemmata* often agree with P, there are not a few instances in which they differ: e.g. he comments on iv. 31 omitted by PG: iii. 302 he comments on the short penultimate of *exciderunt* given by BG² where P has *exciderint*; on iii. 163 he explains *numeranda* as against P's *numerosa*: and similarly on iii. 73 *gliscis* as against *gestis*. Such instances may suffice to check the tendency to set an undue value on the Pithoeaneus, which has been in fashion of late.

It is one advantage to be gained from this new text, that it shows the almost incredible carelessness of the Amar-Lemaire edition, from which many students have hitherto drawn their knowledge of Lactantius. It is not too much to say that for every instance of acknowledged quotation from Lactantius, there could be found another not acknowledged; and that too when the scholiast blunders absurdly, as when he calls (on iv. 81) Troezen a town of Thessaly. It is true that at times the editors silently correct an error of the scholiast, as when on i. 304 'summa pedum prope plantaribus inligat alis,' he explains 'petasum dicit, id est alatum calciamentum Mercurii,' quoting 'alatum calceamentum dicit et petasum Mercurii *Lact.*' where Dr. Jahnke rightly refuses to alter the text. The astonishing interpretation which the scholiast gives of iii. 689 was, however, too much even for the Paris editors.

Dr. Jahnke has not given his reasons for

excluding some parts of the commentary as later in origin; and it is not always easy to see what they are. It is true that what he excludes is usually puerile or erroneous, but often not more so than other parts which he allows to pass unchallenged. He has undoubtedly done good service by publishing the text of Lactantius in a much more critical form than it had before assumed; but he would himself be the first to acknowledge that it is by no means finally settled: and that many interesting questions as to the source and value of the various *scholia* are still left unsolved.

I may take this opportunity of making a slight contribution towards our knowledge of the MSS. of Statius, even though it be

of a negative character. Kohlmann in his preface to the *Thebais* (p. viii. 1884), says 'Leopoldus Delisle...id quoque liberalissime per litteras mecum communicavit, se in collectione illa Libri Londiniis adservata codicem Thebaidos invenisse Saeculi Xⁱ vol. XIⁱ nondum excussum.' The MSS. in question is Libri 24, now in the National Library at Paris, marked Nouv. acq. lat. 1627. It is described on p. 93 of Delisle's *Catalogue des manuscrits Libri* (1888), where it is assigned to the eleventh century. Delisle only quotes two lines, but one of them (xii. 819), which reads *referuntur*, not with *P referuntur*, shows that it belongs to the second class of MSS.

A. S. WILKINS.

GUDEMAN'S LATIN LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.

Latin Literature of the Empire. Selected and Edited, with Revised Texts and with brief Introductions, by ALFRED GUDEMAN, University of Pennsylvania. Vol. I. Prose. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1898.

PROFESSOR GUDEMAN has brought out this volume to supply a want which anyone who may have to study for himself or for the instruction of others the history of Latin Literature will have felt, that of a good selection of portions of the principal writers, sufficiently brief to be read through in moderate time, and sufficiently long to be a fair sample of style and character.

In the present volume the great prose writers down to Livy are passed over as well known to every student, and the series begins with M. Seneca, the latest of Augustan or earliest of post-Augustan prose writers, from whom we have some twenty-four pages containing such passages as throw most light on the history of literature, especially the interesting quotations from eminent writers on the death and character of Cicero.

For the next author, Velleius, a few pages suffice, of which the portion deserving most attention is his panegyric on Tiberius.

From Quintus Curtius we have the speech of Alexander to his mutinous soldiers, the speech of the Scythians, the murder of Clito, and the death of Alexander.

Considerably more space is given to Petronius, from whom we have, nearly in ex-

tenso, the 'cena Trimalchionis,' besides three other short passages.

Nearly seventy pages are filled by Seneca, giving twelve selections from his treatises and epistles, and the satire on the death of Claudius.

Some thirty-five pages are taken from the elder Pliny, in which his preface, his theological views, and his history of painting form the principal part.

About forty-five pages are allotted to Quintilian, containing especially such passages as bear on education, and his review of Roman authors.

To Tacitus as large a space is given as to Seneca. His eminence justifies the proportion, though perhaps so large a selection was practically the less needed from an author so well known otherwise. The finest passages from the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* are given, with a judicious selection of narrative, speeches, portraiture of character, and reflections from the *Histories* and *Annals*.

From the letters of the younger Pliny we have some thirty pages, including much of what is best known and oftenest quoted, especially the narrative of his uncle's death and the eruption of Vesuvius, and the letter to and reply of Trajan respecting the Christians.

From Suetonius we have the life of Terence, and considerable portions of those of Julius Caesar and of Nero.

A few selections are next given from Justin, among which may be specified the account of the Gauls at Delphi, of Hannibal

and Antiochus, of Mithridates and his speech against the Romans, and the rise of the Parthian power.

Apuleius is represented, as we should expect, by the beautiful episode of Cupid and Psyche.

The next place is filled by some selections from the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, naturally chosen as the earliest and most classical extant work of Christian Latin literature.

We have about forty pages selected from Ammianus; the longest passage being the account of the battle of Strasburg in A.D. 357: among the others are interesting contemporary sketches of the degeneracy of Roman society and of the beauty of Rome.

The volume fitly closes with some selections from the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boëthius.

The above sketch of contents will sufficiently show the varied and interesting character of the *excerpta* which Professor Gudeman has collected, and their value as representative of the successive stages of later Latin classical literature.

It is always easy to criticise a selection; but probably the judgment of most scholars will agree with that of the editor in considering the fifteen names given above as sufficiently representative. Under the title 'Literature of the Empire' we should expect to find Livy, but the practical reasons for his exclusion are given above; though per-

haps the grand *Proëmium*, in which he so eloquently contrasts the present with the past, would have formed a fitting preface to the whole. Among later writers space might perhaps be claimed (if for any) for Gellius and Macrobius; but certainly none who are inserted should be displaced to make room for them, and the bulk of the book (578 pages) is probably as great as is for practical purposes desirable.

The same may be said of the selection of passages: many of us could name some from the authors known best to us, for which we should have been glad to have seen room found, but we should not have found it easy to name those which should give place to them, or to urge an enlargement of the volume; so that on the whole Professor Gudeman's judgment in inserting and omitting will generally commend itself.

An appendix gives short critical notes in cases where the generally received text is departed from. If it should be found in practice that some explanatory commentary is also needed, it could be best supplied in a separate volume.

A companion volume is announced as nearly ready for publication, to contain similar selections from Poetry, beginning with the 'Pseudo-Vergiliana' and ending with Claudian.

H. FURNEAUX.

ELMER'S STUDIES IN LATIN MOODS AND TENSES.

Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses. By H. C. ELMER. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. vi. The Macmillan Co., 1898 (pp. ix. 231).

THESE studies well deserve the attention of scholars. Mr. Elmer, the exploder of the current views upon the Latin prohibitive, pushes here into a wider field and seeks to differentiate the perfect and present tenses of the subjunctive in principal clauses generally. Part I. deals with 'Volitive and Optative expressions,' Part II. with 'expressions of contingent futurity.' The uses of the subjunctive which are considered are distributed according to a three-fold partition: the negative or non-negative character of the sentence, the nature of the radical idea of the verb and the person, 1st, 2nd or 3rd, in which it appears. I am afraid that

Mr. Elmer sometimes fails to appreciate properly the importance of the last-mentioned differences in determining the character of a usage, with regard to which the English distinction between *shall* and *will* (now rapidly disappearing before Scotisms, Hibernicisms and other -isms), furnishes a valuable object lesson: but his arrangement makes it easy to apply such corrections as may be needed. Of the other two divisions Mr. Elmer makes more valuable use. The criteria which he has selected are of an importance which up till now has been insufficiently recognized. The question whether a sentence carries asseveration or denial is one which is often vital to its mode, if we may thus revive the proper meaning of 'mood,' and enlarge it so to take in much that we mean by 'tense.' Mr. Elmer classifies his verbs according as their

root meaning is (a) wholly opposed, (b) unfavourable, or (c) indifferent to the expressing of prompt or sudden and energetic action. We may take as examples of, (a) *habeat* 'let him keep,' *taceat, sciat, seruet* 'keep safe,' 'preserve,' of (b) *uideat, sequatur, defendat*, of (c) *seruet* 'make safe,' 'save,' *iuuet*. His thesis is that the perfect subjunctive is (roughly speaking) confined to the verbs which fall under class (c), which constitute about 60 per cent. of the whole, not being found in classes (a) and (b) which constitute some 40 per cent.; and that this is due to the nature of the perfect, which in contradistinction to the present, indicates either strong emotion, real or pretended, on the part of the speaker, or that an act is to be performed quickly, or great decisiveness or earnestness (p. 9). In all cases great emphasis will be laid on the fact that the act is to be promptly or energetically performed and then to cease (p. 9); e.g. 'have done,' 'be gone.' It may be here observed that if this theory is correct we shall have gleaned an important fact for linguistic psychology in the refusal of the Roman consciousness to recognize any action as so sudden or momentary as to *require* the perfect. Mr. Elmer claims to have collected all the relevant material in classical Latin literature before the Silver Latin period, and those acquainted with his methods of work will hardly doubt the substantial accuracy of his claim. I do not give his figures and tables because they require certain qualifications as I shall presently point out; but I may say that they appear to me on the whole to bear out his contention. His argument that the Romans would not have kept up two separate forms *non putem* and *non putauerim* meaning precisely the same thing, 'I should not think,' for two centuries, is, subject to the proper limitations, a conclusive one. Mr. Elmer himself points out one qualification to the working of his principle in the fact that writers do not always use the most appropriate language to express their ideas; this is quite true, but how can we tell when to apply it? Of another qualification we may take more tangible account. Mr. Elmer seems throughout to neglect the influence of metre in determining the tense. Upon *ausim* (Ov. *Am.* 2. 4. 1, etc.) it is sufficient to observe that *audeam* is excluded by the heroic and elegiac metres; as here the present, so in other cases the perfect: and so *di faciant* and the like alone are found. I must dwell with some insistence upon this, as I am alarmed at the thought of Mr. Elmer next turning

himself to discriminate between the perf. and pres. infinitive in elegiac poetry. Again, we must distinguish antique from current language. Solemnity naturally loves archaism, and this is a sufficient reason for many of the *-assim, -assint* forms of Plautus and the '*quis huic deo compararier ausit?*' refrain of Catullus. In counting, the occurrences of the same phrase, e.g. *facile dixerim, di faxint*, should have been grouped together: they have not the value of single instances. Mr. Elmer spends much pains upon the elucidation of the passages which he cites, with a view of showing that they present the tense which upon his theory we should expect. He is well aware of the dangers which beset this path of interpretation: it is ever open to the approaches of that most insidious of enemies—unconscious bias. I do not think, however, that he has escaped it. In Cicero *Brut.* § 35 he appears to be right in claiming a difference of meaning for '*prope audeas dicere*' and '*plane quidem...facete dixeris*'; but his distinction of the tenses in Plautus *Stich.* 505—'*ita me di bene ament measque mihi seruassint filias*,' '*me di ament* is...one of the most commonplace formulæ for pronouncing a blessing. But the welfare of his daughter is the very point about which centers the interest of the entire play. With the prayer for their safety, the all-important thing for him, it is natural that there should be an outburst of feeling,—is mistaken. We may observe firstly, that the phrase is here '*di bene ament*'; secondly, that Plautus may well have wished to avoid *amassint, seruassint*; thirdly, that, according to Mr. Elmer himself, Plautus was not *obliged* to use the most appropriate tense, and lastly, that such a distinction as he desires to import may be rhetorically true, but is (in my judgment at least) emotionally false. In Part III. the writer tilts at the 'potential' subjunctive. He would admit no uses of this mood in statement except such as fall under the heads of (1) permission, (2) contingency or 'contingent futurity.' Thus he denies the propriety of translations expressing possibility, 'he may come,' or ability, 'you can see.' He begins by strenuously advocating Roby's somewhat neglected theory that in *aliquis dixerit* and the like the verb is indicative future; and with this defence I heartily concur. But the delimitation of the future indicative and perfect subjunctive should not have stopped here. The whole range of possibly ambiguous cases should have been traversed; nothing is gained by saying of single instances that they are 'probably' in-

dicatives. In discussing these ambiguities proper account must be taken of the original difference in quantity: $\bar{i}$ for the subj., i for the future. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Elmer did not assault the real monsters of our grammatical terminology, the 'jussive' and the 'deliberative' subjunctive, instead of falling on the poor 'potential.' Mr. Elmer's attack seems to have been inspired by pedagogical considerations. 'What teacher of Latin composition has not spent many a tedious hour correcting *faciat, phuat, faceres*, and hundreds of similar expressions into *facere potest, pluerre potest, facere posses*, etc.?' But of course it does not follow that because *would* (or *should*) may be the best way of teaching these subjunctives to a pupil, every one of these subjunctives is thus derived. What sane teacher ever thought he could give his taught the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? Truth so administered would poison the patient. And readers of *Cornell University Studies* might be spared the deficiencies of American elementary teaching. Mr. Elmer manipulates his *would* and *should* in the good old pedagogical style. As the Greek accusative of 'part concerned' laboured 'ellipsi τοῦ κατὰ,' so subjunctives suffer from suppressed protasis. Take an example. Had Horace in *Od.* 1. 1. 13 *sqq.* 'gaudentem patrios findere sarculo | agros Attalicis condicionibus | numquam demoucas' written *demouisti*, is there a pedagogue in the world but would have insisted that this *Attalicis condicionibus* was an ablative of 'instrument' or 'means,' and meant that you 'swayed the man by the offers of an Attalus'; but as the poet has written another part of the same verb, the fairy form of the suppressed protasis rises upon the scene and waves away the malignant demon of the 'supposed potential.' And so Mr. Elmer

writes: 'Here *demoucas* is the conclusion of the condition implied in *Attalicis condicionibus*' (p. 201). The Latin potential does not stand alone. It has the support of the Greek. Mr. Elmer promises an examination of this. I wish that he had given us it first; I suspect he might have left the Latin potential alone. To resume, if Mr. Elmer had simply stated that the linguistic consciousness of the Romans did not discriminate these 'potentials' from the subjunctives of 'contingency' from which he wishes to derive them, and that therefore we should better represent the impression they made upon a Roman mind by translating by 'would' than by 'might' or 'could,' he would have been hard to refute. But to deny 'potentiality' altogether or even to see in it simply a weakened form of 'contingency' is not only historically perverse but leads, as we have seen, to practical absurdities. In his eagerness to demolish the potential Mr. Elmer (p. 203 n.) rather strangely writes of the translation of *uitare possis* as 'you [*i.e.* one] can avoid' that 'it seems to disregard altogether the mood of *possis* being merely a translation of *potes*. The fact that it is addressed to an indefinite second person should not of course affect the translation in such cases.' It is enough to quote Madvig *Lat. Grammar* § 370 '*bonus seignior fit ubi negligas* (Sall. *Jug.* 3. If not in the second person, it would be expressed *ubi negligitur*).' How does Mr. Elmer propose to translate the subjunctive in these and similar instances? But enough of criticism. Let me part from Mr. Elmer with the hope that before long he will again advance grammatical science and that his next contribution will be accompanied by an index of passages discussed.

J. P. P.

CORNISH'S CONCISE DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

A Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Edited by F. WARRE CORNISH, M.A. (Murray, 1898.) 21s.

THIS is not merely an abridgment of the third edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, but an abridgment with alterations and (if the bull may be permitted) additions too. There are several new articles (*e.g.* on *Alphabet, Grammata, Palaeography, Pottery*), and over 200 new illustrations,

among which some beautiful plates of coins and vases are especially conspicuous. The alterations are equally extensive. A few articles (*e.g.* on *Dress and Coinage*) have been rewritten in a compendious form, and the results of recent discoveries have been included. Thus the statements of 'Αθ. πολιτεία, which appeared only a few weeks before the larger edition was published, are incorporated in the text: Mr. Middleton's opinions on Roman architecture and topography are

frequently referred to: the inscription which describes the *Ludi Saeculares* of B.C. 17 is noticed: Mr. Torr's learning on ships and Mr. F. Davis's on pumps are introduced. There was much to do in this direction, for the larger work was published in 1891 and the first volume of it was begun quite ten years earlier. The most striking alteration, however, will not be universally approved. In many cases articles on allied subjects are now collected together under one heading, e.g. *Architecture, Games, Greek Law, Roman Law*. This was doubtless convenient to the experts who assisted the editor, but it frequently involves some inconvenience to students in using the book. As a rule, one turns to the Dictionary of Antiquities for explanation of a term that occurs in a passage of one's reading, and the continual cross-references that the new arrangement involves, as well as the searching of small print to find an imbedded article, will often cause annoyance. The

more so as the cross-references are not always exact: for instance, under *Manum*, *conventio in* we are referred to *Matrimonium*, but there are two articles on *matrimonium*, one in the text, in which *conventio in manum* is not mentioned at all, and one in the appendix on Roman law, in which the phrase is explained. Similarly, under *Adoptio* (Greek) we are referred to the appendix on Greek law, but the article there is headed *εἰσποίησις*. This defect is, however, largely remedied by the excellent indices. If the reader will turn to these first, he will often save himself a good deal of trouble. The present reviewer, for his own part, is bound to say that he could think of no subject (except the topography of Athens and Rome) of which he did not, after due search, find some notice, and generally a useful notice, somewhere in the dictionary. On the whole, it is an excellent book and well worth a guinea.

J. G.

BRUGMANN'S VERGLEICHENDE GRAMMATIK (ED. II.).

Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik
v. K. BRUGMANN, 2nd ed. Volume I. 1897.
pp. xlvii. 1098. Two parts. Mk. 28.

THE progress of Indo-European Philology, to use the name with that limitation which is now familiar in English, is strikingly expressed in the growth of the standard manuals. The third edition of August Schleicher's compendium which appeared in 1871 could embrace both phonology and morphology within the compass of 829 pages: the first edition of Prof. Brugmann's *Grundriss*, 1886—1893, required 568 pages for the phonology, 1438 for the morphology, 232 for the indices. In the second edition the phonology with its indices alone requires 1098. That the author should have been able to keep such perfect control over so great an increase in his materials may well excite admiration, though it is no surprise to those that were acquainted with his previous work. To say that the new work (for such it undoubtedly is) is a model of order, lucidity, and succinctness, is only another way of saying that the name of Karl Brugmann appears upon the title page.

Amongst the numerous improvements, the one at first sight most noticeable is the systematic treatment of Albanian, a very interest-

ing language only occasionally mentioned in the first edition. In importance, however, this welcome accession to our knowledge must yield to the more scientific treatment of vocal phonetics (*Laut-physiologie*). Here was undoubtedly the weakest spot of the first edition, and the present marks a most substantial advance. The accounts given of the physiological production of sounds are clear, and in general as accurate as they need be; but here and there are indications that the writer is still not quite at home in this rather special field of linguistics. I may instance the distinction between 'long' and 'doubled' consonants, n. 1 on p. 48, where it is said that the latter show 'discontinuity of expiration.' This is no doubt true of doubled stops (explosives) as in *rat-to*, but only because they are stops: it is not true of liquids, nasals and sibilants. On p. 48 the English pronunciation of *possible* is given as *pʊʃbl̩*, that of *practical* as *præktɪkl̩*, where *ʃ*, *t̩* denote these consonants functioning as vowels. Not only are these not the current sounds of the English words, but the second one is physiologically a figment. While of course, I should not venture to dispute a definite statement of Prof. Brugmann upon the pronunciation of German, I should like to ask him whether his country-

men do generally pronounce *raubte* as *raupte* (p. 58), and not rather as *raubpte*, that is to say, with the first part of the stop (the *implosion*) voiced, and the second half (the *explosion*) breathed. Such a partial voicing of consonants undoubtedly occurs in English (as I have pointed out in a brief note in the *Modern Quarterly for Language and Literature*, 1898, p. 132), and may easily be overlooked. It is perhaps easier to recognize where *s* precedes the stop: Gk. *Λέσσρος* (inscr.) means *Λέσρσος*. I should like again to have a more definite statement than Brugmann (following Sievers) gives about the pronunciation of the *ch* in *ach*, *buch*. Is the *ch* the same in both, as they appear to say, or is the rounding of the lips for the *u* in *buch* carried on into the final sound as other observers have maintained? This continuation of the rounding is of considerable importance, as it is the first stage of labialism. The least satisfactory portion of this section of the book is that which deals with the vowels (§ 40). The division of these into '(1) the indifferent vowel in which, apart from a backward movement of the root of the tongue towards the epiglottis, the tongue's back remains in its natural position, (2) vowels in which the hinder part of the tongue is approximated to the hard palate: *ö, e, ü, i*, (3) vowels in which the hinder part of the tongue is approximated to the velum' is not a scientific one. The only scientific analysis of the vowels is that of Bell, since somewhat modified and improved by Sweet. Its merits are clearly recognized by Sievers *Phonetik*, § 11, and the criticisms which he makes upon it do not touch essentials, e.g. that the German *ü* is not provided for by the scheme. 'An die Stelle des *η*' [Fr. *u* in *lune*] 'gehört es nicht weil es anden Zungenstellung hat und die ihm nach der Zungenstellung gebührende stellung ist bereits durch *æ* [Swedish *ö* in *för*] der Tabelle occupiert und wollte man es dahin versetzen so fiel wiederum das *æ* aus' (3 ed. p. 99). Sievers' statement of the pronunciation of the German *ü*, as known to him, must of course be accepted; but his argument is faulty, as it assumes without warrant that the position of the tongue in the German *ü* and the Swedish *ö* is not the same. The energetic rounding of the lips referred to on p. 97 may be quite easily represented by the use of a diacritic. Bell's system is the only one that classifies vowels according to their articulation and avoids the misleading associations of sound, the influence of which we may trace in the same section (40), where close *e* and open *e* are defined as differ-

ing by their nearness to *i* and *a* respectively, and similarly close *o* and open *o* by their nearness to *u* and *a* respectively; whereas closeness and openness are differentiae that apply to every vowel, as may be seen from this simple consideration that they represent a difference in the shape of the tongue. I may observe in passing that it is much to be regretted that Dr. Sweet has not republished his *Handbook of Phonetics*, which has long been out of print, and that consequently there is now no recent authoritative English manual on the subject; for the same writer's excellent *Primer of Phonetics*, which Brugmann cites, does not profess to be exhaustive.

The most striking novelty in connexion with the presentation of Indo-European sound-change is the abandonment of the celebrated vowel-schemes. Those who like myself have watched the marvellous though fruitless ingenuity which has been expended for many years upon the endeavour to reduce the variations of the Indo-European vocalism to a uniform and mechanical system will not be sorry that facts have at last proved the victors of theories and that the vowel changes of roots and suffixes are now recorded in their natural multiplicity. A special mention should be made of the much fuller and more thorough treatment of the phenomena of Dissimilation, for which Grammont's excellent monograph '*La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-Européennes et dans les langues romanes*' (Dijon, 1895) has been largely drawn upon. The improvement in the treatment of Metathesis is almost as substantial, while in the distinction of *allegro-formen* and *lento-formen* an important ground of variation in language is for the first time enshrined in the standard nomenclature. It is the varying rapidity of the enunciation which produces doublets like *caldus* (an *allegro-form*) and *calidus* (a *lento-form*). A familiar example from English may be seen in *often*, pronounced *oft'n*, or even *of-ten*, in speeches and sermons, but *of'n* in ordinary conversation. Accent has now allotted to it fifty pages in place of thirty, but this more extended treatment only (alas!) reveals the poverty of our knowledge on the subject. The delimitation of the musical or pitch accent and the expiratory or stress accent is still hardly begun, and it seems to me that much more drastic methods are required before any real advance is possible. And first we must get rid of the misleading associations which still hang about the name. It should be clearly recog-

nized in practice that differences of pitch have nothing necessarily to do with differences in stress; and so, not only that, as Brugmann says, § 1037, musical and expiratory accents stood side by side in Indo-European times, but that there is nothing to show that they were not absolutely independent. An independent but unrecognized stress accent would account for a good many anomalies, and its postulation would remove a paradox. It is hardly credible, for example, that stress in ancient Greek was perfectly level, though the attempts hitherto made to trace its variation have not been very successful. Its limited influence on Greek phonology may well be due to the dominance of the pitch accent, which subsequently attracted it and was then absorbed in it. Here there was a real revolution, as is acknowledged by all but the prejudiced; a stress accent, whencesoever derived, overthrew the pitch accent. The case of Latin is more difficult. It is the fashion now to disparage the evidence of the 'grammarians' who vouch for a pitch accent; and their express statements are said to be mechanical reproductions of Greek terminology. Hence even the circumflex, for which we have the evidence (and, if contemporary evidence is to be taken into account at all, what better can we have?) of Cicero *or.* § 58 and Vitruvius *Arch.* v. 4 2¹, is discredited by many most competent enquirers, and it is not mentioned by Brugmann, who, however, is so far from holding extreme views that he expressly recognizes the musical accent as still alive in classical times, 'die damals jedenfalls ganz nicht fehlende musikalische Tonbewegung' p. 975 n. It may be mentioned that a statement of these grammarians which has been challenged more than once, viz. that *que* threw an accent on to a preceding short syllable, is confirmed by the lengthening of that syllable in Christian verse writers; see L. Mueller *de re metrica*² pp. 382, 443, who, however, perversely attributes this mark of popular pronunciation to the teaching of the grammarians. It is no doubt true, as Brugmann points out, that the fact that the Greek and Latin accentuations were both moving towards the same goal of stress

would operate to create confusion; but that he is right in refusing to disregard the explicit testimony of responsible writers I have no manner of doubt. It must be added that the question is put in a new light by the recognition of *allegro-forms*. These will be produced whether the accent is pitch or stress; and if rapid speaking shortens a word, the qualitative predominance of the musical accent is just as efficient a protection to its proper syllable as is the quantitative predominance of the stress accent, while once let a shorter form be established, the longer or *lento-form* has little chance in the struggle. Accordingly, it is obvious that in words of common use the argument from phonetic loss requires some discounting.

The systematic treatment of sound changes under its various heads has received so many additions in this edition that it seems almost ungrateful to ask for more; but I confess I should have liked to see a section upon Aspiration and its loss. The lost or intrusive *h* is a frequent phenomenon in Greek and other languages, and it would have been interesting to know Prof. Brugmann's present explanation of the spiritus asper in *ἄσπερος*, *ἑστία* and the like (which, it may be remembered, led H. D. Darbishire to draw a very ingenious parallel between the Greek and Armenian representation of Indo-European consonantal *u*). I wonder whether he still approves of Baunack's artificial explanation that the nouns have gathered their aspirate from the nom. of the masc. and fem. article.

The 'spirant *j*' which still appears among Indo-European sounds seems to me to rest on a very precarious foundation. Phonetically it would seem to differ from the semivowel *ɨ* (Eng. *y*) only by its more energetic articulation. Sievers indeed says that it must be carefully distinguished from *ɨ*, as also spirant *w* from *u*; his criterion, however, appears to be only its 'stärkere Engenbildung,' whereas spirant *w* (= bilabial *v*, the *w* of Central and South Germany and the *b* of Spain) differs in other respects, e.g. capacity of being prolonged, from the semivowel *u* (Eng. *w*). The difference then between this '*j*,' the voiced sound corresponding to the breathed *ch* in Ger. '*ich*,' and *ɨ*, seems too slight to warrant us in giving them both a place in the same Indo-European language. Sievers, too, it should be noted, assigns the sounds to different German dialects (p. 125). The few words for which this *j* is postulated may be otherwise explained, viz. by assuming for *ζυγόν*, *ζέω*, *ζύμη*, etc., an initial *d*, which perished in all languages but Greek

¹ Mr. Lindsay (*Lat. Lang.* p. 155) seems to me to misconceive the importance of this passage. It is, no doubt based on some passage in the works of the Greek musician Aristoxenus; but its importance lies in the fact that in order to illustrate a continuous rise and fall of musical pitch in the same syllable (that is the ancient Greek circumflex) Vitruvius chooses *Latin* words, and these are words which independent evidence assures us were circumflexed.

where $\zeta = \delta\iota$. It might be urged against this that Sanskrit retains original $d\iota$ in *dyāús* and ought therefore to give *dyugám* not *yugám*. The answer to this is that the roots *d̥yū* and *div* (*diw*) were recognized equivalents and that *diw* preserved the *d* for *d̥yū*. The forms of the declension of *dyāús* (which I take from Brugmann himself, vol. ii. p. 451) are enough to show this, e.g. Acc. *dyām*, *diyām*, *divam*, loc. g. *dyāvi*, *divi*. Instr. pl. *dyibhis*.

The previous explanation of the changes of the aspirated explosives in Italic has been improved by the omission of the unnecessary intermediate stage of the affricatae; but still I cannot think it adequate. Their different treatment in Latin, when initial (*f*, *h*), and medial or protected by voiced consonants (*b*, *d*, *g*), resists the hypothesis that in Italic they were all voiceless spirants. If, for example, BH became bilabial *f* (*f* in Ger. pfrop*f*) both initially and medially, why did it move as far as *b* when it was medial while not stirring when initial? Why should the medial *breathed spirant* have become a voiced explosive, while the initial *breathed fricative* did not even change to a *breathed explosive*? Further I can see no reason why an originally voiced aspirate should have passed in the middle of a word, where in most cases it would be protected by neighbouring voiced sounds, into a *breathed fricative*. It seems to me simpler to suppose that in the parent Italic initial aspirates had become *breathed spirants*, and medial the corresponding voiced spirants: and that later these voiced spirants became for the most part voiced explosives (*b* *d*, and in a majority of cases *g*) in Latin, while in Oscan-Umbrian the voiced and *breathed spirants* fell together. In our present darkness as to the history of so much in these dialects it would be dangerous to be more precise; but that an Oscan-Umbrian F might long represent a voiced *v* (Eng. *f*) medially as well as a *breathed f* initially will be readily conceded by all who have examined the evidence of alphabets: a very similar case is the English *th* (*ð* in *this*, *þ* in *thin*). Prof. Brugmann appears to feel still less difficulty than he did in the first edition (p. 285, § 370) in the connexion of *facio* and *con-do*, from root DHE 'put' 'set.' I confess that I have never seen any explanation which removes the difficulties I raised long ago in the Transactions of the Philological Society (London, 1880-1), which were acknowledged by Osthoff in his History of the Perfect and were only reinforced by the

results of the independent investigations of Thielmann (*d. verbum dare in Lat.* 1882). Certainly they are not met by saying that the aspirate in *condere* and similar compounds is 'medial.' That this is no explanation is proved by the evidence adduced by Thielmann to show that the *do* offers the same sense of the root as its compounds. Was the preposition indistinguishably merged with the verb in remote prehistoric times and the compounds then soon reassociated with another verb *dare* 'to give' root DŌ? This is very hard to believe. And what ground is there for believing that the bond between their members was specially close in these compounds? None of them has travelled from the sense of *facio* as far as *inficio* has; it cannot be claimed that any of them is older than the compounds of *fui*, *ferri*, or *fari* which present no corresponding anomaly. There are, it would appear, only two possible explanations; to assume that in sense and form the two roots DŌ and DHE were very early confused (this receives some support from the Sanskrit) or to assume that the change began with the perfect and spread to the other parts of the verb and that it was due to a regressive assimilation like that which is recognized in *barba* (fr. *farba*) *coquo* (fr. *pequo*), *quinque* (fr. *penque*).

The varying treatment of *t* (or *d*) + *t* in Latin is left obscure. Accepting *t't* (i.e. *tst*) as our starting-point, the easiest route appears to be via metathesis and assimilation: thus *uid-tos*, *uits-tos*, *uittsos*, *uissos*, *uisos*. In *pedet-stri-s* the phonetic conditions did not permit the metathesis of the second *t* which would have produced *pedettsris*, with an unpronounceable group; while in *est*, *estur*, *estum* (also *esum*) the effect of 'Systemzwang' is apparent.

The phonetic relations of $\sigma\sigma$ ($\tau\tau$) and ζ require further investigation: their representation in O. Lat., as α and ss respectively, is important. We need more light on the history of ϵ , η , and ω . Blass's account involves more than one marvel. Wackernagel's derivation of *igitur* (p. 876 al.) can hardly be regarded as substantiated; it takes too little account of the history of the word, and the change of meaning is improbable. There is apparently not a shred of evidence that *uemens* (p. 679) was pronounced as a trisyllable; a couple of late instances, from verse writers under the Empire, quoted by L. Mueller *de re metr.* of course do not count. Besides, what would *uehe-mens* mean? It would be a monstrous compound. *Vemens* on the other hand like *uecors*, is

perfectly intelligible. No doubt the spelling is strange, but not stranger than that of *Ahala*, for which we have contemporary evidence for the Ciceronian age, that it was written *Ahala* (so on a coin of B.C. 58) and pronounced *Ala*. Cic. *orator* 152; cf. Plutarch, *Brut.* 1, and *Huala*, *Hala* spellings in the chronographus of A.D. 354. *Nartis*, *Nahartis* is another example; see Lindsay *op. cit.* p. 54. *h*, it is well-known, was used to denote vowel length in both Umbrian and German. *mihi*, *nihil* stand on a different footing. As the late spellings *nichi*, *nichil* show, the *h* was really alive. *Sed manum de tabula!*

In the foregoing, I have, as is natural, confined myself to comments on those parts of this comprehensive work which are of more particular interest to readers of the *Classical Review*; so that it is only fair to add that those who desire to acquaint themselves with what is known of the other languages of the I.-E. group will obtain ample satisfaction.

To eulogise the high merits of Prof. Brug-

mann's work at this time of day would be superfluous, indeed might almost seem gratuitous. As a gauge of Indo-European philology, this book presents two very welcome features, an almost total disappearance of that tendency to operate with symbols or abstractions instead of sounds which has sterilised a good deal of recent investigation, and a more severe attitude towards mere speculation. The fabric of Indo-European phonology, which Brugmann himself has done not a little to rear, is now firmly based; in all the principles and in most of its details, it is unlikely that there will be any considerable change. Future advances will have to be won in a different field of inquiry, one to which Brugmann has himself made a model contribution in the monograph on the *Begriff der Totalität* and which has lately been brought before the popular imagination by Prof. Bréal's very noteworthy book on *Sémantique*, I mean, of course, the Science of Meaning.

J. P. P.

THIELE'S ANTIKE HIMMELSBILDER.

Antike Himmelsbilder, von GEORG THIELE. Mit 7 Tafeln und 72 in den Text gedruckten Abbildungen. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1898.) 20 M.

THIS is a work of amazing erudition, which conducts the reader with equal assurance into the darkest mazes of Babylonian tablets, medieval art, and modern German periodicals. The author's judgment is not quite infallible, and possibly there may be people bold enough, and learned enough, to criticise some of his decisions respecting artistic style and medieval clothing, to which the present reviewer can only bow respectfully. But there can be very few of us who will not have much to learn from his pages, and certainly none who will not owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the splendid illustrations with which they are crowded.

Mr. Thiele scorns to begin anywhere but at the very beginning of any subject. Having to deal with pictures of the Greek constellations, he devotes his earlier chapters to the question of the origin of the constellations themselves. Here, as everywhere, his information is accurate and complete; but his speculations—and here

speculation is inevitable—do not always appear to me judicious. Indeed, throughout his book, Mr. Thiele, like many other scholars, seems not quite fully to realise that the aspect of the stars in the heavens is, even to astronomers, more important than their appearance on the globe. His view that the early Greeks at first noted and named only those constellations which, as guides or as heralds of the seasons, they found useful is, I think, deprived of whatever probability it might have possessed by modern anthropological researches. We know, for instance, that the Australians, who had neither cattle nor crops, and whose seasons were irregular in the extreme, had names for, and stories about, any number of stars beyond the few that can have been of practical use to them. Indeed—to come to a point on which I agree most fully with Mr. Thiele—the chief reason for not believing that the Pleiades meant the sailing-stars, and the Hyades the rainy stars, is the impossibility of supposing that these groups could have gone without names until the comparatively recent age when such titles became applicable. Mr. Thiele himself, who writes as though he supposed the polestar to have been always

in the Little Bear, is apt to forget the changes in the look of the sky produced by the precession of the equinoxes. His theory that the Hydra got its name from its constant proximity to the Ocean-stream is sufficiently refuted by the considerations that the brightest star in that group was actually north of the equator in Homer's time, and that below its most southerly parts a Greek sailor could see the whole of the Centaur.

I venture also to think that Mr. Thiele, though he has here the support of Ideler, is quite wrong in his theory that the Greeks alone gave names to large groups of stars, the Orientals only to small groups or single stars. The latter contention may indeed be refuted out of Ideler himself, without going further. As to the former, I am convinced that there is abundant reason for believing that several Greek names, which now denote many stars, before scientific astronomy began denoted only a few.

To me no chapter in the book is more interesting than that on the 'Introduction of the Zodiac,' which involves the discussion of the Babylonian records translated by Epping and Strassmaier. Mr. Thiele points out the absurdity of supposing that tablets of 100 B.C., dated by the years of a Greek dynasty, contain the astronomy of the pre-Hellenic Chaldaeans. And when he proceeds to examine the fantastic explanations given by certain Assyriologists of older inscriptions, especially those on the Babylonian boundary-stones, one knows not whether most to admire his good sense or his courtesy. I may perhaps observe that, whatever the zodiacal names in the Arsacid tablets mean, and whatever they may have originally denoted, they are certainly older than the Greek period, as they appear in the Cambyses tablet of 522 B.C., translated by Epping in vol. v. of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. Mr. Thiele ascribes the invention of all the zodiacal figures, and apparently all the names, to the Greeks themselves, with the exceptions of Capricorn and Sagittarius, the figures of which are, in the first case certainly, and in the second probably, to be found on Babylonian cylinders or other monuments. These he believes to have been Babylonian symbols of the gods presiding over the months which they represent, and apparently not constellations. The odd point is that the pseudo-Eratosthenes, author of the *Catasterisms*, seems to have had before him two figures differing widely from those to be seen either in Greek or Babylonian art. I

cannot but think that this little book, despite its dubious origin and small intrinsic merit, is for archaeological purposes worthy of more attention than Mr. Thiele accords it.

Mr. Thiele has a most interesting discussion of the types of Atlas in Greek art, showing how the archaic upholder of the sky became the suffering Titan bearing the weight of the celestial globe, the very conception of which must have been strange to the first framers of the legend. A considerable part of his book is taken up with an attempt to show that the celebrated Farnese globe, borne on the shoulders of an Atlas-statue now at Naples, is a representation—of course for ornamental purposes only—of the globe as designed by Hipparchus. In a general way this no doubt is true, as it would to some extent be even of a modern globe; for several remarks of Ptolemy show plainly that the figures as they came down to him were mainly as Hipparchus left them, and his own alterations were probably not many. In the sense intended by Mr. Thiele I think it is not true. With all respect for his arguments drawn from the position of the colures, tropical circles, and the rest, I believe—and I think that anyone who knows the history of the Denderah zodiac will agree with me—that no globe on which the stars themselves are not marked can be said to announce its own date within several centuries. Were it not that Mr. Thiele assures us, on artistic grounds, that it is not later than the age of Hadrian, I see no reason why the Farnese globe should not be later than Ptolemy. That the original of which it is, as he says, a copy, was not as old as the age of Hipparchus is the natural conclusion from finding on it the Balance and the Southern Crown, of which the former probably, and the latter almost certainly, would not have been on his globe. Of course they may, as Mr. Thiele says, have been put in by the Roman copyist; but what real reason is there for thinking that they were? Mr. Thiele says that a kind of stand on which the Cup rests is the right-angled triangle under that constellation mentioned only by Hipparchus iii. 1, 7. But this is a pure misunderstanding of Hipparchus, who here, as often, was speaking of stars, not figures, and had not the remotest intention of implying that this triangle was a recognised asterism. Again Mr. Thiele points out that neither in Hipparchus nor on the Farnese globe is the Little Horse to be found. But in the first place, no more are the Triangle

and the Arrow, which Hipparchus does mention, to be found on the globe, and secondly the asterism of Equuleus is called by Geminus *πρωτομή ἵππου καθ' Ἱππαρχον*, which is naturally taken to mean that Hipparchus himself introduced it. It is surely a great mistake to treat the one book of Hipparchus that we possess, considered by Mr. Thiele himself a youthful work, as if it must needs describe exactly the globe which the great astronomer left to posterity. In that book Hipparchus places the star η Piscium in the forefoot of the Ram, and a glance at the Farnese globe will show that, as the Ram is there drawn, its foot cannot possibly come near this star. I do not myself attach any weight to this argument, which, on Mr. Thiele's assumption, ought to prove decisively that the globe is not that of Hipparchus; as it seems to me that no one is more likely than Hipparchus himself to have made the change. For in his time, though not in Ptolemy's, this star was still to the west of the equinoctial point, and therefore in the sign of Pisces. In discussing the shape of the Ram, at p. 70, Mr. Thiele has fallen into a curious error. The effect of precession, in setting the equinoctial points further westwards, is of course to make the stars themselves move to the east, and not, as he there supposes, to the west.

The chapter on 'the influence of the globes upon literature' is interesting, though one is inclined to suggest that even literary men may here and there have known more of the stars in the sky and less of the stars on the globe than Mr. Thiele supposes. From his chapter on the types of the zodiacal figures as they appear in art—it must be remembered that not one celestial globe made for scientific purposes has come down to us—we are reminded how late in date these representations are, nearly all of them indeed from the Roman period, while Mr. Thiele ascribes even the celebrated picture-calendar from Athens, of which he gives an excellent representation and explanation, to the first century after Christ. And all this tends to confirm his view that the symbolism and mystery which have associated themselves with the signs of the zodiac are of comparatively recent origin. I cannot, however, agree with Mr. Thiele in thinking that the sign of Libra was not introduced into the zodiac till the first century before Christ. Had that been so, it seems impossible that the astrological authorities whom Manilius consulted should already have had so much to say about its

qualities. Indeed it is difficult to see how astrology could have done without Libra; for even an astrologer must have been puzzled to show cause why a man born under the Scorpion's Claws should have a totally different destiny from one born under the Scorpion. I therefore see no reason why the isolated mention of it in Hipparchus should be pronounced the interpolation of a copyist. I do not mean to say that I think it was drawn on his globe as a constellation; but then it does not seem to have been drawn even on Ptolemy's.

So far Mr. Thiele has been dealing with material more or less familiar to scholars, but the later part of his book takes us into fields peculiarly his own. He undertakes to convince us that in numerous medieval manuscripts, and doubtless in many as yet unknown even to himself, there are to be found pictures which, although drawn by medieval artists, are so clearly derived from ancient models as to enable us even now to understand what an illustrated book of the old world was like. Among these manuscripts are to be found several of astronomical works, not indeed of Aratus himself, but of his Latin translators and the Latin commentaries. The most important of these is the Leyden Germanicus, which Mr. Thiele assigns to the ninth century, while he believes the original pictures to have been produced as early as the fourth. As the engravings in the 1600 edition of Grotius are derived from the copies, the longevity of these little known illustrations would be remarkable. But so far as one can judge from Mr. Thiele's plates, to which he supplies a careful commentary, they must fully have deserved it. His reasons for believing them to represent an antique original are fully stated. They are based on peculiarities alike in the figures, the clothing, and the colouring; and will, it is to be hoped, receive the attention they deserve from those qualified to appreciate them.

Though Mr. Thiele's conjecture that the 'Catasterisms' of the pseudo-Eratosthenes was an illustrated book seems very plausible, and some of its phrases certainly seem to gain in point by the supposition, I think it can hardly be doubted that he pushes his theory too far. Of the planet Mars we there read: *Ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἄρεως. Πυροειδὴς καλεῖται, οὐ μέγας, τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιος τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἄετῳ*. The natural translation is that the star of Ares is similar in colour to the star in the Eagle, that is to Altair. I cannot doubt that this is the true meaning; for,

though Mars, by ancients as well as moderns, is compared with the so-called red stars, among which Altair has never been counted, yet in a book so full of mistakes one more or less of such a kind does not count for much. But Mr. Thiele makes the passage mean that the figure of Mars in the picture is coloured like the figure on the Eagle, that is Jupiter, who in the Leyden Germanicus is actually represented as riding upon an eagle. Why should anyone think it worth while to tell another the size and

colour of a picture before his eyes? And surely the important point should be that the planet actually is of a particular size and colour, not that it is painted so.

No praise could be too high for the industry, care, and learning conspicuous in every page of this book. And when one considers how vast and varied is the material handled by its author, one is astonished at the skill which has enabled him to say so much in so few words, and yet so intelligibly.

E. J. WEBB.

NOTES.

UNUS ET UNUS.—Neither lexicons nor commentators on Martial have collected examples of this phrase. I can only offer a few references from two books published since the appearance of the principal lexicons. I may have met with earlier authorities, but I have not recorded them.

Mart. i. 19, 1, 2:

si memini, fuerant tibi quattuor, Aelia, dentes:
expulit una duos tussis et una duos.

See Silvia, *peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (1887), pp. 77, 96, 104, 107, and Dr. M. R. James, *apocrypha inedita* (*Texts and Studies*, Cambr. 1893), p. 22, l. 3.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

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SO-CALLED *Notae Tironianae* ATTRIBUTED TO ST. CYPRIAN.—The pages (fol. 119^b–120^b) of a MS. (No. 131) in the Library of New College, Oxford, which were described in an article with this title by Mr. Watson in a late number of the *Classical Review* (1897, vol. xi. p. 306), contain chapter xx. of Book I. of Isidore's *Origines* (ed. Otto), the chapter with the heading 'De Notis Scripturarum.' The 'notae' are not the Roman shorthand signs known as the '*notae Tironianae*,' but the critical symbols (*σημεία*) used by the Alexandrian editors of Homer and other Greek authors, the *ὀβελός*, *λημνίσκος*, &c. Through Origen, who continued the traditions of the Alexandrian school of editors, the *σημεία* passed into the Latin critical writings of St. Jerome. Isidore probably derived his knowledge of them from Probus and Suetonius. Some account of their use in mediaeval Latin MSS. will be found in Traube's brilliant treatise on the *Regula S. Benedicti* (published in the Bavarian Academy Transactions of 1898), pp. 68–69, and p. 127.

W. M. LINDSAY.

NOTE ON CIC. *ad Att.* X. 18.—For the *fuere infantia* of M I I propose to read *fuerunt φαντασία*, remembering Dr. Reid's caution against the form *fuere* in Cicero. When written in Latin characters *φαντασία* would be easily corrupted into the present reading, and moreover it gives the precise sense required—'All H.'s gush and professions of friendship, about which I wrote to you (*illa*), have turned out to be *ein blosser schein*.' *φαντασία*, both in itself and as a translation of *species*, can connote pretence and unreality. This is what we need here, and not, I think, any word like *fatua* (Dr. Reid) implying folly.

W. A. GOLIGHER.

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CORRECTION OF [Longinus] DE SUBLIMITATE XXXIV. 1.—The thirty-fourth chapter of the treatise *περί ὕψους*, which passes under the name of Longinus, begins with the sentence εἰ δ' ἀριθμῶ μὴ τῷ ἀληθεῖ κρίνεται τὰ κατορθώματα, οὕτως ἂν καὶ Ὑπερίδης τῷ παντὶ προέχοι Δημοσθένους, explained in the sequel as follows: ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πολυφωνότερος καὶ πλείους ἀρετὰς ἔχων καὶ σχεδὸν ὕπακρος ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁ πένταθλος κ.τ.λ. That the spaced words are corrupt is assumed by all the best critics of the treatise, and ἀληθεῖ is generally changed to *μεγέθει* with Pearce. The sense obtained is not unsatisfactory; but the change is too violent a one to be accepted. It is ἀριθμῶ that is corrupt. ὅρος and the abbreviation of ἀριθμός (figured in Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 96) are elsewhere confused as in *Endem. Eth.* 1243^b 29, where ἀριθμῶ has been restored for ὅρῳ by Dr. Jackson, *Journal of Philology*, vol. 26, p. 157.

J. P. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THREE GREEK BRONZES.

THE British Museum has recently acquired three archaic Greek bronzes of more than usual interest. They will doubtless be de-

scribed and figured in Mr. Walters' forthcoming *Catalogue*; but meantime some account of them may be of service.

The first is a crescent-shaped plate from a large fibula of Boeotian type belonging to

the geometrical period. It bears a design in incised lines consisting of a central rosette flanked by two compartments. That on the r. is much mutilated, but preserves traces of a horse with ornamental trappings: the blank spaces are filled up with birds as *e.g.* in *Dar.-Sagl. Dict. Ant.* II. ii. 1105, fig. 2982. That on the l. shows the contest between Herakles and the Lernaean Hydra, and is important as being the first example of a mythological design found on geometrical ware. Furtwängler in *Roscher Lex.* I. ii. 2198 divides archaic representations of this exploit into two groups, according as they depict the beginning of the fight when Iolaos was merely an interested spectator, or a later moment when he had been called in to help the hero. A familiar example of the former is the poros pediment-relief on the Athenian Akropolis. The latter is best known from b.f. and early r.f. vases. The new fibula is of the second class. Herakles advances to the r., wearing tunic and scabbard. He holds in his r. hand a sword, the hilt of which, like some Mycenaean specimens, has a hemispherical pommel, and with his l. seizes the Hydra at the point where its thick serpentine body branches into six snaky necks and heads. Lower down, towards the tail, another man—presumably Iolaos—attacks the monster with a weapon, which I take to be a jagged sickle, though, such is the sketchiness of the drawing, it may perhaps have been intended for a fire-brand: both weapons can be paralleled from the vase-paintings of the subject, see *Roscher Lex. l.c.* A gigantic crab, coming to the help of the Hydra, is about to fasten on Herakles' r. foot (*Apollod. Bibl.* ii. 5, 2 δάκνων τὸν πόδα). In the field are birds and fish, creatures appropriate to the marsh of Lerna, but probably introduced here as mere stop-gaps.

A second fibula of similar make has to the l. of its rosette a ship, which exhibits at least two noticeable features. The mast-head carries a large lantern (cp. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 99). And the steersman is working a big steering-oar with the instep of his foot. Mr. Murray draws attention to the supposed but questionable connexion between *πηδάλιον* and *πούς*, and suggests that in Bacch. xiv. 10, *πὰρ χειρὸς κυβερᾶ[ται]*, the strange expression *πὰρ χειρός* may have been used to differentiate hand-steering from foot-steering. It is notorious that fishermen in the Mediterranean may still be seen rowing with their feet. And our own bargees get a purchase on the tiller in the same fashion. A very similar ship, also carrying

a lantern aloft and a large steering-paddle astern, was found on a bronze diadem of geometrical style and published in the *Annali d. Inst.* 1880, pl. G, cp. De Ridder, *Cat. of Bronzes belonging to the Arch. Soc. of Athens*, Paris 1894, No. 308. It may be observed that the lines of these little vessels are of exquisite curvature and grace.

Lastly, an inscribed δίσκος formerly owned by Count Tyszkiewicz has been secured for the national collection. It is a circular plate of hammered bronze, 5 millim. thick and 162 millim. in diameter. The inscription, which is at present our main source of information with regard to the Kephallenian alphabet, is retrograde and turns in an irregular spiral towards the centre of the disc—

WEEK 01 A1 A2 A3 A4 A5 A6 A7 A8 A9 A10 A11 A12 A13 A14 A15 A16 A17 A18 A19 A20 A21 A22 A23 A24 A25 A26 A27 A28 A29 A30 A31 A32 A33 A34 A35 A36 A37 A38 A39 A40 A41 A42 A43 A44 A45 A46 A47 A48 A49 A50 A51 A52 A53 A54 A55 A56 A57 A58 A59 A60 A61 A62 A63 A64 A65 A66 A67 A68 A69 A70 A71 A72 A73 A74 A75 A76 A77 A78 A79 A80 A81 A82 A83 A84 A85 A86 A87 A88 A89 A90 A91 A92 A93 A94 A95 A96 A97 A98 A99 A100 A101 A102 A103 A104 A105 A106 A107 A108 A109 A110 A111 A112 A113 A114 A115 A116 A117 A118 A119 A120 A121 A122 A123 A124 A125 A126 A127 A128 A129 A130 A131 A132 A133 A134 A135 A136 A137 A138 A139 A140 A141 A142 A143 A144 A145 A146 A147 A148 A149 A150 A151 A152 A153 A154 A155 A156 A157 A158 A159 A160 A161 A162 A163 A164 A165 A166 A167 A168 A169 A170 A171 A172 A173 A174 A175 A176 A177 A178 A179 A180 A181 A182 A183 A184 A185 A186 A187 A188 A189 A190 A191 A192 A193 A194 A195 A196 A197 A198 A199 A200 A201 A202 A203 A204 A205 A206 A207 A208 A209 A210 A211 A212 A213 A214 A215 A216 A217 A218 A219 A220 A221 A222 A223 A224 A225 A226 A227 A228 A229 A230 A231 A232 A233 A234 A235 A236 A237 A238 A239 A240 A241 A242 A243 A244 A245 A246 A247 A248 A249 A250 A251 A252 A253 A254 A255 A256 A257 A258 A259 A260 A261 A262 A263 A264 A265 A266 A267 A268 A269 A270 A271 A272 A273 A274 A275 A276 A277 A278 A279 A280 A281 A282 A283 A284 A285 A286 A287 A288 A289 A290 A291 A292 A293 A294 A295 A296 A297 A298 A299 A300 A301 A302 A303 A304 A305 A306 A307 A308 A309 A310 A311 A312 A313 A314 A315 A316 A317 A318 A319 A320 A321 A322 A323 A324 A325 A326 A327 A328 A329 A330 A331 A332 A333 A334 A335 A336 A337 A338 A339 A340 A341 A342 A343 A344 A345 A346 A347 A348 A349 A350 A351 A352 A353 A354 A355 A356 A357 A358 A359 A360 A361 A362 A363 A364 A365 A366 A367 A368 A369 A370 A371 A372 A373 A374 A375 A376 A377 A378 A379 A380 A381 A382 A383 A384 A385 A386 A387 A388 A389 A390 A391 A392 A393 A394 A395 A396 A397 A398 A399 A400 A401 A402 A403 A404 A405 A406 A407 A408 A409 A410 A411 A412 A413 A414 A415 A416 A417 A418 A419 A420 A421 A422 A423 A424 A425 A426 A427 A428 A429 A430 A431 A432 A433 A434 A435 A436 A437 A438 A439 A440 A441 A442 A443 A444 A445 A446 A447 A448 A449 A450 A451 A452 A453 A454 A455 A456 A457 A458 A459 A460 A461 A462 A463 A464 A465 A466 A467 A468 A469 A470 A471 A472 A473 A474 A475 A476 A477 A478 A479 A480 A481 A482 A483 A484 A485 A486 A487 A488 A489 A490 A491 A492 A493 A494 A495 A496 A497 A498 A499 A500 A501 A502 A503 A504 A505 A506 A507 A508 A509 A510 A511 A512 A513 A514 A515 A516 A517 A518 A519 A520 A521 A522 A523 A524 A525 A526 A527 A528 A529 A530 A531 A532 A533 A534 A535 A536 A537 A538 A539 A540 A541 A542 A543 A544 A545 A546 A547 A548 A549 A550 A551 A552 A553 A554 A555 A556 A557 A558 A559 A560 A561 A562 A563 A564 A565 A566 A567 A568 A569 A570 A571 A572 A573 A574 A575 A576 A577 A578 A579 A580 A581 A582 A583 A584 A585 A586 A587 A588 A589 A590 A591 A592 A593 A594 A595 A596 A597 A598 A599 A600 A601 A602 A603 A604 A605 A606 A607 A608 A609 A610 A611 A612 A613 A614 A615 A616 A617 A618 A619 A620 A621 A622 A623 A624 A625 A626 A627 A628 A629 A630 A631 A632 A633 A634 A635 A636 A637 A638 A639 A640 A641 A642 A643 A644 A645 A646 A647 A648 A649 A650 A651 A652 A653 A654 A655 A656 A657 A658 A659 A660 A661 A662 A663 A664 A665 A666 A667 A668 A669 A670 A671 A672 A673 A674 A675 A676 A677 A678 A679 A680 A681 A682 A683 A684 A685 A686 A687 A688 A689 A690 A691 A692 A693 A694 A695 A696 A697 A698 A699 A700 A701 A702 A703 A704 A705 A706 A707 A708 A709 A710 A711 A712 A713 A714 A715 A716 A717 A718 A719 A720 A721 A722 A723 A724 A725 A726 A727 A728 A729 A730 A731 A732 A733 A734 A735 A736 A737 A738 A739 A740 A741 A742 A743 A744 A745 A746 A747 A748 A749 A750 A751 A752 A753 A754 A755 A756 A757 A758 A759 A760 A761 A762 A763 A764 A765 A766 A767 A768 A769 A770 A771 A772 A773 A774 A775 A776 A777 A778 A779 A780 A781 A782 A783 A784 A785 A786 A787 A788 A789 A790 A791 A792 A793 A794 A795 A796 A797 A798 A799 A800 A801 A802 A803 A804 A805 A806 A807 A808 A809 A810 A811 A812 A813 A814 A815 A816 A817 A818 A819 A820 A821 A822 A823 A824 A825 A826 A827 A828 A829 A830 A831 A832 A833 A834 A835 A836 A837 A838 A839 A840 A841 A842 A843 A844 A845 A846 A847 A848 A849 A850 A851 A852 A853 A854 A855 A856 A857 A858 A859 A860 A861 A862 A863 A864 A865 A866 A867 A868 A869 A870 A871 A872 A873 A874 A875 A876 A877 A878 A879 A880 A881 A882 A883 A884 A885 A886 A887 A888 A889 A890 A891 A892 A893 A894 A895 A896 A897 A898 A899 A900 A901 A902 A903 A904 A905 A906 A907 A908 A909 A910 A911 A912 A913 A914 A915 A916 A917 A918 A919 A920 A921 A922 A923 A924 A925 A926 A927 A928 A929 A930 A931 A932 A933 A934 A935 A936 A937 A938 A939 A940 A941 A942 A943 A944 A945 A946 A947 A948 A949 A950 A951 A952 A953 A954 A955 A956 A957 A958 A959 A960 A961 A962 A963 A964 A965 A966 A967 A968 A969 A970 A971 A972 A973 A974 A975 A976 A977 A978 A979 A980 A981 A982 A983 A984 A985 A986 A987 A988 A989 A990 A991 A992 A993 A994 A995 A996 A997 A998 A999 A1000 A1001 A1002 A1003 A1004 A1005 A1006 A1007 A1008 A1009 A1010 A1011 A1012 A1013 A1014 A1015 A1016 A1017 A1018 A1019 A1020 A1021 A1022 A1023 A1024 A1025 A1026 A1027 A1028 A1029 A1030 A1031 A1032 A1033 A1034 A1035 A1036 A1037 A1038 A1039 A

It was originally published in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, Pt. ii., p. 45 ff., Pl. xviii., by W. Fröhner, who deciphered it as follows: 'Εξώτρα μ' ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Φὸς Φούρου μεγαλοιο | χάλκεον ᾧ νίκασε Κεφαλ(λ)ᾶνας γαθύμους. Exotra, he thought, was a muscular Doric maiden who had proved more than a match for the high-souled Kephallenians in some local sports! But, apart from the intrinsic improbability of the case, the first word can only be read as 'Εξώτρα if we take the fifth and sixth letters to be Ϻ ⊥ not Q|; and this—as a careful examination of the bronze itself will show—is inadmissible: the extra strokes below Q| are apparently due to a false start, to say nothing of the supposed ⊥ being upside down. Blass in the *Jahrb. f. Philologie*, cxliii. p. 588 f., relying perhaps on an inaccurate transcript of the legend such as that in *Inscr. Gr. Septentr.* vol. iii. pt. i. p. 141, No. 649 (which has Ϻ for ϺϺ), read the initial name as Εὔσοῖδα or Εὐσώδα, a masc. nom. with omission of final -s. That -s has been omitted is indeed highly probable. The dropping of this letter at the end of a word, not only when the next word begins with στ, σπ, σφ (Meisterhans, *Gram. d. Att. Inscr.*² p. 69 f.), or with a vowel (Reinach, *Épigraphie grecque*, p. 326, n.), but before vowels and consonants indifferently, is fairly frequent in Greek inscriptions (e.g. a Leucadian inser. from Dodona in Roberts, i. 131, No. 105, Φιλοκλείδα(ς) ὁ Δαμοφίλου Λευκάδιος Διὶ Ναῖω; a Locrian inser. from Oeanthea, *ib.* i. 236,

No. 231, A 21, τοῖς Ὑποκναμίδις; an Elean inscr., *ib.* i. 294, No. 297, 5, τοὶ μάντιες(s). καὶ; and the vases in Klein, *Die Gr. Vas. m. Lieblingsinschr.*, p. 50, Ἰπ(π)οτέλη(s) καλός(s); p. 78, Λέαγρο(s) εἰ(ι) καλός; p. 88, Δυσικλῆς(s) καλός; p. 89, Χαίρια(s) καλός; p. 99, Χαίρε-στρατο(s) καλός, &c.): in fact it is often comparable with what Havet calls 'l's latin caduc,' which owing to imperfect pronunciation was frequently dropped in early inscriptions (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 108, 123, Stolz (Müller, *Handb. Lat. Gram.*, p. 316 f.). On the spirant σ as 'beweglicher Auslaut,' see further Kühner-Blass, i. 296 ff. But, however that may be, the name on our quoit is not Εὔσοιδα(s) or Εὐσώιδα(s) but Ἐχσοῖδα, that is Ἐξοῖδα(s). With this reading Fröhner well compared a Corinthian inscription (Roberts, i. 124, No. 90, 47), Φυλοῖδας μ' ἀνέθηκε, where Φυλοῖδας, 'he of the swollen eyes' (κυλοιδίαν), obviously denotes a personal peculiarity, and the name Οἶδας (Eustath. *Il.* p. 445, 25, *alib.*), which would be related to οἰδαίνω as Κάλχας to καλχαίνω. Add Οἰδί-πους. Perhaps, then, Ἐξοῖδας is a nickname formed from ἐξοδαίνω, ἐξοιδέω: the word would be suitable enough to a brawny athlete, cp. Philostrat. *Imagg.* p. 882, βρα-χίονας ἐξωδγκότας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰς εἰρεσίαν ξυντόνου, Theocr. *Id.* i. 43, ὧδέ οἱ ᾠδήκанти κατ' αἰχένα πάντοθεν ἴνες. A well known instance of such a sobriquet being seriously adopted is Πλάτων. Another may be Βύβων, the name of an athlete inscribed on an oval stone that he had raised above his head with one hand (Roberts, i. 196, No. 167, found at Olympia): this is obviously to be connected with βυβός, 'big' (*Etym. Mag.* 216, 56, Σώφρων βυβὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ μεστὰ καὶ πλήρη καὶ μεγάλα, Hesych. βυβὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τάσσεται, Anaxandrid. *Protes. frag.* 1, 5, βυβακάλους, 'monstrous fine'). But, whatever be the correct explanation of the name Ἐξοῖδας, the man celebrated his victory in a Kephallenian quoit-contest by dedicating his quoit to the Dioseuri and inscribing on it a heroic couplet, which incorporates, as Fröhner pointed out, two scraps of Epic verse (*Hom. hymn.* xxxiii. 9, Διὸς κούρους μέγαλοιο, *Il.* ii. 631, Κεφαλλῆνας μεγαθύμους), and should therefore be transcribed Φούρου... μεγαθύμους rather than Φώρου...μεγαθύμους (*Inscr. Gr. Septentr. l.c.*).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

ἈΠΟΑΣΙΣ ἘΤΕΝΝΕΥΣ.

THE name of Ἀπόασις Ἐτεννεύς, the captain mentioned in the most interesting inscription published by Mr. H. R. Hall in the June number of the *Classical Review*, p. 274, is already known as occurring in Greek epigraphy.

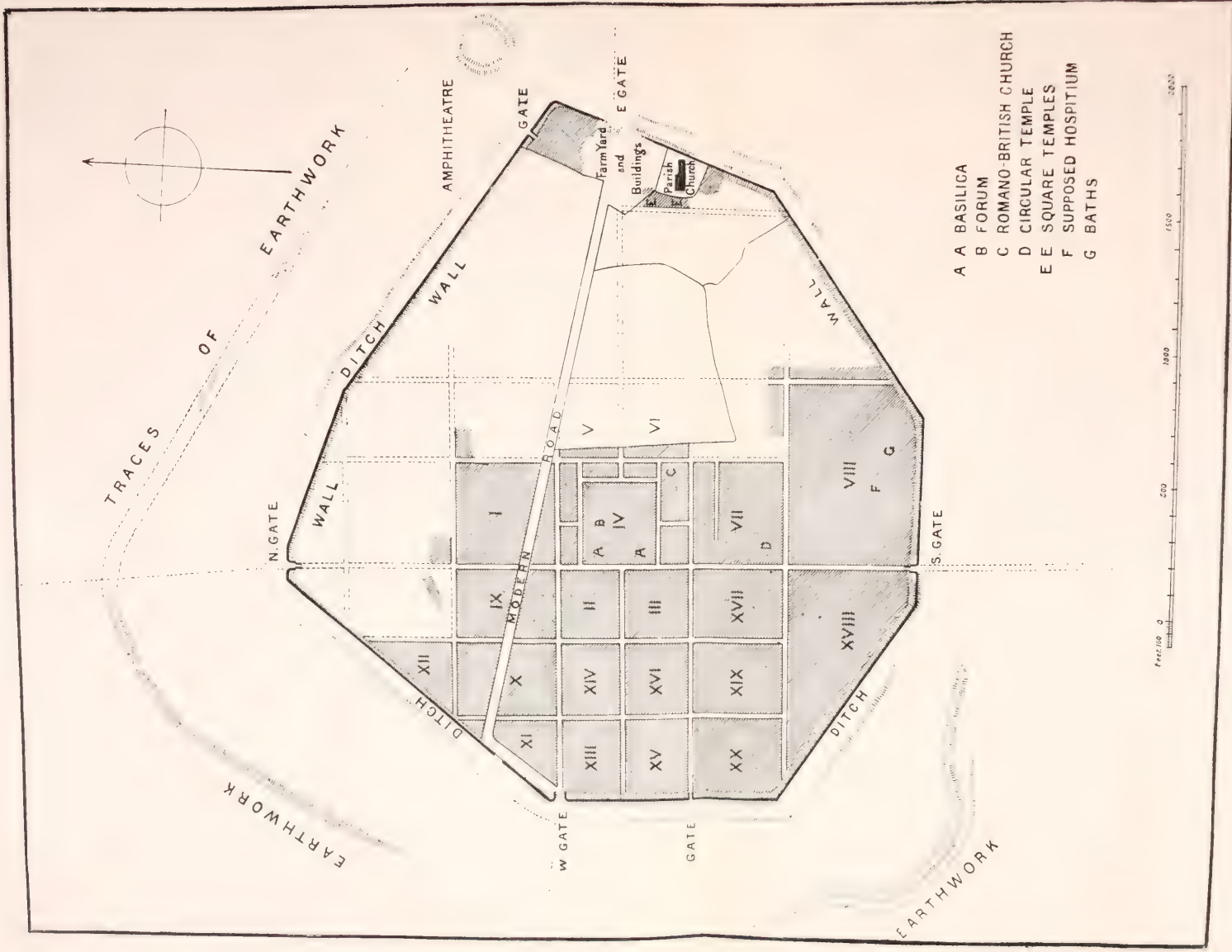
Neroutsos Bey, in his *Ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 115, mentions an Alexandrian sepulchral vase bearing the following inscription:—

ΡΩΙΙΣ ΑΠΟΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΤΕΝΝΕΥΣ

It belongs to the series of inscribed sepulchral vases which were accidentally discovered in the necropolis of Khâdrah (Eleusis) in the east of the city of Alexandria. An account of the tombs found there, and a short description of many of the sepulchral vases, are given by Neroutsos Bey, *ibid.* p. 162. A certain number of these vases having passed into M. Feuardent's collection at New York, the late Aug. C. Merriam published a paper on them in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, i. p. 18. As the inscriptions prove, these vases contained the ashes of Greeks and other strangers who had died at Alexandria; for the most part they were apparently persons of some distinction. Besides other ambassadors, leaders of *theoriae*, and military officers, we find amongst them Timasitheos from Rhodes, known also, as Mr. E. Preuner showed (*Hermes*, 1894, p. 534²), by an inscription from Iasos now in the British Museum, No. 441¹; Sotion from Delphi;² Theondas from Samothrake. As to the last named, it has not yet been remarked, as far as I know, that a Theondas is mentioned by Titus Livius, xlv. 5, as 'summus magistratus—regem ipsi appellat' at Samothrake in 168 B.C., and occurs also on a coin of Samothrake recently published by Mr. N. B. Phardys in the *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, 1898, p. 258; it would be risky however to presume identity before particular inquiry. It is not my in-

¹ Some improvements on the text published in the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, and reprinted in Ch. Michel's *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 431, have been given in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1898, p. 233.

² Cf. U. Wilcken, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 142; M. L. Strack, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1898, p. 413. I have to thank Mr. H. Pomtow for kindly informing me that he considers Ζωρίων Κλέωνος as a brother of Πασίων Κλέωνος, named as manumissor in an inscription from Delphi (Wescher-Foucart, *Inscriptions de Delphes* 159) and as living therefore in the first half of the second century B.C.



KEY PLAN OF SILCHESTER, 1898.

Arranged from the Ordnance Survey Maps with additions the cancelled portions indicated by hatched lines.

tention, in this short notice, to discuss either the date or the further importance of these interesting monuments, seeing that Mr. Preuner has recently promised a monograph on the subject. It will be sufficient to state that the father of Roizis from Etenna, who died at Alexandria, is very probably the captain Apoasis who was sent by Ptolemy IV. Philopator with Alexandros from Oronna for elephant-hunting in about 208 B.C.

ADOLF WILHELM.

Athens.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM SAMOS.

THE following inscription was found recently in the *agora* of the ancient town of Samos, in the course of a small excavation made to obtain stones for building purposes. Such excavations are permitted by the Samian Government, which last year refused Mr. Sarre's offer to excavate the Heraion by imposing prohibitive terms.

On a basis of blue marble, h. 1.44 m., w. 0.39, th., .30. The stone is complete, the upper surface is left rough. It cannot, of course, have supported a statue of any size—most probably it supported a plinth with a statue or other object of bronze of modest dimensions.

Above, in letters 0.026 high, with small apices:—

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΠΠΟΥ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΩΝ
ΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ

'Αριστομένης 'Αριστίππου ἀγορανόμων τῷ δήμῳ.

Below, in letters 0.011 high, without apices:—

ΙΟΙΘΟΣΙΙΙΙΝΟΔΟΡΟΥΑΡΙΑΙΑΘΕΥΣ
ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

...ιθος [Μη]νοδώρου 'Αρια[ρ]αθεὺς ἐποίησε.

The condition of the stone is such that I cannot read the name of the artist. The letters *ιθος* seem to me certain, and the first stroke seems to be part of a K or B, so that *Κοιθος* or *Βοιθος* would suit. It is certainly not *Βόηθος*. The *Ι* before *Ι* is a little doubtful.

As far as I can discover this is the first occurrence in an inscription of the ethnic 'Αριαπαθεὺς. The town, which is supposed

to have been founded during the reign of Antiochus IV. (B.C. 175–164), was in the neighbourhood of Caesarea. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 310. The character of the letters of this inscription points to a date circa 100 B.C., that of the signature, as is often the case, being intentionally old-fashioned. The man may well have been a relation of Menodorus of Mallos (Loewy, 306, 307); but it would be quite unsafe to assume this, as the name is such a common one.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS, Nov. 7th, 1898.

EXCAVATIONS AT SILCHESTER.

BEFORE commencing any account of the excavations which have been, and are still being carried on, upon the site of the Roman town at Silchester, a few words of preface may not be deemed unnecessary, giving a short description of the situation of the spot, and the reasons for a resumption of the work of exploration begun in 1864, which had come to an end in 1884.

On the sloping side of a table land, close to the extreme northern limits of Hampshire, about half way between the towns of Reading and Basingstoke, lies an area of a hundred acres, bounded by the remains of a massive wall of Roman construction backed by a bank of earth, and defended outside by a ditch of considerable width. The area thus encircled is in shape an irregular octagon. Beyond, and roughly parallel to the Roman wall, and at a short distance from it, a bank with accompanying fosse may be traced to the north and west. Possibly this, when perfect, lay all round the Roman area, except on the south, where, for some distance, the ground is low and marshy. The external ring of entrenchment is conjectured to represent the chief fortress of the Belgic tribe of the Atrebatas, while the later walled enclosure of a hundred acres within it contained the Roman town, called in the Antonine Itinerary, *Calleva Atrebatum*.

Roman roads whose direction is well known ran through the site from east to west, and from north to south, and a Roman amphitheatre of the kind usual in Britain still exists near the extreme eastern angle of the town, the wall at this point being pierced with a gate giving access to it. Within the mural barrier, which had four principal gates, east, west, north and south,

the space is divided into two large fields (with a small piece of pasture), by a comparatively modern road traversing it obliquely from east to west. Just within the wall, where this road enters on the east side, stands an old manor house now devoted to farming purposes, and behind it, the church of the village of Silchester, the village itself lying a mile or more away. The church and manor house, together with some farm buildings, are the only buildings on the site.

Traces of the streets or roadways of the ancient town had been observed even as early as the reign of Henry VIII. These streets being formed of hardened gravel, the corn crops grown upon the area containing them showed, and still show, the direction of their lines by stunted growth and discolouration, and reveal the fact that the town was divided into rectangular blocks of varying size. The guiding lines for setting out the blocks were the main ways between the north and south, and east and west gates. The traces of the different roadways were seen by the officers of the Ordnance Survey, who noted them on their maps of the site, and from the indications thus laid down, the method of carrying forward the present excavations has been evolved.

So much for the site, which from time to time has attracted the attention of antiquaries, but toward the exploration of which little was attempted until the latter half of this century. In the year 1744 it is true, in some random diggings near the *forum*, a stone was turned up with an inscription upon it, which had relation to a local divinity, the Hercules of the Segontiaci, and later, in 1833, a portion of a building was uncovered; after this the place sunk into forgetfulness until 1864. In that year the late Rector of Strathfieldsaye, the Rev. J. Gerald Joyce, by the desire and at the suggestion of the then Duke of Wellington, on whose property Silchester is situated, began excavations on the site of the Roman town, which were continued through subsequent years. He examined various spots within the surrounding wall, and succeeded in finding and uncovering the foundations of the *forum* and *basilica*, some houses, and a polygonal temple. The north and south gates were also partially dug out, together with what remained of the east gate. The investigations were very slowly pursued from 1864 to 1878. In that year Mr. Joyce died, but the work of excavation was continued through the exertions of the present rectors of Strathfieldsaye and Sil-

chester, and by those of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price. A large building in the south of the area, and an establishment of baths were unearthed, with two more houses, but after the year 1884 further excavation entirely ceased.

These explorations, as far as they had gone, had been by far the most important made as yet for the elucidation of the Roman period in this country, and it was with regret that students of that period saw them brought to an end. Few sites of Roman towns in Britain offered such facilities for excavation. The place was very easy of access, empty of buildings, and of the troublesome subdivisions of hedges, and the remains were only at a slight depth beneath the surface of the soil. Its limits also were clearly defined by the ancient Roman wall still to be traced throughout its circuit. Under these circumstances it was felt that a beginning had been made of what promised to be a considerable and fruitful work and that some effort should be attempted to carry on what had been so fairly begun. With this object, two members of the Society of Antiquaries of London,¹ brought the matter before that Society early in the year 1890, and so well were the proposals received which they then made, that, permission being accorded by the present Duke of Wellington for continuing the examination of the site, a committee of management was speedily formed, and subscriptions were obtained sufficient to enable the committee to begin work at Silchester in the month of May of the same year. From 1890 until the present year the work has been continued without break, during the six summer months of each year, under the daily personal superintendence of one or other of the members of the committee. The former practice of random digging was abandoned for a more systematic method. The division of the ancient town into rectangular spaces by the roadways previously mentioned, suggested to the present explorers the following plan, viz. to take one or more of these spaces, generally occupying from three to five acres and thoroughly trench the blocks thus selected at intervals of twelve feet or less. Then, after all the foundations uncovered in the area taken had been planned, notes, drawings, and photographs made of all details, and the objects found carefully stored, to fill in the trenches again and restore the land to the

¹ The writer of the present paper and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, the Assistant-Secretary of the Society.

tenant from whom it had been temporarily rented.

In this way it was expected that every building in the town, or rather the foundations of every building, for little more remained, would be explored, and nothing it contained could be overlooked. This plan was adopted with results to be described later on. Each rectangular space was denominated an *insula*, and numbered in the order in which it was excavated, for purposes of reference. (See plan of site showing positions of *insulae*).

The excavations were not undertaken with the mere view (only too common a one), of amassing the hundred and one objects of various kinds which such a site was likely to produce. These objects it was known would be sure to be turned up in the course of the work. The intentions of the present explorers were, to expose and plan all that remained of the fabric of the Roman town, and to search for inscriptions in its ruins. With this idea therefore, when the work was once commenced, every architectural fragment, or any detail found in the buildings bearing on their construction, was carefully preserved, and from such fragments it has been possible to form deductions as to the elevations of some of the chief structures of the Roman town. The search for inscriptions on stone or metal has, at present however, had only slight results, but as a considerable portion of the general area yet remains unexamined, there are still chances of better fortune in this respect.

The first portion of the site taken for operations by the committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund in the opening season of 1890, was a large block, *insula* I., directly north of that containing the *forum*. A large house lay in the north-west corner of this block. It had already been uncovered and planned by Mr. Joyce in the year 1865, but was now re-planned with some interesting results, and drawings were made, for the first time, of the columns and bases from it. The trenching soon brought to light a still larger dwelling in the north-east corner of the *insula*. Both houses were built in courtyard form. In the first, the rooms with their corridors of communication lined three sides of a square, the fourth side being open, in the second, the arrangement was the same, except that on the south the courtyard was closed by a corridor communicating with the ranges of rooms east and west, which were prolonged southward as wings. The chambers of both houses had been floored with mosaic pavements, for the most part

of simple character, composed of tesserae averaging something over an inch square, and in the larger house, fragments of coloured wall plaster were turned up, showing that its different apartments had been decorated in the fashion common at the time. The buildings along the south end of this *insula* were much ruined, and from the fact that the modern road passed over a great portion of them, but little was discovered in this direction.

An examination of the ruins of the west gate of the town was included in this year's work. Only the lower portion of the walls remained, but they exhibited perfectly the plan of the gate, which was a double one consisting of two arches each twelve feet wide, bounded by small towers of slight projection containing guard-rooms entered from the town side. The whole structure was recessed to a depth of eighteen feet in the wall, so that a flanking defence might be obtained. This gate differed from the north and south gates, which had single arches only, and were much more deeply recessed from the general line of the wall than the west gate. The east had a similar plan to that of the west gate, and, from both possessing double entrances, it may be inferred that the main course of traffic was from east to west.

Towards the end of this season, trenches opened along the edge of the churchyard brought to light the *podia* of two square temples with the foundation walls of their respective *cellae* within them. The *cella* of the larger edifice showed a square of forty-two feet, with a *podium* seven feet high.

In the open spaces between the houses in the *insulae* many pits were found, and also some wells. Most of these pits served as receptacles for rubbish, and from them came the greater part of the minor antiquities collected. They also served occasionally as latrines. The first well found was towards the south-east angle of *insula* I.

No *insula* was without wells, which were of two different kinds. In the first, the surrounding earth was kept up by a square framework of boards, in the second, two long barrels, the lower resting on a stout framework, were sunk in the ground, one standing upon the other.

By the end of the first season it became evident to the committee that some arrangement would have to be made for housing and exhibiting the results of the excavations. The matter was therefore brought before the Duke of Wellington, to whom, as possessor of Silchester, all objects belong which

are found there. As it was not possible to house the antiquities on the site itself, it was the Duke's desire that they should be preserved in its near neighbourhood, but there were difficulties in so doing. At this juncture, the municipal authorities of the town of Reading, only eight miles from Silchester, expressed their readiness to find room in their museum for the remains, and these were in consequence deposited in the Reading museum on permanent loan. The Silchester collection at Reading was thus founded. It has gone on increasing year by year, until it bids fair to be one of the most important collections of Romano-British antiquities we possess, and that for two reasons; (1) that the objects it contains all come from the same site, and (2) that the architectural fragments serving to explain and illustrate the buildings of a Roman town in Britain, have here, for the first time, had that attention bestowed upon them which is their due, such fragments being generally regarded by the curators of our museums rather in the light of incumbrances than otherwise.

The second season (1891) was occupied with the exploration of the ground immediately west of the forum insula. Two blocks were taken for the purpose (*insulae* II. and III.). The buildings in *insula* II. were much ruined, but little remained even of foundations, save a small house at the south-west corner. The plan of this house showed a different type from that of the dwellings previously found: instead of being built round a courtyard, it consisted of a range of chambers with a corridor of communication lining one side of them. It should be remarked that these two types, viz. the house built round a courtyard, and the house consisting of a range of chambers with a corridor lining one or both sides, are the normal types of dwelling to be found at Silchester. Variations occur, but in almost every instance the plans of dwellings on this site may be referred to either one or other of these two types.

But little was found in *insula* III. with the exception of a small house grouped with foundations which appeared to be those of a set of baths such as might have belonged to a private proprietor for letting out to the public. Amongst the rubbish was turned up a fragment of a Purbeck marble slab with two or three well cut letters of an inscription upon it. Unfortunately nothing could be made out from them.

The third season (1892) opened with more important work than that of the previous

one, viz. with the re-examination of the *forum* and *basilica*, and the uncovering of the land to the north and south of them, all comprised in the space named *insula* IV. This *insula* lay at the intersection of the main roads through the town, and the public buildings occupied the central portion of it, the rest being either vacant ground, or showing here and there traces of habitations.

Although the remains of these public buildings had been completely dug out by the late Mr. Joyce between the years 1865 and 1873,¹ much needed to be done before it could be said that they had been exhaustively investigated. Portions of columns and other vestiges of the superstructures lay scattered about, and had been exposed to the destructive agencies of twenty winters, and the walling, unprotected by a covering of soil, had fallen into shapeless lines of decaying mortar and loose flints. The first task was to gather together what could be found of the superstructures, and then proceed to the necessary supplementary investigations.

The *basilica*, the largest building yet discovered on the site, was a hall 270 feet long by 58 feet wide. At each end it had an apse, and in the centre of its western side, a large apsidal chamber (with others left and right of it) opening in its entire width upon the hall. It was ascertained by the excavations of 1892 that this hall had been divided by colonnades into a central nave coinciding in width with the apses at each end, and with a narrow aisle on each side of it, but its present condition shows a subsequent division of the area into a wide nave with a single aisle on its eastern side, and, to meet the altered arrangement, a reduction of one, if not of both apses at the ends, into rectangular recesses. From the excavations made by Mr. Joyce, it was clearly ascertained that the edifice had been burnt down and re-erected in the latter form at some comparatively late time in the Roman period. It is certain that the interior of this great building had been adorned with painted stuccoes, and that probably the apses, together with the western apsidal chamber, had wall linings of a marble possibly brought from the Pyrenees; fragments of a marble of this description are scattered all over the area of Silchester, as well as pieces of the stone capitals of the

¹ Papers communicated to the Soc. of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Joyce on the excavations conducted by him at Silchester, may be found in *Archæologia* xl. 403, xlv. 329, 344.

columns of the colonnades. A part of a fine Corinthian capital was found by Mr. Joyce in the ruins of the *basilica*, another, in 1890, in uncovering the west gate (which had been dragged down there and used with other material for blocking one of its portals), and yet another, evidently a barbarous copy of earlier and better work, made no doubt at the time of the rebuilding, was saved from the farmyard where it had served for years as a horseblock. It would take up too much space to speak of the various objects turned up in the excavations. They make up an interesting list.

The *forum* adjoined the *basilica*, the east wall of that building forming its western limit. An open area of 142 feet by 130 feet was lined on three sides by a peristyle, the columns of which appear to have been spaced about 14 feet apart. They were of the Doric order, judging from the architectural details found in 1892, and earlier. Behind this peristyle, on three sides, lay a range of chambers. Outside all, another colonnade, resembling the internal one, surrounded the whole mass of buildings, including the *basilica*. On the north and east sides, these chambers were probably shops, but on the south side the range may have contained public offices, from the fact that two of the chambers have apsidal ends, and answer in a certain degree to the halls filling one end of the *forum* of Pompeii.

The entrance to the *forum* was in the centre of its eastern side. Here were uncovered the foundations of a gateway, perhaps adorned with semi-columns supporting an entablature and pediment. A much mutilated base was found in the *forum*, which was of a size to suit such a gateway, and the half capital of a Doric column, corresponding in dimensions with this base, lay exposed in the ruins of the south gate of the town. The two fragments may have formed part of one of the columns of this gateway. Like other masses of stone, it had probably been dragged out of the way to the gate to free the land for the plough. A former tenant of the farm is known to have thus removed such impediments from the centre of the area of the Roman town.

After the re-examination of *forum* and *basilica* came the trenching of the remaining space taken for the season, which included a strip of land close to the hedge of the single piece of pasture within the walls. This strip formed the extreme western edge of the *insulae* named V. and VI. It was fully built upon, but the foundations developed were those of houses, the main portions of

which lay further east, where nothing for the time could be attempted. Traces of buildings occurred in the ground to the north and south of the *forum* and *basilica*, but in the south-east angle of the *insula*, as the trenching proceeded, there was uncovered what at first sight appeared to be part of a large dwelling. The foundations, however, on further examination, turned out to be those of a small church, not a church of mediæval date, but one built in the Roman period. Its plan showed a *narthex* at the east end, a nave and aisles, and a semi-circular apse and rudimentary transepts at the west end. The whole length of the building was not more than 42 feet, and its width 27 feet. Remains of red tile tessellation covered the floor of the nave and apse, and, set in it, in front of the latter, a small square of finer mosaic in black and white marked without doubt the position of the altar. In the area in front of the eastern façade of the building were the remains of a masonry platform with a drain behind it, indicating where the laver for ablutions stood, and behind the apsidal end of the church was a boarded well. These remains were considered of such interest, that before they were covered again with earth, a model to scale was made of them. A model had also been previously made of the remains of the west gate.

A considerable portion of ground was examined in the following year (1893), extending from that worked out in the previous season to the wall of the town, on the south. It formed the *insulae* VII. and VIII. *Insula* IX. to the west of *insula* I., was also laid bare. In the first of the three blocks undertaken (VII.), three houses of the corridor type were uncovered, the largest showing evidence of having been rebuilt twice, and having a corridor on either side of its range of chambers. Much demolition has taken place in this area, and traces only of buildings could be detected. The whole of the southern half of it was vacant, with the exception of one small building, and the edifice uncovered by Mr. Joyce, and called by him a temple, which it probably was. All that remained of the latter were two concentric rings of foundations, the inner representing the *cella* (about thirty-six feet in diameter), the outer, the base of the surrounding colonnade. Nothing else could be made out.

Though little was to be found in *insula* VII., a building of considerable size had been discovered in the next area, *insula* VIII. Partly dug out by Mr. Joyce before

his death, the work was continued by his successors, who, however, left it unfinished. It was now completed. This edifice, of which the foundations had been laid bare at three different times, occupied the whole centre of the *insula*, and had the plan of a courtyard house. Chambers lined by corridors back and front extended round the north, west, and south sides of a court, second only in size to that of the *forum* itself. The fourth side of this large court was closed by a wall. No dwelling of this magnitude has as yet been found on the site, and from the disposition of the rooms in sets, from the ample proportions of the chambers heated by hypocausts, from the traces of what may have been stabling near it, and from its proximity to a principal gate of the town, there seemed a probability that it might have been a *hospitium*. It was also discovered that the establishment of baths (first opened in 1833 but not really explored until 1881) had formed an annexe of this large edifice, the courtyard of the baths having with it a common boundary wall on the west, and a passage-way to the baths from its southern corridor.

These baths, which exhibited the usual arrangements of a small establishment of the Roman period, had been very fully described and planned,¹ but the source of the water supply, and the method of drainage had yet to be sought. The former could not be determined with exactness, although when partial excavations were made near what appeared to be a reservoir, water rapidly rose. The latter was clearly determined, and there were traces of what seemed an ingenious arrangement for flushing the latrines with the waste water from the baths. The main drain passed eastwards to a sluice gate in the wall of the town, and discharged itself into the ditch.

One house dug out in *insula* VIII. so clearly showed in its plan the transition of a dwelling of the corridor type into that of one of the courtyard type, and was also so good a representative of the domestic buildings of the Roman town, that a model to scale was made of its remains, and added to the others previously mentioned, to be deposited with them in the Silchester collection in the Reading Museum.

Insula IX. contained no houses of any special interest, but it was noted that most of those which were here found, unlike those of the other *insulae*, lay at various angles within the area formed by the roadways,

and not along the sides, or at the angles, as was usually the case. From a pit in this space came a curious object which had been thrown into it, viz., a conical headed stone encircled at the base with mouldings of Roman character, having two lines of an Ogam inscription cut perpendicularly upon the upper portion. The inscription is conjectured to be sepulchral, and the spot where it was discovered, is the most easterly at which Ogam inscriptions have been found. (See a communication from Professor Rhys in *Archaeologia* liv. 233 *et seq.*).

The next year (1894) saw the work pursued in *insulae* X., XI. and XII., the two former of which lay along the north side of the main street from the *forum* to the west gate. The discoveries of this year were of peculiar interest, for it was believed that traces had been come upon of an industry practised over a considerable portion of the area inclosed by the town walls. The industry appeared to be that of dyeing. The *insulae* were in great measure unbuilt upon, but the open ground was riddled with water pits and wells, and dotted over with bases of the furnaces of dye vats. Along the main street lay, one after the other, the foundations of what had probably been the dyers' workshops. They showed with little variation a series of rectangular enclosures, each enclosure divided into three compartments, a shed with two chambers behind it. The shed in front contained occasionally a furnace, either of a long or circular shape, and in one instance, a well. It seems probable that the crude material of some of the dyes may have been prepared in some of the sheds, and stored in the adjoining chambers. There is a marked resemblance in what still remains of the circular furnaces at Silchester, with the dyers' furnaces at Pompeii. In diameter they coincide even to an inch.

The season of 1895 was occupied in the digging out of *insulae* XIII. and XIV. These were situated to the south of the main street, and below those just described. In *insula* XIV. lying next the town wall, traces of the dyers' workshops, and of the furnaces of the dye vats still continued, but the next block (XIII.) was filled by the remains of two mansions, both of the courtyard type, and the finest and largest dwellings yet found on the site. The first was of somewhat unusual arrangement. Its courtyard, or garden court, was completely surrounded by ranges of chambers, instead of being open on one side, or closed only by

¹ See *Archaeologia* l. 272 *et seq.*

a wall. The whole of the eastern side was occupied by a range of chambers, adorned with mosaic floors, geometric in character, but with no figure subjects in their various compartments. Three of these floors were raised and placed in the collection at Reading. Three hypocausts were found, one of which lay under one of the chambers with a tessellated pavement. At the upper end of the court or garden facing the southern entrance to the house, there had been erected a small building which, judging from the shape of the foundations, was probably an *aedicula* for the *lares*. Another curious discovery was made in the western corridor or peristyle of the same house. A shallow well was found which on being emptied disclosed the remains, in fair preservation, of a wooden force pump answering to the *Ctesibica Machina* of Vitruvius.

The second house was in some respects of greater interest than the first. The chambers lay round three sides of one courtyard, and extended as wings into a second, on the northern side. A long gallery formed a conspicuous feature of this house. It united the east and west sides of the mansion, and had been floored with panels and borders of coarse mosaic in inch square tesserae of tile and of a drab sandstone. At some period, into this pavement had been inserted square and oblong panels of finer work in different colours, but towards the western end the original work remained unaltered. Another pavement of the same coarse material had a pattern formed in concentric lines which, by their arrangement, seemed to indicate that the room thus decorated had served as a *triclinium*, the pattern marking out the place for the table and the couches round it.

Another curious discovery was that of a fireplace in one of the chambers, similar in form to those found in the Roman villa at Bignor in Sussex: fireplaces as a means of heating are very unusual in Romano-British houses.

A point of greater interest however, was the finding of a small chamber, recessed in the main peristyle, containing the footings of an *aedicula* similar to that uncovered in the court of the first house, chamber and shrine forming probably the *lararium* of the mansion. Fragments of the wall stuccoes showed that the little chamber had been adorned with delicate paintings on a clear blue ground, and loose black and white tesserae scattered in the earth proved the former existence of a mosaic floor. Up to this season the excavations had not revealed

the presence of any spot in the dwellings set apart for the worship of the domestic deities, although chambers projecting into the courtyards opposite the principal rooms of some of the houses might have contained altars and images of the *lares*.

The seventh season (1896) saw the work carried into *insulae* XV. and XVI. lying directly south of those just described. The dyers' furnaces, though not their sheds, still appeared, in fact were to be found here and there in all the areas abutting on the wall in the south-west quarter of the town. Houses mostly of the corridor type were uncovered in both *insulae*, but the chief discoveries of this season were those of another gate to the town (the 6th), and of a long conduit formed of wooden pipes running from the ditch outside it towards the *forum*, but stopping short in *insula* III., at a spot which has yet to be examined.

The gate was a single one, and at some late period had been reduced in width from over eleven to seven feet by a rude blocking. At the same period the roadway to it, within the town, had been raised. The causeway of approach, present at all the four gates, was absent here. The ditch must therefore have been crossed by a timber bridge. The presence of a mound in the ditch, twenty-two feet from the gate and in front of it, showed that the bridge had been so constructed that the portion of it nearest the entrance could be quickly removed in case of peril. This was a necessary measure, as the gate was only a simple archway, with no flanking defence whatever. The ditch at this point was eighty feet wide, and from twelve to thirteen feet deep.

Insulae XVII. and XVIII. lining part of the main way from the south gate to the *forum* were excavated in the season of 1897. Although the plans of some of the dwellings then found proved slightly exceptional, they for the most part followed the corridor type. Perhaps the most interesting discovery of this season was that of a small house with a large enclosure attached to it containing a double row of circular bases of flint rubble masonry. These bases, it is conjectured, had supported querns of large size. The enclosure had therefore been a sort of mill-house, the dwelling to which it was attached being that of the miller. A mill-stone of more than the ordinary size had been dug up in an adjoining *insula*, and a fragment of one was picked up in the place in question, facts helping to confirm the conjecture put forward.

It was remarked that in the two areas

under examination during this season, some of the houses had been rebuilt twice or even three times, each time with some alteration of plan. It is not unusual to find rebuilding on the site, but not often to the extent shown in these two *insulae*. It would not be a matter for surprise to come upon traces of far greater alterations than these, not only in the edifices of the town, but in its general laying out, when the long period of its existence is considered. Judging from the style of the architectural details turned up, more especially of those from the *basilica*, the town may have had an existence extending from the time of the Antonines, if not earlier, down to the end of the Roman rule in Britain, possibly even for half-a-century later.

In the ninth and present season (1898), three more *insulae* have been laid bare, and the remainder of the south-west quarter excavated. A house of large size with nearly perfect hypocausts to some of the winter rooms was uncovered early in the season. Within its courtyard the remains of an earlier house have been traced, in one of the chambers of which were fragments of a tessellated pavement. From the character of the ornament, this pavement may possibly be the earliest specimen of mosaic yet found here. The work of planning the various buildings found in the three *insulae* is proceeding (November) and the excavations are drawing to an end.

Before bringing this summary of work at Silchester to a close, it should be noted that upon the plans made each year, only those buildings are laid down of which definite traces of walling or foundations can be made out. Such a record, might by itself give the false impression that each *insula* had more ground unbuilt upon in it than was actually the case, but it must be observed that indefinite traces of dwellings or other structures, probably either half timbered, or of wood, or even of cob walling are to be found in all the areas excavated. These consist of the wreck of floors, beds of mortar, and masses of clay, and now and again patches of tiles as if from fallen roofs, all suggesting the former existence of various other and slighter erections than those whose walls were of flint rubble, which was the usual material employed for the better class of buildings.

The place has been a quarry for the whole country round through the long period which has elapsed from its extinction to the present time. The remains of many buildings have been rooted up to their very

foundations for the sake of their materials, and the wonder is that after thirteen centuries or more of pillage not so little, but so much remains.

Although more than half the site has now been explored, a considerable portion is not yet examined, and further discoveries of interest may be expected. It is doubtful if the public baths of the town have yet been found, for the structures associated with the supposed *hospitium* in *insula* VIII., are scarcely of the size and importance to be expected in a public establishment. Possibly also other churches, of equal if not larger proportions than that dug up near the *forum* may be met with, and the discovery of a theatre is not beyond the bounds of possibility. Besides this, there are still chances that the name of the town, and perhaps the form of its government, may be revealed by the recovery of some inscription. There is every reason, therefore, for proceeding with the excavations, and if subscriptions on the same scale as in past years continue to be forthcoming, there is a hope that the undertaking may be carried to an end, and the whole of the site exhaustively examined.

The general public, however, give but little aid, and it is, and has been, in great measure by the support of the Society of Antiquaries of London, both through grants from its research fund, and by the subscriptions of individual Fellows, that the Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund have been enabled thus far to carry forward their task of exploration.

The various objects of antiquity found each year are exhibited to the public, for a limited period, in the rooms of the Society at Burlington House, and a report of each past season's work is delivered to the Society to be published in the volume of its *Archæologia* of the following year, with full plans and illustrations. Drawings also of every architectural detail, or object relating to building construction, found on the site up to the present time, are deposited in the Society's library, where they can be seen for purposes of study.

This chronicle of the exploration of the Roman town at Silchester, extending over the last nine years, brief as it is, has left no space to discuss the value of the work which has been done. That value can best be estimated by a consideration of the information stored up in reports, plans, and drawings, which information is rendered available by the action of the Society of Antiquaries to all those who take any interest in

the history of the Roman period in this country.

GEORGE E. FOX.

THE 'TOMB OF ROMULUS.'

In the *Times* of Jan. 9, Mr. R. Norton of the American School in Rome gives an interesting though not unnaturally pessimistic account of the recent Government researches in the Forum; one of the most striking results of which is the uncovering of the pavement at the spot where Caesar fell. The *Chronicle* of Jan. 12 goes even one better, for 'our correspondent' announces the discovery of a 'tomb of black stone, inscribed with gold letters, near the arch of Septimius Severus' which it is suggested must be the tomb of Romulus.

The archaeology of press telegrams is usually more sensational than reliable; but in this case there is no *prima facie* reason for discrediting the whole story: it is not impossible that the 'niger lapis' of Festus has been found. The literary evidence of the existence in antiquity of some such monument is based upon: (i) the Festus passage, unfortunately incomplete: *niger lapis in comitio locum funestum significat, ut alii Romuli mortis destinatum sed non usu obv.....*; (ii) Dionys. Halic. i. 87 *τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν λίθινον ὃς ἔκειτο τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ Φαιστύλου τεθῆναι φασιν, ἐνθ' ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐρόντων ταφέντος*; (iii) the Schol. on Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 13 *Varro pro rostris sepulcrum Romuli dixit: ubi etiam in huius rei memoriam duos leones erectos fuisse constat: unde factus est ut pro rostris mortui laudarentur.*

From these passages it seems pretty certain that in the Comitium there was a spot near the rostra, identified by tradition as the place where either Faustulus or Romulus, or both, were buried: and that this spot was marked by a black stone, and possibly by one or two sculptured lions. Perhaps the 'niger lapis' was a natural stone, and sculpture (and even inscriptions, but not in gold letters), were added at a comparatively late period, when the tradition had become fixed.

The fact that the stone was black would seem to strengthen this view; natural stones or aerolites of this kind venerated in antiquity were almost always black. Such for instance was the lapis sacer brought to

Rome from Pessinus and worshipped as the mother of the gods (Liv. xxix. 14). The most usual association of such stones was with Cybele or Rhea (cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 137): and one is tempted to think that the association of such a stone with Romulus may have been partly due to the supposed connection of his mother with Rhea. M. S. Reinach in his *Monuments de Pierre Brute* p. 63, dismisses, as of recent origin, the popular idea that dolmens are tombs: but that it may have obtained in popular credence, seems clear from the frequent designation of these stones as tombs of giants, tombs of gentiles, and so forth.

The mention of the lion or lions marking the niger lapis of Romulus would further connect this with the cult of the mother of the gods; the lion is found in a similar association in the curious story of the baitylos of Elagabalus ('the mountain god') at Emesa in Syria. The story is given in the life of Isidore by Damascius, as quoted by Photius: he describes how Eusebius saw a ball of fire fall from on high, and a great lion standing beside it; the ball turned out to be the baitylos, a spherical stone sometimes white, sometimes dark coloured, with peculiar properties: on being interrogated by the pious Eusebius it answered 'that it belonged to the "noble one": now the "noble one" is worshipped by the Heliopolites in the temple of Zeus, where they have set up an image of a lion.'

* * * *

Since the above note was written, a further statement has appeared in the *Athenaeum* of Jan. 21, describing the discovery of what 'is thought to be no less an interesting monument than the sepulchre which, it is recorded by Festus and Varro, King Romulus caused to be prepared for himself.' It consists, so the writer says, of a rectangular space, measuring 3 m. 7 c. by 4 m., paved with white-veined black marble solid blocks, and is situated fifteen yards S.E. of the arch of Septimius Severus, in front of the Curia. This position scarcely seems to accord with the expressions 'pro rostris' or *παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις*, which, as indications of locality, acquire additional point from the statement of the Schol. as to the association of funeral panegyrics with the rostra. Nor would the term 'niger lapis' naturally lead us to expect a pavement of variously sized blocks, measuring some 130 square feet. It is said that the

pavement is to be opened up: until this is done and further evidence procured, it would be safer to consider the niger lapis as not yet identified.

C. S.

ANGELOPOULOS ON THE PIRAEUS.

H. I. Ἀγγελόπουλος. Περὶ Πειραιῶς καὶ τῶν λιμένων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους. Ἐν Αθήναις, 1898.

M. ANGELOPOULOS is an engineer who has been charged with the construction of docks and other works in the modern harbour of the Piraeus; and he has in consequence had an exceptional opportunity of realising the conditions as to prevailing winds, depth, conformation of shore, and other circumstances that affected the ancient harbours also. He has reconsidered the problems of the ancient topography with the help of his practical knowledge; and he has arrived at some interesting and valuable results, most of them widely different from the theories of recent topographers.

It is no small confirmation of the correctness of the author's views that they come very near to those of Col. Leake.

With Leake, and against almost all recent topographers, M. Angelopoulos places the old harbour of Phalerum, the only port of Athens in the time before Themistocles, at Port Phanari, not at Old Phalerum. This view affects the position of the Phaleric Wall also, which runs from the city wall to the nearest point of the Piraeic peninsula. Thus we escape the absurdity seen in all modern plans, of two walls of fortification, the Long and the Phaleric, enclosing a triangle, of which the base is the accessible and undefended sandy beach of the Phaleric bay—an arrangement that contrasts strangely with the care shown in fortifying the whole contour of the rocky peninsula of the Piraeus.

The next question is the identification of the three military ports, Munychia, Zea, and Cantharus. These are usually placed respectively, by recent topographers, at Port Phanari, Pachalimani, and somewhere in the Great Piraeus Harbour. Now both the two small harbours mentioned contain remains of galley-slips, which can be measured, and their total contour can also be measured; while we know from inscriptions the precise number of slips that were

constructed in each of the ports—82, 196, and 94. Now Port Phanari cannot hold 82 galley-slips, because it is not big enough; therefore it cannot be Munychia; nor can Pachalimani hold 196; therefore it cannot be Zea. It seems incredible that these obvious facts should hitherto have been overlooked; but, if M. Angelopoulos' measurements are right, they cannot be disputed. He himself places Munychia at Pachalimani, Cantharus between the Royal Garden and the Custom House, and Zea in the innermost part of the harbour of Piraeus, shut off by the Diazeugma—a mole with a swing bridge in it.

M. Angelopoulos' topographical arguments are excellent, and they are made easy to follow by a list of extracts from ancient authors which appears very complete. But his work shows some defects of detail. When he criticises the accepted view as to the Phaleric wall, he dwells on the difficulty of reconciling with it Thucydides' statement that this wall was thirty-five stades long; but he leaves untouched the fact that the Piraeic wall was forty, while on his own restored plan the Piraeic and Phaleric walls are just the same length. An explanation may be forthcoming, but one is certainly wanted. And he sometimes wishes to give impossible meanings to classical Greek words, e.g. διάζευγμα, 'a ζεύγμα broken by a cut,' and διοικοδομεῖν in Thuc. viii. 90 'to separate off by building.' On the whole, it must be admitted that M. Angelopoulos has made a most important contribution to Attic topography; and his work illustrates the advantage which practical experience often has over theoretical discussion.

It should be added that a French summary makes M. Angelopoulos' arguments accessible to those who do not read Modern Greek.

E. A. GARDNER.

WOODHOUSE'S AETOLIA.

Aetolia—its geography, topography and antiquities. By W. J. WOODHOUSE, M.A., F.R.G.S. Oxford, 1897. 21s. net.

THIS book, published in sumptuous form by the Clarendon Press, must rank as an important contribution to the history and topography of a district of Greece unknown to the ordinary traveller. Though Leake,

Bazin, and others, had identified many sites and made valuable topographical studies, there was still room for a thorough and systematic description of the country, with a discussion of the historical and topographical problems involved. This task Mr. Woodhouse has performed on the spot and at his leisure; and the result is a credit to the British School at Athens, of which he was a student, and also to the band of archaeological geographers of which Prof. Ramsay is the most eminent example. In dealing with many military and topographical questions, Mr. Woodhouse shows a familiarity with the country and a sound common-sense that make his statements convincing and, in all probability, final.

In order to criticise Mr. Woodhouse's work in detail, it would be necessary to travel through the country with his book; but his descriptions throughout bear the mark of careful and accurate observation. The photographic illustrations are well chosen and admirably reproduced, and form a most pleasing as well as valuable addition to the work. The plans are extremely sketchy and lacking in detail; this is a feature one might readily forgive, if only such plans were given in much greater profusion; in a book of this nature one really might expect more than a dozen of them. Mr. Woodhouse's note-books must be full of material from which sketch-plans like these might be multiplied almost indefinitely; and they would have made it much easier to follow his descriptions, and would even have made some of them superfluous.

The materials offered both by ancient writers and by inscriptions are scanty in the case of Aetolia; but Mr. Woodhouse has made the most of them, and supplemented them by his thorough and apparently complete description of all extant remains and of the geographical and topographical conditions. He has a distinct gift for description, which, if it is sometimes too flowery in character, lends vividness and variety to his work. Perhaps what it is useful to know about Aetolia might have been compressed into less than 400 large pages; but it is often difficult to decide what may or may not prove useful to future investigators; and an equally exhaustive treatment of other districts of Greece would be a most valuable acquisition to the geographer and to the historian.

E. A. GARDNER.

PERSICHETTI ON THE VIA CAECILIA.

IN the '*Bullettino del Istituto Archeologico Germanico*,' 1898, fasc. iii. pp. 193-226 (with map plate vii.), appears an article by Signor Persichetti '*Alla ricerca della Via Caecilia*.' The occasion of this article is Dr. Hülsen's recension of *C.I.L.* vi. 3824 (which had been referred to the Via Salaria by Mommsen in *Eph. Epigr.* ii. p. 199), in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, p. 87 sqq.

In l. 2 for *in censu* *ra Caecili* Hülsen reads [*v*] *ia Caecilia*.

The road was not previously known to exist.

The topographical indications given by the inscription are:

(1) that there was a bridge over a river at the 35th mile.

(2) that the Apennine Chain was crossed before the 98th mile.

(3) that a branch road for Interamnium turned off between the 98th and the 120th (?) miles.

Signor Persichetti, who, in his '*Viaggio Archeologico sulla via Salaria*' (1893), has done much for the topography of that road, has now made a journey along the course of the Via Caecilia as conjecturally traced by Hülsen, which his researches have shown to be in the main correct, though this route from Rome to Amiternum has been found to have been, not shorter, but longer and more difficult than the journey by the branch of the Via Salaria which diverges to the right at Interocrium, and which is probably of later date.

The starting point of Persichetti's journey is the assumed divergence of the Via Caecilia from the Salaria at the 35th mile, after crossing the Venella, a tributary of the Farfa: and here, a few yards from the modern Ponte Buido, are remains of an ancient bridge, which Persichetti considers to have been common to the two roads. (In that case, why is it spoken of in the inscription as if the Caecilia alone passed over it? and why has it the smaller width (3 mètres) which Persichetti attributes to this road as distinguished from the Salaria?) The position of the 35th mile is fixed by the findspot of two milestones numbered 31 (*C.I.L.* ix. 5943, 5944).

The Via Caecilia must now have diverged to the right, passing under Monteleone (Tre-bula Mutuesca) and Rocca Sinibalda, where Persichetti found a milestone—the inscription wanting—and crossing the Torano by a bridge of which remains still exist. From this point to the Salto Valley traces of the

road are absent, except at Longone, where a short branch diverges to the right, and at S. Salvatore: in fact, it does not reappear until beyond Capradosso (Cliternia) 650 m. above sea-level, where it was found (and destroyed) when the modern road was made. After a few miles it is again lost, until the cutting made for it at the Portella 1150 m., where it crosses the mountains into Sabine territory, is reached. The next trace of it is not found until, just E. of Vigliano (Fisternae) 880 m., it crosses the branch of the Via Salaria from Interocrium to Amiternum. Here the Ponte Nascoso, a bridge constructed in a style of transition between polygonal and quadrilateral work (Persichetti, *Via Salaria*, p. 128 *sqq.*) indicates the existence of an older and narrower road, which ran almost parallel with the Salaria to Amiternum. Traces of it have been found further on, paved with large blocks (*op. cit.* p. 139), whereas the inscription speaks of the graveling of this section of the Via Caecilia. If then, as is probable, this road is the Caecilia, it must have been paved at a later period.

After Amiternum the Salaria follows the older line of the Caecilia.¹ Traces of the road are remembered near Amiternum, but soon fail—though the modern road must follow the course of the ancient one—and do not reappear until the Apennine Chain has been passed. Here, shortly before the Vomano Valley is entered, near Porcinaro, two parallel lines of travertine (which is not a local stone) 2.60 m. apart, exist for a length of 292 m. The construction of this buried causeway resembles that of Ponte Nascoso. A little further on are similar remains.

According to the inscription the 98th mile should fall on the E. side of the Apennine Chain: and this it would do, if Persichetti's calculation of the distance from Rome to Amiternum by the Caecilia at 85 miles is correct. In this case the 104th milestone found at Poggio Umbricchio, 23 miles from Amiternum, which dates from the time of Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian (*C.I.L.* ix.

5958), belongs to a later measurement of the road, after the construction of the branch of the Salaria from Interocrium, by which the distance from Rome to Amiternum was precisely 81 miles.

At this point Persichetti's researches cease. The road has, however, been traced by Prof. Barnabei (*Bullettino dell' Ist. Arch. Germ.* 1888, p. 12), to Montorio and thence to Interamnium (Teramo) on the left, and along the valley of the Vomano, where it still bears the name Salaria, to the right. Hülsen (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, p. 97), conjectures that the milestone of L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus (consul 117 B.C.) numbered 119, which was found—certainly not in its original position—at S. Omero (*C.I.L.* ix. 5953), may belong to the branch of the Via Caecilia which ran to Interamnium, in which case it was from this Caecilius that the road took its name.

The traces of the Via Caecilia are, it is true, few and far between: but, considering the mountainous character of the district traversed, and the continual destruction of ancient remains for modern use, the facts adduced by Signor Persichetti give, at the least, a strong probability to his conclusions.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Corinth.—Near the temple of Apollo the American excavators have found the old spring of Peirene, with an enclosing wall and semicircular terrace, originally decorated with numerous statues, the bases of which are still preserved. It was restored in Roman times, and four statues of that date have been discovered. The fountain consisted of six chambers hewn in the rock, one of them being still supplied with water. An inscription containing the word Πιπέν renders the identification quite certain.¹

Syra.—On a hill near the village of Chalandriani a wall has come to light, with five towers, forming part of a fortified position of pre-historic date. Within were chambers containing clay vases, stone mortars and other vessels, a bronze knife, and a silver band with incised patterns. Tombs containing plain vases were also found.¹

Rheneia.—An interesting discovery has been made in the shape of the Delian burying-place referred to by Thucydides (i. 8). It is about 500 yards square, surrounded by a wall. Numerous bones and offerings were found, covered over with stone slabs. Among the contents of the tombs were many vases, ranging from pre-historic to red-figured, and figures in bronze and terracotta. No weapons seem to have been forthcoming, as might have been expected from the

¹ It is just possible that some extensive walls of large blocks of stone, roughly constructed, which were discovered in a gorge S.E. of Amiternum by Simelli in 1809, and referred by him to the Fines Sabinorum on the strength of the forged inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 400,* may be connected with the original course of the Via Caecilia, which would in this case have run somewhat S. of Amiternum without touching it. See *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1829, p. 52, 1832, p. 3, 1834, p. 36. My knowledge of Simelli's account is due to the kindness of Prof. Lanciani, who possesses the rough draft of it.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 10 Dec. 1898.

account given by Thucydides. The red-figured vases must all be earlier than 426 B.C., for historical reasons. Thirty sarcophagi of poros stone containing red-figured vases were also found.¹

Thermon, Aetolia.—An important discovery, both for architecture and for the history of Greek painting, has been made here in the shape of a temple of Apollo. This temple, which has been cleared out, was mostly built of very perishable materials; some drums of the columns belong to a restoration of the original wooden ones, as in the Heraion at Olympia. The roof and entablature were of terracotta with plastic and painted decorations (as in the examples excavated at Civita Lavinia by Lord Savile, now in the British Museum). The antefixal tiles were alternately in the form of painted female heads, and of Seileni, the latter forming water-spouts. Remains of large metopes in terracotta with painted subjects were found, including Perseus running with the Gorgon's head, a hunter carrying game, three seated goddesses, and a Gorgoneion. The temple had five columns at either end, and was divided lengthways in the interior by a row of columns.¹

Athens.—The German Institute has continued its investigation of the Agora, and has laid bare the foundations of a building on the south side, perhaps the Metroon or Bouleuterion. Six graves of the Dipylon period were found on the northern slope of the Areopagus, containing geometric vases, iron knives and swords, and a bronze spear-head. Traces were found both of inhumation and cremation of the corpses. Near the Stoa of Attalos have been found a fourth-century inscription referring to *Zeus φέρσιος*, a Pergamene portrait-head, and a female head of the best period.²

Dombrena in Boeotia (the ancient Kreusis).—An archaic nude bronze statue of Poseidon found here is now in the Athens Museum. The bearded head much resembles the head of Zeus found at Olympia. The arms are broken off, but the feet are perfect. The figure is nearly four feet high.²

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—On the presumed site of the Lysimachean city, the Hellenistic agora has been laid bare, a marble-paved court surrounded by a colonnade, with propylaea. On an adjoining hill are remains of a round monument, probably a trophy of the Ephesian victory over Aristonikos at Kyme in 133 B.C. Among the finds are a bronze life-size statue of a youth, of the later Attic school; an athlete anointing himself (from a fifth-century original); a seated boy with duck of the Boethos type; a Sphinx tearing a youth, in black basalt; a bronze incense-burner; and an inscription with a letter of M. Aurelius and L. Verus forbidding the restoration of their predecessor's statues to represent themselves.²

AFRICA.

Tunis.—Near the site of Carthage a large mosaic has come to light, 22 ft. by 17 ft. 3 in. It presents analogies with those of the baths of Pompeianus found in Algeria, one in the villa of the Laberii in Tunis, and the mosaic of Lillebonne. It represents various episodes in a hunting-scene, arranged in friezes. Above is a villa, before which are men on horseback, slaves, and mules; next are life-like

hunting-scenes of lions, boars, tigers, panthers, and deer. In one, a lion is being enticed into a cage. All these scenes surround a central one representing an offering to Apollo and Diana as the special protectors and patrons of hunters.

Another mosaic lately found in a Roman villa at Medeina is a kind of pictorial catalogue of ships and smaller craft in the time of the Antonines. Each ship bears a Latin and a Greek name, and is accompanied by an appropriate quotation. Eight of the names are quite new, as are also four of the quotations.³

Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xviii. 1898. Part ii.

1. Coin-types of some Kilikian cities. F. Imhoof-Blumer. Two plates.

2. The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic sources. E. W. Brooks.

3. On some Karian and Hellenic oil-presses. W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres. Eight cuts.

An interpretation of certain stones found on ancient sites in Karia as parts of ancient oil-presses, from the similarity of ancient and modern methods.

4. A suggested characteristic in Thukydides' work. G. B. Grundy.

5. Battles, ancient and modern. G. B. Grundy.

6. Women in Ptolemaic Egypt. Rachel E. White.

7. Illustrations to Bacchylides. A. H. Smith. Plate and ten cuts.

8. On some black-figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum. H. B. Walters. Three plates and eight cuts.

Publishes eight vases, the most important being a Corintho-Attic amphora with the sacrifice of Polyxena.

9. A dedication to Artemis. G. F. Hill. With cut.

Publishes a coin of Sikyon, showing that the inscription refers to Artemis as worshipped at Lacedaemon.

10. Inscriptions from Eastern Asia Minor. V. W. Yorke.

11. Archaeology in Greece, 1897-8. G. C. Richards.

12. A Summer in Phrygia: some corrections and additions. J. G. C. Anderson.

13. Mr. G. B. Grundy on Pylos and Sphacteria. R. M. Burrows.

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1898.

J. P. Six. 'Rhegium—Iocastos.' Six proposes to identify the seated figure on the coins of Rhegium—usually called the Demos—as Iocastos the founder of Rhegium who died from a serpent's bite. The identification rests mainly on the presence of a serpent on the later bronze coins of the city, and also—according to M. Six—on its early tetradrachms. The various symbols seen near the seated figure on many of the tetradrachms are regarded by Six as symbols of magistrates, a view decidedly preferable to that of Seltman who has seen in them attributes of Aristaeus.—H. B. Earle-Fox. 'Greek coins

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 10 Dec. 1898.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xviii. p. 330 ff.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 3 Dec. 1898.

in the collection of Mr. Earle-Fox.' Coins of Thessaly, Athens, Corinth, etc.—E. J. Seltman. 'The picture of a Roman mint in the house of the Vettii.'—G. F. Hill. 'Roman aurei from Pudukota, South India.' A hoard of 501 coins, Augustus to Vespasian. On a very large number of the specimens the Emperor's head has been intentionally defaced by a vertical cut.—A. J. Evans. Review of the chapter on Sicilian Numismatics in Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens*, vol. iii.—G. F. Hill. Bibliographical notes on Greek Numismatics.

Revue Numismatique. Part iv. 1898.

E. Babelon. 'La collection Waddington au cabinet des médailles.' The inventory is now completed and has just been published separately.—J. Rouvier.

'Les monnaies autonomes de Béryste' (concluded).—M. C. Soutzo. 'Étude sur les monnaies impériales romaines' (concluded).—A. Diendoné. 'Monnaies romaines récemment acquises par le cabinet de médailles.' An interesting paper including:—i. An extremely rare denarius with the portrait-head of Annia Faustina, the third wife of Elagabalus. ii. An aureus (from the Montagu Collection) of Uranus Antoninus, with the sacred stone of Emisa on the reverse. iii. An aureus of the tyrant Saturninus who revolted under Probus in A.D. 280 and was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria. Only one other coin of Saturninus is known to exist—an aureus similar to this but from a different die.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. xlv—xlviii. Lent, Easter and Michaelmas Terms, 1897.

Notes on several passages of Euripides' Orestes, A. W. Verrall. *Some conjectures on the Drakonion and Solonian constitutions*, L. D. Barnett. *On the origin of quod meaning because, and on the origin of certain uses of English that*, E. H. Miles. (a) *The inscription on Trajan's column*, (b) *ἀχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς* Gal. iv. 2, J. O. F. Murray. *On the names Asa and Asaf in Matt. i. 7, 8*, F. C. Burkitt. *Verbum crucis*, C. Taylor. *Early Christian use of Isaiah vi.*, J. A. Robinson. *The inscription on the column of Trajan*, A. W. Verrall. (1) *Parmenides 3 ἢ κατὰ πάντα τῇ φέρει εἰδὸτα πάντα*, (2) *Plato Tim.* 35 A B, (3) *Aristotle metaph.* A 6. 987^b 21, (4) *Aristotle metaph.* Δ7. 1072^b 22, (5) *Clement of Alexandria Strom.* I. xix. 93. *The etymology and the chief Homeric uses of ἄν*, E. H. Miles. *On Plautus Asin.* 394–5, J. A. Nairn. *Notes on Aeschylus*, L. D. Barnett. *On Pindar Pyth. ii. 50–1, in relation to the coin types of Syracuse*, W. Ridgeway. *On Horace Odes i. 35, 21 sqq.*, J. P. Postgate. *On Euripides' Supplices 714–718 and on some points in Menander's γεωργός* (Nicole), P. Giles. *On the papyrus fragment containing Thucyd. iv. 36–41*, H. Rackham. *On ἀφή, ἀφαί* (Eph. iv. 16, Col. ii. 19), J. A. Robinson. (1) *The title πράξεις ἀποστόλων*, (2) *The interpretation of Acts i. 1 foll.*, F. H. Chase. (1) *Conjectures of the late Richard Shilleto on Aristophanes Wasps 903, 922.* (2) *On some passages in the Eudemian Ethics*, H. Jackson. *On Homer Iliad 16.371 and 507*, A. W. Verrall.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. xi. Part 2. 1898.

Das Arvallid, Th. Birt. Mars as god of the spring is the divinity specially invoked, for *Marmar* and *Marmor* can hardly have any other reference. The *tripudium* was anciently connected with this Saturnian song, but it took place not before and not after the singing, but in the course of it. The number twelve of the Arval brothers, which is expressly testified by Masurius Sabinus and which corresponds to the number of the Salii and of the

Luperci, must be taken as ancient and genuine. *Von dem sog. Genetivus und Ablativus qualitatis*, Edwards—Wölfflin. An examination of these uses. As the abl. is comitative and the gen. is the case of possession, the abl. naturally denotes the accompanying circumstances and the genitive the permanent condition, but in fact this distinction is not maintained. This paper (the first of two) deals with the choice of the case as influenced by form. Thus we always (till very late Latin) find the abl. in *vi, facie, specie*, the adj. *pari* etc. *Zur Epitoma Livii*, E. Wölfflin. Gives exx. to show that the Epitome contains much that was not in Livy and that it was used as an authority by Florus and Valerius Maximus. *Ueber etiam und etiam nunc*, Hamilton Kirk. A criticism of Roosen's paper in the last vol. of Archiv who considers the first part of the compound in *etiam* as copulative in any case and that it is therefore indifferent whether it is *et* or **eti*. Roosen however ignores the temporal meaning of *etiam* by itself. *Novatian's epistula de cibis Judaicis*, G. Landgraf and C. Weyman. The tractate of this name attributed to Tertullian in the imperial library of St. Petersburg is really by Novatian. It is maintained that the *de trinitate* is by the same author, and that both these writings are originally Latin and not a translation from the Greek. Also the tractates *de spectaculis* and *de bono pudicitiae* are by Novatian. The text *de cibis Judaicis* is given with a commentary. *Olim oliorem*, J. van der Vliet. In Petron. c. 43 suggests *oliorem* for *oliorum* of the text as more suitable to ordinary language. The sense then is *ipsa Antiquitate antiquiorem*. *A, ab bei Lucretius*, A. Woltjer. The rule that *Lucr.* uses *ab* before *d, n, r, s* and *a* before other consonants has certain limitations. *Zur Chronologie der Dichtungen Ovids*, W. Bannier. The date of the composition of the *Metamorphoses* and those poems that precede the banishment as determined by the use of proper names. The first nine books of the *Metamorph.* were composed before 736/737 when the *Aeneid* was published. The remaining books were composed not long after the appearance of the *Aeneid*. Of the other books those which contain the forms given up after the ending of the first nine books

were composed before 736/737, those which contain the forms introduced in the last six books were composed after that date. *Accumulate*—*accuro*, E. Wöflin. Specimen articles.

MISCELLEN. *Zu Granius Licinianus*, M. Flemisch. If G. is essentially an extract from Livy, it must be added that G. must have used not the original work of Livy but the Epitome made before 30 A.D. *Römische Eigennamen*, A. Zimmermann. (1) On *Titus*=son? (2) The suffix *ar* in the formation of Italian proper names. *Zu den Tierlautzeitwörtern*, O. Hey. In these words by the side of the simple form we very often have the frequentative, e.g. *bombire*—*bombitare*, etc. *Ob civis servatos*, O. Hey. O. Keller has shown the habitual use of the acc. plur. *civis* in the poets of the Augustan age. Coins give further evidence of the predominance of the form in *-is* during that period. *Lupana. Lupanar*, M. Niedermann. As the former is only found in gen. plur., may that form not be really from *lupanar*? *Zur lex Maneciana*, E. Wöflin. A criticism of the language of this African inscription, which O. Seeck puts in the reign of Septimius Severus. *Zur Epitoma Livii*, E. Wöflin. The deed of Horatius Cocles is narrated by later historians not after Liv. ii. 10, but after the Epitome. *Abpono*, J. Denk. Words beginning with *p* are not compounded with *ab*, for *appono*=*adpono*. Hence in Apicius c. 65 for *appones* we should read *depones*. *Bestiosus und serpentiosus*, J. Denk. These words are not in the Lexicons, but occur in the *res gestae Alexandri* of Julius Valerius. *Infin. fut. pass. auf -viri*, J. Denk. Exx. of this from Apuleius and Julius Valerius. *Eques*=*equus*, J. Denk. We find this not only in the vulgate of Isaiah but also in Orosius, *fremitu equitum*. *Comparare*=*Kaufen*, Ov. Densusiann. Exx. of this from inserr. of 4th or early 5th cent. A.D.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 54. Part 1. 1899.

Coniectanea, F. Buecheler. Notes on (1) Plutarch's *Symposium*, (2) Aetna, (3) Lactantius' scholia on Statius. *Kauf und Verkauf von Priesterthümern bei den Griechen*, E. F. Bischoff. We know more of this lately through several inserr. all of Asia Minor or the Aegean Islands. The buying and selling of priesthood was a late introduction. C. F. H. Bruchmann's opinion that the words *ἐπωλείσθαι*, *ἐπιπώλεισθαι* und *ἐπαγορεύειν* of the Erythraean inserr. refer to the sale of reversions is upheld. *Beiträge zur römischen Literaturgeschichte*, M. Schanz. (1) Porcius Licinius. The well-known lines of P. L. *Poenico bello secundo*, etc. refer to Livius Andronicus and not to Ennius. P. L. mis-dated Andronicus on the authority of Accius. (2) Varro's *libri de gradibus*. This work is not to be classed among juristic literature, but was of a more general character. (3) Varro's *Logistoricus: Atticus de numeris*. Atticus is the friend of Cicero. The book is on the climacteric years of life. (4) The year of the death of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. Messalla died before Ovid's banishment. Ovid's authority (*Ex Ponto* i. 7, 29, 30) is to be preferred to that of Suetonius and Frontinus in this matter. *'Unechte Briefe'*, F. Blass. An answer to U. v. Wilamowitz in *Hermes* vol. 33. B. maintains with regard to the genuineness of certain letters of Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, that each letter must be judged by itself and that there is no difference of principle between v. Wilamowitz and himself. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik*, Th. Birt. This is the first of two papers

on the value of the spiritus H. B. produces 296 verses from Plautus where *h* has the value of a real consonant. In the words of the old grammarian '*h* quotiens juvat vocalem, consonans est, quotiens non juvat, nota aspirationis est.' *Die apokryphen Fragen des Bartholomaeus*, A. Brinkmann. Notes on Bonwetsch's recent edition. *Der Bischof Fulgentius und der Mythograph*, R. Helm. Of the three Fulgentii who lived about 500 A.D. the writer considers that he has already shown the identity of the mythographer and the author of the world history (*Phil.* vol. 56). In this paper he maintains that there is nothing to prevent us from seeing in this author the future bishop. *Zu Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, H. Christensen. Critical notes. *Zum Senecagedicht des Honorius*, O. Plasberg. Criticisms on this poem (which is in Riese's Anthology) with reference to J. Ziehen's article in *Hermes* vol. 32.

MISCELLEN. *Zum Sprachgebrauch des Thukydides*, J. M. Stahl. A reply to H. Stein's criticism on the writer's explanation of *Thuc.* iv. 63, 1. *Zu den Papyri von Oxyrhynchus*, F. Rühl. Differs totally from Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's explanation of Part 1, no. xiii. p. 36, foll. *Varia*, G. Heraeus. Notes on (1) Schol. Bern. ad *Verg. Geor.* iii. 7, (2) Donatus' life of Vergil, (3) Acron on *Hor. Epod.* 12. 5. *C. Julius Priscus, der Bruder des Philippus Arabs*, A. v. Domaszewski. On various inserr. referring to this person.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum. Vol. i. Part 8. 1898.

Sprachwissenschaft und Geschichte, H. Hirt. An inaugural address at Leipzig. *Zur ionischen Mundart und Dichtersprache*, A. Fick. A survey of the recent work in this field with special reference to the writings of R. Meister, O. Hoffmann and H. W. Smyth. *Philo von Alexandria*, L. Cohn. Philo is less a philosopher than a theologian. Philosophy is to him not an end but a means. The historical importance of Philo lies in the peculiar manner in which he uses the treasures of philosophy for his own purposes and connects different theories with one another. He is an eclectic much in the same way as Plutarch is an eclectic.

Part 9. *Zur Entwicklung griechischer Baukunst*, F. Noack. Mycenaean 'megara' may long have survived the end of Mycenaean culture in Greece. The differences involved in the respective employment of wood and stone insisted on. *Sokrates bei Platon*, A. Gercke. Plato's Socrates unhistoric. Aristotle distinguishes between the teaching of Socrates and that of the Socratic dialogues. He does not blame Plato for estimating historical truth slightly in comparison with philosophical knowledge and its poetical dress.

ANZEIGEN UND MITTELUNGEN. *Die Lex Maneciana*, O. Seeck. This is an African domain regulation from an inserr. discovered two years ago referring to the time of Trajan. Ivo Brun's *Die Persönlichkeit in der Geschichtsschreibung der Alten* favourably noticed.

Part 10. *Rhetorik und Poesie im Klassischen Altertum*, H. Peter. An historical review. The ancients did not draw the line so sharply between poetry and prose as the moderns do. *Zur Entwicklung griechischer Baukunst*, F. Noack. Concluded. Discusses the question, how must the Mycenaean 'megaron' have looked, for the Dorian architecture to have been developed from it.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.
1899. No. 1. 4 Jan.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES. E. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* (P. Kretschmer). 'A worthy contribution.' H. Liebreich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung*, i. (Schneider). favourable. V. Lundström, *Studier till andra puniska Krigets historia*, i. *Flaminius och Hannibal* (A. Höck). 'Interesting.' A. Cartault, *La flexion*

dans Lucrèce, (E. Kraetsch). Very favourable. Märklin und Treuber, *Ausgewählte Stücke aus Livius 4 und 5 Dekade* (H. J. Müller). Favourable. *Vocabularium jurisprudentiae Romanae*, i. Inchoav. O. Gradenwitz, B. Kuebler, Th. Schulze, continuav. B. Kübler et R. Helm, fasc. ii. (W. Kalb). 'An important work.' *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, dirigé par N. Svoronos. Vol. 1. Premier trimestre 1898. 'To be received with special sympathy.'

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Aeschines. Poutsma (A.) *Quaestiones Aeschineae*. 8vo. 160 pp. Amsterdam, J. Müller. 2 Mk. 20.
Ammonius see Aristoteles.

Aratus. *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae*, collegit, rec., prolegomenis, indicibusque instr. E. Maass. 8vo. lxxi, 749 pp., 2 plates, 3 engravings. Berlin, Weidmann. 30 Mk.

Archiv (Byzantinisches). Als Ergänzung der byzantinischen Zeitschrift in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von K. Krumbacher. Part I.: Dieterich (K.) *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* 8vo. xxiv, 326 pp., map. Leipzig, Teubner. 10 Mk.

Aristophanes. *Nubes*, cum prolegomenis et commentariis ed. J. van Leeuwen. 8vo. 6, 34, 238 pp. Leiden, Sijthoff. 3 fl. 60.

Aristoteles. *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, edita consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae borussicae. Vol. xiii. Pars. 1. Philoponi (olim Ammonii in Aristotelis categorias commentarium). Ed. A. Busse. 8vo. xvi, 233 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 9 Mk. 50.

Arnaud (G.) *La vie publique des Romains décrite par les auteurs latins*. Recueil de cinq cents textes choisis. 2de édition, avec commentaire historique, grammatical et littéraire. 12mo. xxxi, 507 pp. Marseille, Lafitte. 3 fr. 50.

Baumstark (A.) *Der Pessimismus in der griechischen Lyrik*. 8vo. 35 pp. Heidelberg, Winter. 1 Mk.

Béal (M.) et L. Person, *Grammaire latine*. Cours élémentaire et moyen. 12mo. vii, 327 pp. Paris, Hachette. 2 fr. 50.

British School at Athens. *Annual*. Vol. III. Session 1896-7. 4to. Plates. Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

Campbell (L.) *Religion in Greek Literature*. Sketch in Outline. 8vo. 434 pp. Longmans. 15s.

Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce S. de Vries. Vol. III. Plato. Codex Oxoniensis Clarkianus 39. folio. 14 leaves of letterpress and 393 facsimile plates. Leiden, Sijthoff. 120 fl.

Cornelius Nepos. *Vitae*. Edizione curata e annotata da Luigi Randi. 24mo. 360 pp. Firenze. Civelli. 1 Lira.

Dettweiler (P.) *Didaktik und Methodik des griechischen Unterrichts*. 8vo. 94 pp. München, Beck. 1 Mk. 80.

(Aus 'Baumeister's Handbuch der Erziehungs- und Unterrichts lehre für höhere Schulen.')

Dieterich (K.) *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* see *Archiv* (Byzantinisches).

Dill (S.) *Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire*. 8vo. 402 pp. Macmillan. 12s.

Dittenberger (Guil.) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. Ed. II. Vol. I. 8vo. x, 644 pp. Leipzig, Hirzel. 14 Mk.

Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report 1897-98, edited by F. L. Griffith. 4to. Frowde. 2s. 6d. net.

Euripidis Fabulae, edd. R. Prinz et N. Wecklein. Vol. II. Pars II. *Supplices*, ed. N. Wecklein. 8vo. 67 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk.

Eutropius, for school use, edited by J. C. Hazzard. 12mo. iv, 243 pp. New York, Americ. Book Co. 75c.

Fränkel (M.) *Eine Inschrift aus Argos*. 8vo. 10 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 60 Pf.

(Aus Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften.)

Fredrich (K.) *Hippokratische Untersuchungen* see *Untersuchungen* (philologische).

Galenus de victu attenuante liber, primum graece ed. C. Kalbfleisch. 12mo. xxv, 44 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 40.

- Gilbert* (Otto). Griechische Götterlehre in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt. 8vo. iii, 516 pp. Leipzig, Avenarius. 10 Mk.
- Gregorovius* (F.) The Emperor Hadrian, translated by Mary E. Robinson. 8vo. 436 pp. Macmillan. 12s. net.
- Hachtmann* (K.) Olympia und seine Festspiele. (Gymnasialbibliothek Pt. 30.) 8vo. viii, 100 pp., plate. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann. 1 Mk. 60.
- Hall* (W. H. Bullock). The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone, a sketch of the Conquest of Liguria and the Roman province. 8vo. 206 pp. Macmillan. 6s.
- Harkness* (Alb.) A short Latin grammar. 12mo. xii, 242 pp. New York, Americ. Book Co. 80c.
- Herondae Mimiambi*. Accedunt Phoeniceis Coronistae Mattii mimiamborum fragmenta, tertium ed. O. Crusius. Ed. minor. 12mo. iii, 96 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.
- Herrmann* (A.) Griechische Schulgrammatik. 3rd. Ed. 8vo. x, 226 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 2 Mk. 60.
- Herzog* (R.) Das Kastelluch. 4to. 16 pp., engravings, 3 plates. Heidelberg, Petters. 3 Mk. (Aus 'Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes.')
- Hippocrates*, see Untersuchungen (philologische).
- Homeri Odysseae carmina*. Cum apparatu critico ediderunt J. van Leeuwen et M. B. Mendes da Costa. Ed. II. Pars posterior. 8vo. iv, pp. 293-600. Leiden, Sijthoff. 1 fl. 50.
- Ludwich* (A.) Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen. 8vo. vi, 204 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 6 Mk.
- Perry* (W. C.) The Women of Homer. Portraits and Illustrations. 8vo. New York. 12s.
- Inscriptiones graecae insularum maris Aegaei*. Consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae Borussiae editae. Fasc. III.: Inscriptiones graecae insularum Symes, Teutlussae, Teli, Nisyri, Astypalaeae, Anaphes, Therae et Therasiae, Pholegandri, Meli, Cimoli. Ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. folio. viii, 272 pp, 2 maps. Berlin, Reimer. 32 Mk.
- Jahresberichte über das K. k. archaologische Staats-Museum zu Aquileja von 1882-91*. 8vo. 128 pp. Wien, Braumüller. 2 Mk. (Aus 'Mittheilungen der Central Commission für Erforschung der Kunstdenkmäler,' etc.)
- Larfeld* (W.) Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik. Vol. II. Die attischen Inschriften. Part I. 8vo. pp. 1-392. Leipzig, Reisland. 20 Mk.
- Limes* (der obergermanisch-raetische) des Römerreiches. Herausgegeben von O. v. Sarwey, E. Fabricius und F. Hettner. Part 10. 4to. 10, 17, 16 pp., 9 plates, 1 map. Heidelberg, Petters. 5 Mk.
- Livy*. Sanders (Henry A.) Die Quellencontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius. 8vo. xii, 149 pp. Berlin, Mayer and Müller. 3 Mk. 60.
- Lysiae Orationes*, in quibus etiam amatoria a Platone servata, cum fragmentis, brevi annotatione instructa, ed. Henr. van Herwerden. Post 8vo. 16, 262 pp. Groningen, Wolters. 1 fl. 50.
- Mau* (Aug.) Führer durch Pompeii. Ed. III. 12mo. vii, 120 pp., 31 engravings, 6 maps. Leipzig, Engelmann. 3 Mk.
- Mélanges* Henri Weil. Recueil de mémoires contenant l'histoire et la littérature grecques dédié a Henri Weil, membre de l'Institut. 8vo. 471 pp., portr., plate and several engravings. Paris, Fontemoing. 15 fr.
- Moir* (J.) Greek Test Papers, Lower, Higher and Honours. 12mo. 156 pp. Blackwood. 2s. 6d.
- Olcott* (G. N.) Studies in the word-formation of the Latin inscriptions. Substantives and adjectives. With special reference to the Latin Sermo vulgaris. 8vo. xxvi, 265 pp. Rome. 4 Mk.
- Ovid*. Heroides, with the Greek translation of Planudes, edited by the late A. Palmer. 8vo. 602 pp. Frowde. 21s.
- Pernice* (Erich). Hellenistische Silbergefäße im Antiquarium der kgl. Museen. 4to. 31 pp., 4 plates, 9 engravings. Berlin, Reimer. 5 Mk. (58. Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archaol. Gesellschaft zu Berlin.)
- Petronius Arbitr*, Trimalchio's Dinner, translated with Introduction and bibliographical Appendix by H. Th. Peck. 12mo. Engravings. New York. 7s. 6d.
- Philoponus*, see Aristoteles.
- Plato*. Codex Oxoniensis, see Codices Graeci et Latini, etc.
- Reinhardt* (K.) and E. Roemer. Griechische Formen und Satzlehre. 8vo. x, 235 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 3 Mk.
- Steimle*. Das Kastell Böckingen. 4to. 17 pp., engravings, 4 maps. Heidelberg, Petters. 3 Mk. 60. (Aus 'Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes.')
- Testamentum Novum Graece*, praesertim in usum studiosorum recogn. et brevibus annot. instr. J. M. S. Baljon. Post 8vo. 26, 731 pp. Groningen, Wolters. 7 fl.
- Untersuchungen* (philologische) herausgegeben von A. Kiessling und U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Part 15.: Friedrich (K.) Hippokratische Untersuchungen. 8vo. vii, 236 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 7 Mk.
- Velleius Paterculus*. Ad Vinicium libri duo. Edited by R. Ellis. Crown 8vo. Frowde. 6s.
- Vergil*. Gleason (Clarence W.) Gate to Vergil. 12mo. vi, 162 pp. Boston, Ginn. 50 c.

Waser (O.) Charon, Charun, Charos. Mythologisch-archaeologische Monographie. 8vo. vii, 158 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 5 Mk.

Wessely (C.) Schrifttafeln zur älteren lateinischen Palaeographie. Imperial 4to. 20 plates, 12 pp. of letterpress. Wien. 8 Mk.

Wolff (G.) Das Kastell Kesselstadt. 4to. 10 pp.,

2 plates. Heidelberg, Petters. 2 Mk.

(Aus 'Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes.')

Ziebarth (E.) Neue attische Grenzsteine. 8vo. 9 pp., engravings. Berlin, Reimer. 60 Pf.

(Aus 'Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften.')

The Classical Review

MARCH 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

THE scheme of the Cambridge Board of Classics for the reconstitution of the Classical Honours Examinations has now assumed its final shape. The changes which have been introduced into it in acknowledgment of adverse criticism concern its form more than its essence; and so regarded they must be considered improvements. The proposal to call the new general examination a section of the second part of the Classical Tripos, instead of an independent part, adroitly veils the conflict of methods of study and the diversity of ideals, which the new system presupposes, under a show of unity and co-ordination. As to the time at which the first part may be taken, there is still to be no option allowed. For all alike, whatever their needs or their desires, the end of the second year is prescribed. This curtailment of existing privileges requires justifying, and the justification is not forthcoming. The Council of the Senate has wisely determined that each separate issue in the recommendations shall be separately voted upon, and accordingly eleven graces will be submitted to the Senate upon Saturday, March 11. It is not improbable that the greater part of these will be passed; and then the colleges, and the smaller colleges more particularly, will have to set themselves to dis-

cover how they are to provide the new teaching which will be required.

At Oxford there is as yet no definite situation; but the outlook does not appear very favourable for the advocates of sweeping reforms.

The spirit of change has crossed St. George's Channel, and the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin, are considering the subject of important modifications in their Fellowship Examination.

In vol. ii. part 3 of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Mr. Fossum communicates an interesting discovery which he has made in the Theatre of Eretria, of the rails on which the ἐκκύκλημα ran backwards and forwards between stage and stage building. If Mr. Fossum is right, his discovery is a convincing proof of the use of a stage in the Hellenistic Theatre.

Pressure upon our space precludes more than a passing reference to the question of uniformity in Latin orthography, which has lately come to the fore; but we would call attention to the valuable researches of Prof. Buck upon the subject, of which we are able to include only a small instalment in our present issue.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF GELON AND HIERO.

SOME NEW LIGHT FROM BACCHYLIDES.

THERE is no doubt that the elder Dionysius held his power at Syracuse under cover of the constitutional office of *στραταγός αὐτοκράτωρ*. Diodorus, who records his appointment to meet the Carthaginian invaders in B.C. 405, cites the precedent of Gelon; or rather states that the precedent of Gelon was cited by the adherents of Dionysius (xiii. 94, 5, *στρατηγούντος Γέλωνος αὐτοκράτορος*). This suggests that Gelon also sheltered his tyranny under the same office, and a passage of Polyænus—a writer whose statements must be used with circumspection—points the same way. Polyænus (i. 27, 1) says that, having been elected *στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ* at the Carthaginian crisis, Gelon resigned office, gave in his accounts, and was elected general again: *οὕτω δὴ παρακληθεὶς δεύτερον στρατηγήσαι ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ τύραννος ἐγένετο Συρακουσίων*. As Mr. Freeman remarked (*Sicily*, ii. p. 500), ‘the whole circumstances are misconceived; but Polyænos must have found the title of *στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ* applied to Gelon somewhere.’ Mr. Freeman was distinctly inclined to believe that Gelon exercised authority through the office of general. He thought that in the case of one, who, like Gelon, seems to have come in under some kind of compact, ‘a formal title is more likely than in the case of those tyrants who rose to power or violence within the city.’

There is another piece of evidence which Mr. Freeman might have adduced in favour of this view. Gelon desired to bequeath his power to two of his brothers, Hiero and Polyzelus, and in his will he left his wife and the *στραταγία* to Polyzelus. We learn this from a scholium on Pindar *Ol.* ii. 29, which rests upon the authority of Timæus. This accords with and confirms the inference from Diodorus and Polyænus, that Gelon held the office of *στραταγός*.

But we have now some further and contemporary evidence. The opening lines of the earliest of the three epinician Odes of Bacchylides in honour of Hiero shed a welcome ray of light which may suffice to dispel any lingering suspicions that the statements of the comparatively late compilers were due to some error or misconception. The poet addresses the tyrant thus (v. 1, 2)

εὔμοιρε Συρακοσίῳν
ἱπποδμήτων στραταγέ,

and I think we can hardly hesitate to see in *στραταγέ*, not a mere general word for chieftain (*στραταγός* does not occur elsewhere in the extant works of Bacchylides or in those of Pindar), but a definite reference to the formal title *στραταγός αὐτοκράτωρ*. The two years or thereabouts which elapsed between the death of Gelon and the Olympian victory of Hiero's horse (478–6) had been marked by a contest between the two brothers whom Gelon had fondly destined to be bearers of a joint rule. Such an arrangement Hiero could not accept; and it is clear that, though he was ready to use his brother's military abilities by entrusting him with temporary commands, he would not commit to Polyzelus the post and title of *στραταγός αὐτοκράτωρ*. Polyzelus backed by the forces of his father-in-law, the lord of Acragas, was defeated. In an ode composed not very long after the conclusion of this episode—the ode of Bacchylides must belong to the second half of 476—there was some point in laying a special emphasis on the *στραταγία* of Hiero.¹

More difficult is another question which is directly suggested by the will of Gelon. If Gelon's wishes had been carried out, if Polyzelus had become *στραταγός αὐτοκράτωρ*, what position and title would Hiero have held? Would his tyranny have been disguised by any constitutional name? Diodorus says (xi. 38) that Gelon *τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν Ἱέρωνι*. This brings us to an old question: did Gelon, and Hiero after him, possess the title of *βασιλεύς*? The fact that Diodorus speaks of *ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων* in the same chapter is probably due to the writer's misconception of the import of the greeting which was accorded to the tyrant in the moment of excitement after the battle of Himera (Diodorus xi. 26; Freeman, *op. cit.* p. 501). It is of more importance that in Herodotus (vii. 161) the Greek envoys address him as *ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων*—words which Mr. Freeman regards as ‘more or less sarcastic’; and this taken along with Pin-

¹ Observe that in [Pyth.] ii. 58 (date: 476 or 477) Pindar addresses Hiero as *πρῶτανι κύριε...στρατοῦ*, an accurate paraphrase of *στραταγέ αὐτοκράτωρ*.

dar's designation of Hiero as Συρακόσιον (V; other older MSS. Συρακουσίων) βασιλῆα (B.C. 476; *Ol.* i. 23) and ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς (Pyth. iii. 70), might seem to support the belief of Diodorus. Whether Hiero possessed the title by right or not, βασιλεύς was a name which he would assuredly have liked to hear from the mouth of a poet, and therefore we cannot ascribe much importance to the passages of Pindar. But all the more important is the negative evidence furnished by the three odes of Bacchylides. Not once does Bacchylides style the tyrant βασιλεύς; had Hiero borne the title, he would hardly have failed to do so.

Possibly Hiero (and Gelon) held a civil office under the constitution. This is suggested by Pindar's θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει

σκᾶπτρον (*Ol.* i. 12) and Bacchylides' [τεθμ]ίου σκᾶπτρον Διὸς [ἔχοντ]α (iii. 70).

One point more. The metaphor 'Ιέρωνι φέρων εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον in Bacchylides v. 186 suggests that the use of πέταλα at Syracuse for voting was older than the introduction of the form of banishment known as 'petalism.' We may infer that πέταλα were used in the Syracusan Assembly for the election of officials. And we may take the expression in Bacchylides as a confirmation of the probable view that under Gelon and Hiero at Syracuse, as under Pisistratus at Athens, the outward forms of the constitution were maintained. For a phrase suggestive of abolished freedom would have been infelicitous.

J. B. BURY.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* VI. 507 D AND 507 B.

THE first passage upon which I propose to comment runs as follows: 'Ενούσης πον ἐν ὄμμασιν ὅψεως καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντος τοῦ ἔχοντος χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ, παρουσίας δὲ χροᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔαν μὴ παραγένηται γένος τρίτον ἰδίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκός, οἶσθα ὅτι ἡ τε ὀψις οὐδὲν ὀφεται τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα.

Plato is drawing a distinction between the sense of sight and all other senses. Whereas hearing (for example) requires only ἀκοή and φωνή (507 C), sight requires, besides ὀψις and χροᾶ, a third γένος viz. light. For whereas we can hear in the dark, we cannot see except where there is light.

The meaning of the sentence which I have quoted above is clear enough, except so far as the words ἐν αὐτοῖς are concerned. If the text is sound, ἐν αὐτοῖς can only mean ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν; and so Schneider understands the passage. No recent critic, so far as I know, has followed him in this interpretation, which cannot be reconciled either with the rest of Plato's analysis or even with *Tim.* 67 C, if I understand the passage correctly. Both here and in the *Timaeus* l.c., colour is viewed as something inherent in things rather than in the eyes (although, according to the *Timaeus*, it ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὴν ὄψιν in an act of sight): see 508 C ὦν ἂν τὰς χροᾶς τὸ ἡμερινὸν φῶς ἐπέχῃ.

By Schmelzer and Jowett and Campbell αὐτοῖς is interpreted as τοῖς ὁρατοῖς 'from τοῦ ὁρατοῦ supra.' But the grammatical difficulty is considerable, and in any case

Plato could hardly have expressed himself in so ambiguous a fashion.

A great variety of emendations has been suggested. Stallbaum, who takes αὐτοῖς as τοῖς ὄμμασιν, would expunge ἐν or (with Ast) read ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. Biehl (*Die Idee des Guten* 52) boldly conjectures ἐφ' ἧ ἔστι instead of ἐν αὐτοῖς. The latter remedy is, of course, absurd, but Biehl deserves credit for seeing that χροᾶ is here looked upon as the proper object of the sense of sight. Other suggestions are ἐν αὐ τοῖς <ὁρατοῖς> (Richards in *Cl. Rev.* viii. 25), and ἐν αὐτοῖς <τοῖς ὁρωμένοις>, which I ventured to submit in the foot-notes to my edition of the text, comparing 508 C and 509 B.

Further study of the passage leads me to think that the error is much less extensive and its cure much easier.

It will be observed that in the last line of the sentence the objects of sight are spoken of as χρώματα and nothing more: cf. *Tim.* 67 C ff. and *Arist. de An.* ii. 7, 418^a 26 ff. If, however, we interpret ἐν αὐτοῖς as ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρωμένοις or anything of the kind, we introduce a fourth term, viz., τὰ ὁρώμενα distinct from χροᾶ, as well as from ὀψις and the γένος τρίτον. It is true, of course, that Plato constantly speaks of 'things seen' without meaning colours, but it would be extremely awkward to distinguish between χροᾶ and ὁρώμενα in the middle of a sentence which ends by treating colour as itself the ὁρατόν (τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα). Plato is speaking scientifically, and from the scientific

point of view colour, and colour alone, is the object of sight, as φωνή is of hearing (507 C).

We ought (I believe) to read: Ἐνούσης που ἐν ὁμμασιν ὁψεως καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντος τοῦ ἔχοντος χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ, παρούσης δὲ χροάς, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται γένος τρίτον ἰδίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκός, οἶσθα ὅτι ἡ τε ὄψις οὐδὲν ὁψεται τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἄόρατα i.e. 'there is one genus—making three in all—specially constructed by Nature for this very purpose, in the absence of which to reinforce them, sight, as you are aware, will see nothing, and the colours will be invisible.' The position of ἐν (recalling ὁ ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται τρίτον just above) is intended to make Adimantus concentrate his attention on the crucial fact that there is one element in an act of sight to which the other senses furnish no parallel. By this means Socrates invites the question which his pupil at once asks viz. 'What is this element?' The answer is 'light' (ὁ δὲ σὺ καλεῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φῶς)—a truly valuable or precious substance (εἴπερ μὴ ἄτιμον τὸ φῶς): so that Socrates justly claims to have proved his assertion, which was that the organisation of sight is more expensive or extravagant (πολυτελεστάτην 507 C) than that of hearing and the other senses. If the words from ἐν αὐτοῖς to ἄόρατα are taken closely together, as protasis and apodosis ought to be, and αὐτοῖς referred rather to ὄψις and χρώματα in the apodosis than to ὁψεως and χροάς before, the emphasis on ἐν is (to my ear) precisely what is needed to bring out Plato's point. It ought to be mentioned that Morgenstern proposed to read παρούσης δὲ χροάς (*praesente item colore* Ficinus), ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μὴ κ.τ.λ., but ἐν is displeasing, and ἐν αὐτοῖς too weak to precede ἐάν. The confusion of ἐν and ἐν occurs

again in A and other MSS. at vii. 526 C and elsewhere.

Perhaps I may be allowed to add a short note on 507 B above, where I have printed καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ καλὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὕτω περὶ πάντων, ἃ τότε ὡς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν· πάλιν αὖ κατ' ἰδέαν μίαν ἑκάστον (ἐκάστου MSS.), ὡς μιᾶς οὐσης, τιθέντες, ὁ ἔστιν ἑκάστον προσαγορεύομεν. The first part of the sentence depends on εἶναι φαμέν κ.τ.λ. preceding. In the latter half the MSS. read ἑκάστων. It appears to me certain that ὁ-ἔστιν-ἑκάστον is (as Bosanquet holds) in the predicate after προσαγορεύομεν, and for this reason I wrote ἑκάστον for ἑκάστου: 'we call each "ὁ-ἔστιν-ἑκάστον"' i.e. (for example) we call the αὐτὸ καλὸν ὁ-ἔστιν-καλόν etc. But κατ' ἰδέαν μίαν is still a difficulty. Read καὶ ἰδέαν μίαν ἐκάστου, merely changing κατ' to καί, and all our troubles (I think) disappear: 'reversing our procedure, we postulate also one idea of each, believing that there is but one' (cf. x. 597 C, D) 'and call it the essential so-and-so.' We postulate for example one idea of δίκαιον (as well as πολλὰ δίκαια 507 B) and call it ὁ-ἔστιν-δίκαιον. That ἰδέαν is not here class, but Idea, is clear from μιᾶς οὐσης: cf. also in the next sentence καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὁρᾶσθαι φαμεν, νοεῖσθαι δ' οὐ, τὰς δ' αὖ ἰδέας νοεῖσθαι μὲν, ὁρᾶσθαι δ' οὐ. The interchange of καί and κατὰ is illustrated in Schaefer's Greg. Cor. 234 n. 26. That of κατ' and καί is even easier, for a sloping accent might easily be mistaken for the transverse stroke of τ, and in uncial MSS. the apostrophe is constantly left out between an elided preposition and its noun.

J. ADAM.

'FOURTH CLASS CONDITIONS.'

As this caption intimates, the present paper is an outgrowth of discussions with my beloved and revered master, Prof. Goodwin, upon his schemes for the conditional sentence in Greek. Part of this very study has recently passed under his eye, and allusions occur below to his comments thereon. My own heresy has gathered strength and widened however since then.

As the lamented Prof. F. D. Allen, in his revision of Hadley's *Grammar*, followed Prof. Goodwin, and acknowledged a large debt to him, in the classification of conditions, it

will usually suffice to quote the elder scholar's latest published revision of his formulae.

I cite first from Mr. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* (1892), § 1408. 'When a supposed future case is stated in a *less distinct* and *vivid* form (as in English *if I should go*), the protasis has the optative with *εἰ*, and the apodosis has the optative with *ἄν*.' The italics are partly intended to bring this construction into closest mental association with 'Future conditions, *more vivid form*,' just treated in § 1403. (See also *G.M.T.* § 16.)

My objections to § 1408 may be thus boldly stated:

(1) This category is at no stage of the Greek language confined to future time.

(2) It has no natural affinity—nor striking opposition either, to the true future, and is not so easily understood if thus placed beside it.

(3) There are strong reasons for putting it in entirely different associations.

The first Attic example under § 1403 is 'ἂν τις ἀνθιστήται, πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.' (If any one oppose us, we shall try to manage him.) It is unquestionably future,—because its main verb is in the future indicative. If we change that leading verb to *πειρώμεθα* (indic.), Mr. Goodwin will call it a *present* 'general supposition': though the protasis nowise changes its form or force, meaning still 'in case of opposition by anyone.' This illustrates the general principle (*G.M.T.* 85), that accurate distinctions of time, or real tenses, are made,—can be made,—only in the *indicative*, becoming blurred in other moods, except so far as the principle of oratio obliqua reveals the indicative tense which was actually used in a previous utterance or thought.

Moreover, while the form and early use of the Subjunctive indicate a close relation to the future, the form of the optative (with its 'secondary' endings), and nearly all its early uses, point rather away from futurity than toward it.

In Mr. Goodwin's later books the Optative (and Indicative) with ἂν 'are made more prominent as original constructions, instead of being treated merely as elliptical apodoses' (*G.G.* p. vi.). He states (1329) that the potential 'can express every degree of potentiality' [from simple future] 'to the apodosis of a future condition expressed by the optative with ἂν,' and proceeds to illustrate the 'intermediate steps.' In *G.M.T.* § 239, he speaks of the full condition as 'a final step in the same direction.' But I am not aware that he has himself taken the final step of regarding the potential as identical with the conditional. Indeed they are not even treated in consecutive chapters. (But see *G.M.T.* 239.) However, for the potential optative also Mr. Goodwin claims a strict limitation to the future, at least in Attic, and even in Herodotus (but cf. *G.M.T.* § 443 with 238) he apparently recognizes no really present or past potentials. (*G.G.* 1327, 1331; *G.M.T.* 234, 238.) He would hardly oppose the extension of his term 'less vivid future' to simple potentials as well as the full conditional sentences.

And yet, not one, even, of the examples offered under § 1408 is demonstrably future. If in the very first we try the experiment suggested in *G.M.T.* § 16, and recast it in the 'more vivid' form, we shall bring not vividness but confusion to the whole scene. The passage is Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, vs. 979.

Εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς.

Hermes has come expressly to assure Prometheus that he never will 'fare well,'—save by a contrition and change of heart which would utterly efface this apodosis! So we certainly must not make him say 'Ἐσεῖ φορητὸς οὐκ, ἐὰν πράσσης καλῶς.

We could much better recast, with a relatively slight change of meaning: Οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα φορητός, εἰ ἐπρασσες καλῶς—a sentence, be it noted, which Prof. Goodwin (and I too) will promptly assign to *present* time. Prof. Allen's remark (§900c), 'Things contrary to fact are sometimes conceived of as possible,' applies very fairly here. But we should always seek the logical—or rhetorical—reason for the unexpected form. *Why* does Hermes refrain from enforcing (by the 'unreal' form of sentence) the undoubted fact, that Prometheus is *not now* in happy case? It may be ascribed to one or all of three causes: (1) to his courtesy and goodwill toward a favourite kinsman; (2) to Homeric passages like B. 81 ψεῦδός κεν φαίμεν (usually explained as 'contrary to fact'); (3) to an optative in the previous line, which clearly illustrates my general theory. The verses run:—

(977) Hermes.

κλύω σ' ἐγὼ μεμνηνός τ' οὐ σμικρὸν νόσον.

Prom.

νοσοῦμ' ἂν, εἰ νόσημα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς στυγείν.

Hermes.

εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς.

The omitted copula in 978 is of course *ἐστί*. The time is of course present: a perfectly logical category, as Prof. Allen recognized (872) though he almost recanted (872 b, c. Curtius *Schulgrammatik* 15te Aufl. § 516 calls *all* such potentials present.). Any attempt to approach futurity is curiously well-barred by Hermes' perfect participle *μεμνηνός* (not even *μαϊνόμενον*) which suggested, and explains, Prometheus' reply. I render it:

'Perhaps I am indeed diseased: (certainly I am) if it is a disease to hate one's foes.'

In 979 we have no indicative, so any limit of time must be sought in the context, with no help from the form. But there is no hint of any *change* in time. The future is absolutely impossible, as we saw above.

'This insolence I now hear, joined to a less wretched physical condition, would be,—is, as I now imagine it,—an unendurable combination.'

My general position is already indicated. The optative with *ἄν* seems to me most properly associated with the indicative (past, present or future), for which it is often a more or less conscious substitution, and by which it can frequently be replaced, the differential being indicated roughly by *ἴσως*, *τάχα*, or the like. Like any optative, this potential is in itself powerless (*G.M.T.* § 85) to indicate time, though we may often gather the actual time from a correlated verb, from an adverb, or from 'the sense.' The time, when thus definable at all, is probably oftenest present, simply because the present problem is the chief subject of human discussion and interest. Consequently, we may expect our 'potential' to be oftenest found associated with a *present indicative*, as in *Prometheus* vs. 978. And this is at least very common, if not the most common of all its associations. (Examples in *G.M.T.* 503 (a); note the translation of Thuc. ii. 60.) We must remember, too, that the present indicative itself is often unlimited in time; as 'Man *is* mortal,' 'God *is* eternal.'

II.

My conception of the potential may be best illustrated by the familiar words of Herodotus, *εἶσαν δ' ἂν οὔτοι Κρήτες* (Herod. i. 2). The pirates in question were almost as remote, as semi-fabulous, certainly as much beyond 'future' identification, for Herodotus as for us. Even one who is first beginning the chronicle will feel that the phrase has a colloquial, natural, convenient turn. It seems to be essentially equivalent to *ἦσαν δ' οὔτοι ἴσως Κρήτες*, or perhaps as strong as *δοκεῖ μοι οὔτοι ἦσαν Κρήτες*. A *τάχα* would slip in very naturally before Herodotus' *ἂν*. In other words, the conscientious truth-lover hesitated at a plain *ἦσαν*, because he didn't know; and such hesitation toppled him over into the potential. If on the page stood instead *ἔλεξέ τις μοι οὔτοι Κρήτες εἶσαν οὔτοι*, we would promptly say: '*εἶσαν*, "imperfect" optative for an original *ἦσαν*.' The analogy thereto in the expression actually used seems to me strong enough to justify the translation:

'These *were* quite probably Cretans.' We might, however, suppress the verb altogether, and render as if by a foot-note, thus:—

'Cretans, maybe.'

The sudden and unexplained *shifting* of the time, in all such sentences, from a remote past to an almost inconceivable future, marks clearly, to my mind, the fatal flaw in the whole theory of the optative upheld by Mr. Goodwin and his disciples. It simply forces into each sentence of the kind an alien and subjective reference to some future revelation, of which I find no hint in the Greek. If we remove this prop, and the yet more confusing assertion that any Attic author occasionally uses the optative scheme *without reason* for the past indicatives in unreal conditions—then the potential and conditional optatives at once regain their natural freedom of range through all time, accorded them by other grammarians.

Herodotus has many interesting examples of this convenient potential. For instance his *εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν* is evidently as natural as 'That may all be,' in English: (Ger. Das kann wohl Alles sein). In iv. 195 it is clearly *present*. Herodotus is quoting a Carthaginian authority as to the curious island *Κυρανίς*, a sort of classic Klondyke... *λίμνην δ' ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἰ παρθένοι... ψῆγμα ἀναφέρονσι χρυσοῦ*. Here the *εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν* is really quite a cordial endorsement of the story ('This may well be quite true'), as he passes to his own corroborative observation: *ὅκου καὶ* (inasmuch as I too)... *ἐν Ζακύνθῳ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρων*... Any *future* interpretation must be dragged into so clear and simple a passage with the utmost difficulty.

In Herod. v. 9 the same idiom is no less clearly *past*. Herodotus is discussing the little-known folk of the Sigynnai, beyond the Ister. *εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι* ὅκως δὲ οὔτοι Μήδων ἀποικοὶ γεγόνασι, *ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ*. That the closing phrase here refers to 'the dark backward and abysm of Time' *past*, seems beyond argument.

Of course, there are also passages where the futurity is equally self-evident: though usually by no means remote, or 'less vivid'; as where in Aristophanes' *Frogs* vs. 830, Euripides declares *οὐκ ἂν μεθείμην τοῦ θρόνου* (I won't budge from the throne). But even if such cases be in a clear majority, which I question,—it would not justify an arbitrary interpretation of the others.

III.

The 'fourth-class condition' seems to me a mere gradual amplification of this potential optative, which *in itself* carries the implication, that the fulfilment of certain 'conditions' would, or might, permit its realization. Whether those conditions be indicated only by an *ἄν*, by a more highly definitive adverb (*i.e.* locative), like *δικαίως*, by a phrase, a participle, or a full clause, is relatively unessential.

Any actual count will disclose a remarkably small percentage of occurrence for the full and 'regular' form as compared with the various 'ellipses.' The principle of assimilation helped to associate *e.g.* *ἄν γένοιτο* and *εἰ γένοιτο*, to some extent, no doubt: but other conditional forms are freely attached to the optative with *ἄν*, and should not be stigmatized as exceptional or irregular.

And Mr. Goodwin himself refers *εἰ* with the optative to the past, in a large group of examples called by him 'general suppositions'; to the present, or past, in a certain group of Homeric and Attic passages which he regards (*G.M.T.* 443 (b)) as 'conditions contrary to fact.' This to indicate, that the mere form of *εἰ γένοιτο* gives no presumption of futurity, if the context prove recalcitrant.

If such an historical treatment, of the potential and conditional optative together, be thought out of place in a practical school grammar, I would still urge that this condition be given the *second* place rather than the fourth, and be described as contingent, doubtful, hypothetical, rather than future.

Of course, futurity is the favourite haunt (Tummelplatz) of the uncertain, and in most authors a *count* might go in that direction. But I insist that, even so, the minority should not be stigmatized as abnormal, nor given a violent wrench to force a future squint upon them: (*e.g.* Perhaps these might sometime turn out to have been Cretans. So Allen-Hadley 872 *c.*, more positively *G.M.T.* 94, 238).

And I claim with confidence, that in every sufficiently voluminous Greek author plenty of normal optatives occur, both in 'potentials' and in full-fledged conditions, which would naturally be referred to the present or past, or else are better left untimed:—and many more, whose future character is only fixed by the connection, or expressly stated in a temporal adverb. Indeed, this is in line with the whole

history, and overwhelming majority of uses, of the mood. In 'general suppositions,' in final clauses, in oratio obliqua, the relative remoteness of the optative causes it to be expressly assigned by preference to past time.¹

Even in the use from which the optative takes its name, I object to the wish being described as *future*. It is simply attached to an uncertainty. If a boat-race were now going on at New London, every good college man, wherever his abiding-place, would be praying: *νικῶεν οἱ ἡμέτεροι!* (May our fellows be the winners!) If to-morrow no bulletin should come, though the actual event will meantime have glided downstream into the irrevocable past, the pious prayer would still be repeated in unvaried form, meaning now: 'If they won, that's fine: if they lost, that's bad: but we don't know which happened!' Nay, if we *knew* we could never learn the result at all, *e.g.* suppose a pair of Yalensian materialists were drowning in mid-ocean, forty-eight hours after the regatta, the mood—of the verb, if not of the swimmer—would be unchanged as long as it floated on the surface of consciousness at all:—for the optative, in wishes, in potentials, in conditions, assigns the statement not to the realm of mere futurity, but to the wider field of the uncertain.

IV.

The first prose example under § 1408 was drawn by Prof. Goodwin from Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 67 E. Its time is *present*, if it has any. The facts are thus stated by Plato first, in the indicative: *οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουν μελετῶσι, καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι ἤκιστα φοβερὸν (ἔστιν).* *εἰ γὰρ διαβέβληνται τῷ σώματι*, (as we have seen that they have), *αὐτὴν δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν* (as it is agreed that they do), *τοῦτου γιγνομένου* (*i.e.* when death arrives, as it of course does, as, in my case, it has), *εἰ φοβοῖντο καὶ ἀγανακτοῖεν, οὐ πολλὴ ἂν ἀλογία εἴη*; 'Indeed it would be,'—so runs Socrates' thought: *i.e.* 'it is,—if anybody does it;—and therefore, I do not indulge in fears or querulousness, now, at the moment of death'. The sentence never

¹ Not absolutely limited to it, however: I remember surprising Adolf Kirchoff with several examples, from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, of a category he had promptly pronounced impossible: viz. an optative in a 'general supposition,' dependent on a present verb.

leaves its moorings in the actual moment and the actual situation, save as it swings more widely to indicate a general truth which includes Socrates and all other truly wise men. If on the one hand he had said *εἰ φοβοῦνται καὶ ἀγανακτοῦσιν* he might be thought to grant that philosophers are such fools. To say *εἰ ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, οὐ πολλὰ ἂν ἀλογία ἦν*; would remove the subject from the field of discussion even more completely on the other side, into the unreal.

Between these two,—the factitive and the unreal,—lies the fair debatable land of the hypothetical, perfectly indicated by the pair of optatives. To turn aside into any future possibility, whether more or less vivid, would be to commit the one (Platonic) unpardonable sin, of 'deserting the argument.' Instead of any such snapping of the thread, the cogent reasoning welds link into link without the least diversion, demonstrating the large (present) truth, with the actual prison-scene always the centre of the thought. Certain acts, whether real or imagined, are defined beyond cavil as wise, their opposites as silly. That at any future time philosophy would or might reverse its axioms, is simply unthinkable, and certainly would not be intruded at this solemn moment.

Again, as in the *Prometheus*-passage, if my diagnosis be correct, we may¹ now consider it as demonstrated, that this construction naturally stands between Mr. Goodwin's first and second conditional categories: the hypothetical between the factitive and the unreal.

V.

Prof. Goodwin writes: 'Your interpretation of *Prom.* 979 seems to show that you would put this into the class of present unreal conditions expressed by the present optative in Attic poetry as in Homer. Perhaps this class should be made larger than I have made it, and it might be easier to explain the line of Aeschylus by putting it there.' I understand this to refer to *G.M.T.* 443 (b) where one passage from Euripides and one from Plato are quoted,

¹ The need of precisely such an idiom befalls me as I jot down these words. *Εἰ ὁρθῇ ἐστιν ἡ διάγνωσις, δεδῆλωται νῦν δὴ* would be disrespectful to my master, who is presumably in the right: but *εἰ ὁρθῇ ἦν, δῆλον ἂν ἦν*, would abandon the whole field of discussion. So I say *εἰ γ' ὁρθῇ ἡ διάγνωσις εἴη, δῆλον νῦν ἂν γένοιτο κ.τ.λ.* (Falls ich Recht haben sollte, so dürfte es jetzt wohl schon klar sein u.s.w.).

'where the condition seems to be present and contrary to fact,' and it is added: 'Such examples are extremely rare in Attic Greek.'

I fear this only indicates an even more fundamental divergence of my view from Mr. Goodwin's. After the full establishment of the 'unreal condition,' as expressed by the past tenses of the indicative, I am unable to conceive of any great stylist, like Euripides or Plato, using an optative *instead* of it, i.e. without consciousness of any difference.

Time-sense, and logical distinctions generally, develop late, in children, in savages, even in early Greeks. My little son to-day says 'That would be nice!' and cannot tell whether the unuttered underthought be 'And may be it is so,' or: 'But it isn't so.' Indeed the distinction is not perfectly maintained in most highly-developed languages. Thus 'Wenn dem so wäre' is still in German, occasionally, a past potential, the preterite of 'Wenn dem so sei.' For instance, the (past) conditional optatives in Herod. vii. 214 can be rendered: 'Der Onetes würde den Pass ganz gut kennen können, falls er längere Zeit dort zu Lande geblieben wäre (wie er vielleicht geblieben war).' Similarly in Shakspeare: 'If it *were* so, it was a grievous fault,' i.e. 'If perchance it was so,' a preterite to 'If it be so.' Similar occurrences of *si esset* and *si fuisset* as 'past potentials' have, I think, been accepted without question by Latin Grammarians, sometimes thinly veiled by the name 'general suppositions.' It may be noted in passing, that in all these languages the forms most nearly corresponding to the Greek optative took the other turn at the crossroad, and are ordinarily used for *unreal* conditions. It seems likely, that in pre-Homeric Greek the optative may have been used for almost any concept outside the 'factitive,' without drawing the line clearly between the possible and the unreal. Homer, we are taught, still occasionally drops into the optative for the unreal in apodosis, or in protasis,—and once (*Iliad* xxiii. 274) in both (*G.M.T.* 438, where the words 'is regularly expressed' may easily be misunderstood). Even Homer, however, is so familiar with the regular unreal condition expressed by past tenses of the indicative, as in Attic prose (*G.M.T.* 435), that we may well consider every optative, even in the epic, very carefully, and endeavour to see some distinction.

But to an Athenian, at any rate, *ἂν ἐγίγνετο* and *ἂν ἐγένετο* were equally and

perfectly familiar. When the greatest master of prose style who ever lived, speaking of a crisis in Socrates' life many years before, uses (*Apology* 28 E) εἰ λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν, δεινὸν ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος he certainly could have used, looking back on a long unflinching devotion of Socrates to duty, ἔλιπον and δεινὸν ἂν εἰργάσμην,—but it is equally certain that he made an intelligent choice of his mood, uncontrolled by a sporadic confusion of Homer's style—if confusion it was, even in Homer.

This very discussion strengthens my conviction that ἂν γένοιτο belongs rather between γέγνετο and ἐγένετο ἂν than outside γενήσεται, in Mr. Goodwin's four-fold marshalling of the conditions.

VI.

But of course the discussion of single specimens—even though poached from the master's private pond—would hardly satisfy any one. And historical probability is of as little avail, against an established usage, universal or overwhelmingly preponderant, in Attic literature itself. Indeed I understand Prof. Goodwin's categories to be based on that prevailing usage rather than on historical development, which he is not sanguine of recovering with certainty. (*G.M.T.* p. vi. lines 7 ff.)

So I must set up some general theses, and defend them with the weapons of *Statistik*. I assert, then, that in the best fourth century Attic prose, ἂν with the optative, whether in potentials or in complete conditionals, does not refer, exclusively nor even chiefly, to the future. When so referable, the time is made clear by a temporal adverb, by the known circumstances, or by the limitations of human thought: *not* by the optative construction itself. I add, that many such clauses can only be clearly and logically analysed, when it is seen that they have no shred of futurity about them. In still other cases the 'futurity,' if recognized at all, is necessarily limited to the very next instant, the 'vagueness' or 'remoteness,' if any, being as to the reality of the occurrence, not at all as to its time.

Prof. Gildersleeve occupies, as I understand, a sort of middle ground: that 'the event may often be present and occasionally perhaps past, but the ascertainment is always in the future.' But why should a confession of uncertainty as to a present or past event connote any hint or prospect of 'ascertainment'? In many cases like *Apol.* 28 E, the speaker has no uncertainty, nor have

his hearers: he simply uses the rhetorical device of understatement, leaving them to exclaim 'But we all know you didn't.' Or again, as in Herodotus οὔτοι ἂν εἴσαν Κρήτες no 'ascertainment' can be hoped for. When an Italian shrugs his shoulders, a German grumbles 'kann sein,' a Yankee drawls 'mebbe' (or more aggressively non-committal 'damfino'), what suggests future ascertainment?

I appeal first to the simplest and best-known work of the most-read fourth-century writer: to Plato's *Apology*: confessing, of course, that an *Apologia pro vita iam finita* is 'good hunting' for past potentials, etc. The enumeration attempts to include each independent optative with ἂν, and each group so closely correlated as to be essentially one construction. Errors are more than probable, in a first attempt—and having uttered elsewhere some rash words against the patient enumerators who make scientific advance possible, I would confess, in all humility, that no hours I ever spent over a Greek text were more enjoyable, nor, I think, more instructive than these.

VII.

NOTICE OF ALL RELEVANT PASSAGES IN THE *Apology*.

(1) 17 B. ὁμολογῶν ἂν. 'I may well agree,' almost 'I *do* agree.' Time, present, shown by the preceding verb and the whole context.

(2) 17 C. οὐ γὰρ ἂν πρόποι. Past time, if any; certainly not future, for the act referred to as unseemly is εἰσιέναι εἰς ὑμᾶς πλάττοντι λόγους, and he came into the courtroom some time ago. This comes very near the 'unreal.' οὐκ ἔπρεπεν (ἂν) would do very well instead, though certainly not *the same*.

(3) P. 18 A. ἴσως γὰρ χείρων, ἴσως δὲ βελτίων ἂν εἶη. The unreal condition just before, in 17 D, is in present time, and this is apparently parallel to that. ἂν εἶη is a softened ἐστίν. Notice that ἴσως occurs in the phrase here. εἰ δίκαια λέγω just below fully defends my analysis.

(4) P. 19 A. βουλοίμην ἂν τοῦτο οὕτω γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄμεινον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοί. The omitted verb after εἰ is, of course, ἐστίν. There is perhaps an ellipsis, but at any rate we need not leave the present time. βουλοίμην ἂν is a present, though a verb of wishing necessarily looks *toward* the future. Translate 'Perhaps I do wish this to happen: (certainly I do) if it is better for you and

for me.' Present time. γενέσθαι and ποιῆσαι are future, of course: but so is φαγεῖν in βούλομαι μῆλον φαγεῖν (*G.M.T.* preface, p. v. *ad fin.*). While (2) was almost 'unreal,' this is almost 'factive.' So the two mark the extreme range of the construction.

(5) 19 E. εἴ τις οἶός τε εἴη. This is the converse of (1) in form. The *apodosis* indicative is τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καλὸν εἶναι. Of course the time is the present. Though a potential, the optative here again approaches the unreal: for we, at least, know Socrates' real feeling so well, that the whole sentence is a mere mocking substitute for ἂν ἐδόκει...εἴ τις οἶός τε ἦν. But the keen Socratic irony is as far as possible from *confusing* the two. The present time is made doubly clear by the parallel passage, P. 20 C. εἰ ἔχει ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

(6) P. 20 C. ὑπολάβοι ἂν οὖν τις ἡμῶν ἴσως. The interruption thus suggested is not a remote or vague future one. It is actually in process of making. That is, the supposed objector *is* speaking, through Socrates' mouth. 'Some one of you perhaps raises,' or 'may perhaps be raising the objection.' Time present (*Vide infra*, (19)).

(7) P. 20 E. οὔτοι δὲ τάχ' ἂν . . . σοφοὶ εἶεν. This is again sarcastic. The correlation with κινδυνεύω εἶναι σοφός marks the time, present.

(8) P. 22 E. δεξαίμην ἂν. This is really conditional: at least εἴ τις θεὸς δοίη is easily supplied. The time may be considered future, though I do not believe Socrates really entertained it as a possibility in *his* earthly future. Indeed the answer must have been λυσιτελεῖ μοι ὥσπερ ἔχω ἔχειν, and that is *present* beyond question. So too the βουλόμην ἂν seems to me a supposed—or rather a supposable—present choice.

(9) 23 B. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἶποι. Here the optative of the *apodosis* is clearly indicated by the ἂν. It is hardly possible to take it as a vague future 'Just as if he should some time say.' I believe it actually does refer to the same time as the real utterance of the oracle to which it is compared: 'Supposing that he said—(though we know he didn't): that is, it is a politer or more dramatic substitute for ὥσπερ ἂν [ἐποίησεν] εἰ εἶπεν. Like (5) this might be quoted among the Attic 'optatives in unreal conditions,' if there be indeed any such. Time, past.

(10) 24 D. οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν. This differs as little as possible from οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, which he could have used. The context is clear. Time, present. Cf. (3).

(11) 24 A. θανμάζοιμ' ἂν εἰ οἶός τε εἴην. This is the closest approximation, thus far

in the speech, to the 'normal' complete condition. The time is doubtless best conceded to be future, though not a remote, vague, or indistinct, future. At most, a half-hour hence will decide; Socrates' own mind is already fully made up; and the effort implied in οἶός τ' εἶην is already making, so far as it is ever made at all. The οὕτως ὀλίγω χρόνῳ is, of course, the time within which the *present* oration is being uttered.

(12) P. 25 B. πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη, εἰ εἰς μόνος διαφθείρει. Time as in No. (1).

(13) P. 27 A. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἶποι. Time as in No. (9).

(14) P. 27 D. τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη. Time as in No. (1).

(15) *Ibid.* τίς ἂν ἡγοίτο. Time as in No. (1).

(16) *Ibid.* ὁμοίως γὰρ ἂν ἄποπον εἴη, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππων μὲν παῖδας ἡγοίτο, ἵππους δὲ μὴ ἡγοίτο εἶναι. The thesis is one that only a madman could accept or defend. No possibility that it may hereafter be seriously defended is suggested. I am more afraid of attack from another quarter: viz. that this may seem truly an 'unreal condition,' despite the optative. Socrates could undoubtedly have substituted the indicative with ἂν. But it seems to me a different thing, and better rhetoric, to hold the proposition up, as it were, without prejudice or comment, and let the hearer decide that it is impossible. In such cases we must appeal from the grammarian, with his rigid categories, to the rhetorician (not to say the sophist), with his delicate *nuances* and crafty suggestions. Time not defined; logically present, if any.

(17) 27 E. πείθοις ἂν. Time past, as Meletus has spoken.

(18) 28 B. ἴσως δ' ἂν οὖν εἶποι τις. Time as in No. (6).

(19) 28 B. ἂν ἀντίποιμι. Time as in No. (6).

(20) 28 C. φαῦλοι γὰρ ἂν τῷ γε σῶ λόγῳ. Time as in No. (6).

(21) 28 D. δεινὰ ἂν εἴην εἰργασμένους. The perfect optative, perhaps to remind his hearers that his life-work is done. The whole sentence is clearly past, most of it definitely dated (ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ κ.τ.λ.). The condition, εἰ λίποιμι, is assigned to the past time (viz. when Chairephon consulted the oracle) by τοῦ θεοῦ τάπτοντος. Again εἰ λίποιμι comes perilously near to εἰ ἔλιπον [ἂ οὐκ ἐποίησα]. Cf. *supra*, especially (16). Time, past. εἴη and εἰσάγοι in the next sentence are parts of the same concept. They are part of the justification. They really assert: 'what I *did* do was not δεινόν but

righteous: I *was* led hither not *δικαίως* but unjustly, etc.' This is perhaps the most important test case in the *Apology*. Dyer's note upon it is the most difficult elucidation of an impossible complex of 'past, present and future' ideas that I ever saw. Leave the whole sentence in past time, and no difficulties can be found. Mr. Goodwin writes: 'If you can consider *λίπομαι* as in any sense past, we have very little common ground.' And I agree that this sentence is the best known to me, over which to settle the whole discussion. As to Plato's reasons for using here the past potential in preference to the past unreal, cf. my remarks above on (5) and (16).

(22) 29 B. *εἰ φαίην σοφώτερος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἂν[εἴη]*. Time, present.

(23) P. 29 C-D. *εἴ μοι εἶποιτε...εἰ οὖν ἀφίοιτε...εἴποιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν*. Time as in No. (8).

(24) P. 30 B. *εἰ διαφθείρω, ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη βλαβερὰ*. Time as in No. (1).

(25) *Ibid.* *φαίην ἂν*. Time as in No. (1).

(26) P. 30 C. *ἂν βλάψειεν...ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν ἴσως...κ.τ.λ.* Time, partly near future, partly unlimited: "no evil can *ever* harm the wise."

(27) P. 30 D. *ὥς τις ἂν οἶοιτο*. Time as in No. (6).

(28) P. 31 A. *ἂν ἀποκτείναιτε*. Time, near future.

(29) *Ibid.* *διατελοῖτ' ἂν*. Prolonged future, expressly timed by *τὸν λοιπὸν βίον*. The *εἰ μὴ ἐπιπέμψειε* that follows is also future. This is the first,—and the only—perfectly satisfactory example I find for rule 1408 G.G., with its present wording, in the entire *Apology*.

(30) *Ibid.* *ἂν κατανοήσαιτε*. Time, instant future.

(31) P. 31 C. *ἴσως ἂν δόξειεν*. Time, present.

(32) P. 32 A. *οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ ὑπείκασθαιμ...μὴ ὑπέικων δὲ ἅμα κἂν ἀπολοίμην*.

These are *characterizing* clauses, and so, true as long as Socrates lives. I will not insist on pinning them to the past time in which occurred the actual tests of Socrates' stubborn courage (*τὰ ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκότα*.) But if Mr. Goodwin insists on referring them to the future, I call attention to the parallel passage, in 31 D where not only the past indicative, but the (rare) pluperfect, strengthened still farther by *πάλα*, is used. The sentence we are considering is an essentially complete condition (*μὴ ὑπέικων* = *εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέικοιμι*), but is most clearly understood if the time question is left out altogether: or rather, if the perfectly free range of the hypothetical optative is clearly ac-

cepted. The whole conception is essential to a right view of Socrates, as he is, has been, and will be while life lasts.

(33) P. 33 B. *οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὑπέχοιμι*. Time as in No. (1).

(34) P. 34 B. *τάχ' ἂν λόγον ἔχοιεν*. Time as in No. (6).

(35) 34 B. *ἔχοιμ' ἂν*. Time as in No. (1).

(36) 34 C. *ἂν ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀναμνησθεῖς*. Time, present. 'Very likely someone of you has a feeling of irritation, as he recalls.' *ἀγανακτεῖ* could be used, but Socrates wisely does not insult any of the jurors by asserting that they have been abject convicts: though the indicatives that develop *ἀναμνησθεῖς* come near saying so.

(37) 34 C. *ὥς ἂν δόξαιμι*. Time as in No. (1).

(38) *Ibid.* *αὐθαδέστερον πρὸς με σχοίη*. Time present and imminent future.

(39) P. 35 A. *αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη* is future, unmistakably, and why? Precisely because the condition is *not εἰ εἴσαν* but *εἰ ἔσονται*! Plato needed an unquestionable future, and found it in the indicative. There is, however, nothing vivid or near about the time. On the contrary, Socrates' whole pressure is to make it as remote and unlikely as possible. A weighty example. Cf. (57).

(40) P. 35 A. *ἂν ὑπολαβεῖν τινα*. Time as in No. (6).

(41) P. 35 C. *οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἂν ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῖεν*. Time as in No. (1).

(42) P. 35 D. *εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς, ἂν διδάσκειμι...καὶ κατηγοροῖην ἂν ἐμαντοῦ*.

Time practically present (*νομίζω*), and past, as the speech is already at an end. Mr. Goodwin will hardly care to force it *ten seconds* into the future! A stronger temptation will be felt to call it a 'contrary to fact.' But cf. (16).

(43) 36 D. *ὅτι ἂν πρέποι*. Time as in No. (1).

(44) 37 C. *ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τιμήσαιτε*. Time, immediate future.

(45) *Ibid.* *ἂν ἔχοι, εἴ εἰμι*. Time as in No. (1).

(46) 37 D. *καλὸς ἂν μοι ὁ βίος εἴη ἐξεληθόντι*. Future time of course, but almost unreal.

(47) 37 E. *ἴσως οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι*. Time as in No. (6).

(48) 38 B. *ἂν δυναίμην*. Time as in No. (1).

(49) 39 A. *ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι*. Time as in No. (1).

(50) P. 39 E. *ἡδέως ἂν διαλεχθείην*. Time, immediate future.

(51) P. 40 A. *ὀρθῶς ἂν καλοίην*. Time as in No. (38).

(52) *Ibid.* *εἴ τι μέλλοιμι*. This is the

ordinary 'general supposition,' past time. I note it in 'passing, merely to say that I can perceive no essential difference between this use and almost any other optative with *εἰ*, e.g. *εἰ μὴ ἐπιτέμψειε* in 31 A. The impression that the warning actually came, at several crises, is given by the main verb, *not* by the (hypothetical) optative, which we may render, timelessly, 'in case of an intention on my part to do something wrong.' The new Kühner-Gerth agrees exactly with this view. Kühner G. G. II. i.³, § 399, 4 *ad fin.* 'Man spricht von einem *optativus iterativus* etc.'

(53) *Ibid.* *οἰηθείη ἂν τις*. Time, present.

(54) P. 40 D. *κέρδος ἂν εἴη*. Time as in No.(1).

(55) *Ibid.* *εἰ δέοι...οἶμαι ἂν εὐρεῖν*. Timeless. Plato is characterizing *human life*.

(56) P. 40 E. *τί μείζον ἂν εἴη*. Time as in No.(55).

(57) P. 41 A.-B. *φάυλη ἂν εἴη*. Time, future. The protasis is *εἰ εὐρήσει*. Closely connected, logically follows *δέξαιτ' ἂν*.

θαναστή ἂν εἴη, ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι, καὶ...οὐκ ἂν ἀγδὲς εἴη.

Future, of course. So are the following optatives. But all are connected more or less closely with *εὐρήσει*, which stands with magnificent emphasis at the opening of the chapter. 'If a man, on his arrival in Hades, is *actually going to find* etc.,—then this long series of ideally delightful results may well follow. Like (39) this is powerful negative testimony against the proper futurity of the 'less vivid future' category.

VIII

The general conclusion indicated by these data can surprise no one more than they did the present collector. So far as the *Apology* is concerned, we must conclude:

(1) The commonest use of the optative with *ἂν* is still as a mere vague potential, with no conditional clause expressed or plainly implied. The time, so far as indicated by correlated clauses, parallel or contrasted statements, or 'the sense,' is oftenest the present, less often the future, occasionally the past, and in certain cases is necessarily unlimited.

(2) When an *εἰ* clause appears, the favourite form (about ten occurrences) is the *present indicative*.

(3) When an unmistakable future is desired, Plato repeatedly turns to the future indicative.

(4) Once at least *εἰ* with the optative

depends on a present indicative, and denotes present time if it is definable at all.

(5) In the entire *Apology* there is but one sentence (31 A) of the form described in G.G. 1408, referring to a future more than half-an-hour off: and that is timed by *τὸν λοιπὸν βίον*. Of the six other examples, one (28 D-E) refers to events many years past, others to the present, or to the imminent verdict.

It will be noticed that I am criticising not so much what is said in § 1408 as what is not said elsewhere. My larger purpose is to claim for Attic speech a useful,—and, as I believe, very common,—distinction of meaning, for which these generally-accepted categories leave no space. Let us return to my own Greek sentence (note to page 104). Whenever any subject is being earnestly debated, to say *εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον γίγνεται* is a somewhat aggressive (implied) claim of being in the right. To say *εἰ οὕτως εἴχεν, ἂν ἐγίγνετο δῆλον* would surrender the claim to the other side. In English we need not say 'If that *is* so, it *is* clear,'—nor, of course, 'If it *were* so, it *would* be clear.' We can hang the question courteously in the air: 'If this *be* true, it *may now* be considered proven,' etc. In German 'Wenn dem so sei,' or 'Sollte das nun schon bewiesen sein,' slips no less comfortably between *ist* and *wäre*. Did the most flexible and courteous sophistic and polemic of Plato have no such device? The subjunctive is out of the question: optatives I find galore, from Herodotus onward, which I can interpret in no other way.

Mr. Goodwin bids us choose between two impossibilities: (1) these clauses, timed plainly in the present or past, *must* be referred to the future, or else (2) the greatest masters of style are here using the optative exactly like the past tenses of the indicative with *ἂν*, blurring thereby one of the most vital distinctions of logic and of mood-form. And all this against the probabilities indicated by the historical development, against the weight of other uses of the optative,—and, let me add, against the judgment of other most acute grammarians, at least as to the *present* potential (Krüger, *Sprachlehre*, 54, 3 A 6 & 7; Curtius, *Schulgrammatik*, 516, 547, etc.; Kühner-Gerth doubts the existence of a *past* potential in Attic, but interprets the passages in Herodotus much as I do; Kühn. II. i.³ § 396, 2). That the remote or 'less vivid' future is a real,—though infrequent,—development of the ordinary potential, is undoubtedly true. But I am entirely unable to accept a definition

of the potential itself which excludes most of its uses, and deprives us of a necessary refinement of polite intercourse. Mr. Goodwin recognizes in Homer a 'past potential' (*Iliad*, v. 85). I see it in Plato, *Apol.* 28 D. Present potentials I find on almost any page: much oftener than futures.

I hope in the not too remote future to apply the statistical method of analysis to a masterpiece of Demosthenes, the other perfect model of fourth-century Attic style: unless, — which I would much prefer, — a professional grammarian shall presently take up the question, or may have done so already: *εἰ μὴ γε ταῦτα, ὥς πολὺ μᾶλλον βουλοίμην ἂν, — καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι ἤδη, — γραμματιστὴς τις ἐπιστήμων ἢ ποιήσει ἢ νῦν ἤδη πεποιηκὼς εἶη, ἐμοῦ ἀγνοῶντος.*

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POSTSCRIPT.

December 21, 1898.

This paper was essentially completed early in 1897. In a letter received to-day, Prof. Postgate calls my attention to Prof. A. Platt's extremely interesting paper in No. 51 of the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xxvi. pp. 81 *sqq.*), and, especially, to the examples cited at its close, wherein the Attic use of ἂν with the optative approaches the ordinary use of ἂν with the indicative. Prof. Postgate thinks me especially bound to face Aristophanes, *Equites*, 413, adding: 'frankly I see no possibility of Aristophanes escaping from your lash.' The allusion is to my rash description of Mr. Goodwin's alternative explanations as 'two impossibilities': *supra* p. 108.

But this Aristophanic passage is actually one of the very few for which I accept Prof. Goodwin's description, 'less vivid future'. The poet was probably steering for a closing optative, as a comic pendant to παραγενοίμην in vs. 410, which may be called a 'less vivid' wish. Allantopoles is confident Paphlagon will lose. Hence the condition,

to be gathered from the confident *ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι σ' οἶομαι*, is the unlikely alternative, *εἰ δὲ μὴ σε ὑπερβαλοίμην* (rather than *ὑπερβαλοῦμαι*). We need not even call in Prof. Gildersleeve's aid and render 'Otherwise all my stuffing would be *then revealed as vain*.' It is simply 'If I (should) fail to win, it would then have been useless' (*Frustra fartus fuero*—or *fuero*). That the 'stuffing' chances to be also, in the main, *past* at the instant when he speaks, is quite immaterial: he is thinking only of that remote and improbable future contingency, his own defeat.

As to the other examples, we agree that the optative with ἂν occurs where the indicative would have been expected. On such a passage, indeed, I have rested my whole case. But the speaker, who is fully aware that an event didn't or even couldn't happen, may choose to describe it as contingent, as ideally possible. I might even accept Prof. Platt's convenient loophole, and call certain stray sentences purely careless writing or loose thinking. They do not affect our main contentions at all.

W. C. L.

NOTE ON THE PRECEDING PAPER.

I am perfectly content to have the whole question raised by Professor Lawton rest (as he proposes) on the interpretation of *Apol.* 28 D—E (no. 21 of his passages quoted from the *Apology*), *ἐγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἂν εἶην εἰργασμένος ... λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν*. If *εἰ λίποιμι* here is past in any sense whatever, and if the whole condition is not a compound of a past supposition, *εἰ τότε ἔμενον καὶ ἐκινδύνεον*, and a future one, *εἰ λίποιμι*, with a conclusion in the perfect optative, expressing what would be the future result of my inconsistency (*what I should hereafter appear to have done*), I am ready to admit that all I have written and believed about the conditional optative is useless rubbish.

W. W. GOODWIN.

THE TEXT OF THE *ILIAD*.¹

(*An Abstract of a Paper read before the
Oxford Philological Society, December 2,
1898.*)

THE Italian Libraries contain 107 MSS. of the *Iliad*, all, except the Ambrosian fragments, minuscules, dating from the tenth to the eighteenth century. The Vatican has 31, the Laurenziana 22, the Ambrosiana 18, the Marciana 14; smaller collections contain 21. If we divide them according to age, the Ambrosian fragments are said to be of the vth–vith century, two MSS. are saec. x–xi, two saec. xi, three saec. xii, three saec. xii–xiii, nineteen saec. xiii, five saec. xiii–xiv, sixteen saec. xiv, two saec. xiv–xv, thirty-three saec. xv, eighteen saec. xvi, one saec. xviii.

From this number there are to be subtracted (1) MSS. already collated and important from their age: viz. the Ambrosian fragments, A (= Ven. 454), B (= Ven. 453), C (= Laur. 32, 3), D (= Laur. 32, 15); (2) most of the xvith century MSS. and the one xviiiith century copy. Many of these MSS. consist of excerpts, e.g. A, or A–B 493, or ABΓ, and are otherwise negligible.

Seventy-nine MSS. remain. A strictly numerical calculation divides them into three classes: I. Families, II. Independent MSS., III. Contaminated MSS.

I.—FAMILIES.

Of these there are fifteen, which I have designated by italic letters.

a = Vat. 11 [Vatic. graec. 915 s. xiii] L 2 [Laur. 32, 1 s. xv] M 13 [Ambros. E 56 inf. s. xv].

b = L 3 [Laur. 32, 4 s. xv] L 4 [Laur. 32, 5 s. xiv.] L 10 [Laur. 32, 22 s. xv] L 14 [Laur. 32, 31 s. xiv] Ang. [Angelica C I. 2 s. xiii] Vat. 29 [Ottoboni 342 s. xiii–xiv] Vat. 31 [Pius II. 38 s. xvi].

c = L 5 [Laur. 32, 6 s. xv] M 9 [Ambr. I. 98 inf. s. xv–xvi] Mo [Estensis III. D.

4 s. xv] Vat. 2 [Vatic. graec. 27 s. xv] Vat. 15 [Vatic. graec. 1318 s. xiii]

d = L 6 [Laur. 32, 8 s. xiii–xiv] L 8 [Laur. 32, 11 s. xiii] L 18 [Laur. 91 sup. 2 s. xiii] Vat. 4 [Vatic. graec. 29 s. xiii] Vat. 27 [Ottoboni 58 s. xv] Harley 5600 [s. xv].

e = L 7 [Laur. 32, 10 s. xv] L 15 [Laur. 32, 38 s. xiv] L 20 [Laur. Conv. soppr. 139 s. xiii] M 6 [Ambros. H 77 sup. s. xv] Vat. 24 [Urb. 136 s. xv] Ven. 9 [Marc. IX. 2 s. xvi].

= L 9 [Laur. 32, 18 s. xv] L 12 [Laur. 32, 27 s. xiv] L 17 [Laur. 91 sup. 1 s. xiii–xiv] Vat. 5 [Vatic. graec. 30 s. xiv] Vat. 14 [Vatic. graec. 1317 s. xiii] Vat. 22 [Palatin. 180 s. xv] Vat. 26 [Urb. 138 s. xv] N 1 [Neapolitanus III. E 37 s. xiii].

g = L 11 [Laur. 32, 25 s. xvi] L 16 [Laur. 32, 47 s. xiii] M 4 [Ambros. E 35 sup. s. xv–xvi] M 5 [Ambros. F 101 sup. s. xii] M 11 [Ambr. L 116 sup. s. xii–xiii] R 1 [Riccardiana 30 s. xiii].

h = M 1 [Ambros. A 101 sup. s. xiii] M 12 [Ambros. M 86 sup. s. xv] Vat. 3 [Vatic. graec. 28 s. xiv] Vat. 6 [Vatic. graec. 31 s. xiii] Vat. 19 [Palat. 6 s. xiv.] Vat. 23 [Palat. 310 s. xv–xvi] Ven. 2 [Marc. 455 s. xiii–xiv] Ven. 4 [Marc. 458 s. xii–xiii]. Paris *grec* 1805, 2766 *supplément grec* 144.

i = B.M. Pap. 107 [s. 1 B.C.] 'H' [Vindobonensis 117 s. xiii] 'Vrat. d' [No. 25 s. xv] Ven. 13 [Marc. IX. 33 s. xv].

k = Vat. 13 [Vatic. graec. 1316 s. xii–xiii] Mc [Monte Cassino S. 94 s. xiii].

l = Vat. 25 [Urb. 137 s. xv] Ven. 3 [Marc. 456 s. xv] Harley 5693 [s. xv].

m = L 19 [Conv. soppr. 48 s. xiv] Vat. 18 [Vatic. graec. 1626 s. xv.] Ven. 6 [Marc. 459 (b) s. xiv].

n = Vat 12 [Vatic. graec. 1315 s. xii] Gf [Grotta Ferrata Z. a. xxiv s. xiv] Harley 1771 [s. xv].

o = D [Laur. 32, 15, s. x–xi] Ge [Genevensis 44 s. xiii] Vat. 14 Vat. 22 (see also under *f*).

¹ My conclusions, properly speaking, hold only of the Italian MSS., but since the specimens published by Dr. Leaf (*Journal of Philology*, xx. 237 sq.) of the two most important collections outside of Italy—London and Paris—fall under one or another of the families I have constructed, I have given my statements a general character.

p = P [Perugia bibl. comun. E 48 s. xv] Pa [Parma H H II. 27 s. xv].

Several of these 'families' have a very slight claim to the title, and are to be regarded more as convenient abbreviations than as independent streams of tradition. More than one family also is really a member of another; thus *b* is connected with *g*, *c* is subordinate to *h*, *n* also seems a far-off member of *h*, *p* has a vague connection with the Venetus A. The important groups which remain in, and require consideration, are *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, and *i*. Of these *e* seems to have points of contact with La Roche's 'G' (Vindob. 39 s. xiv) and the editio princeps, *f* approximates to B and C, which as Dr. Leaf has shown most nearly constitutes a vulgate; *g* is the family first made out by Dr. Leaf (*l.c.* p. 194 sq.), there represented by two late MSS., one at Stuttgart, the other at Cambridge ('S Cant.'). *h* is the striking group the importance of which was first brought out by Dr. Leaf in his epoch-making paper, *Journal of Philology*, xviii. 181 sq. *i* also is a family whose claims were recognised by Dr. Leaf, *l.c.* p. 192; only one of my MSS., Ven. 13, belongs to it.

To compare these five families among themselves, I have borrowed the method employed by Dr. Leaf (*l.c.* p. 188). I differentiate them according to the proportion of their peculiar readings, and these accordingly as they are (1) Alexandrian or otherwise ancient, (2) found in papyri, on the margin of the Venetus A, or in Eustathius, (3) unauthenticated by external evidence, but intrinsically valuable.

This method gives the following results:

Peculiar Ll.	Ancient.	Pap. Ven. A. Eust.	Unconfirmed but likely.
<i>c</i> 77	2	8	28
<i>f</i> 54	2	4	8
<i>g</i> 72	2	5	40
<i>h</i> 184	49	7	64
<i>i</i> 56	3	8	27

The unique position of *h* is evident; the others are tame by comparison. *f* is in all respects the flattest and least characterised family.

I proceed to give specimens of the peculiarlections of these groups:

Ancient—

- ⊙ 415 ἦ with Ar.; εἰ cet.
 Λ 132 ἀφνειοῦ πατρός, cf. ἀντιμάχοιο πατρός Zen.; ἀντιμάχοιο δόμοις cet.
 [C 14 ἀψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἔμεν with *i*, Ar.; νῆας ἐπ' ἀψ ἰέναι cet.]

Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.—

- H 6 ἐρέσσοντες (ἐνιοι, γρ. Ven. A.; ἐλαύνοντες cet.
 ⊙ 170 ἐπ' (γρ. Ven. A.): ἀπ' cet.
 I 5 βορρῶς (γρ.), Rhet. gr. III. 211: βορέης cet.
 ⊚ 286 ἔμμενε (Ven. A superscr. Eust.): ἔμεινε.
 C 68 εἰσανέβησαν (*p* Ven. A in textu): εἰσανέβαινον cet.
 ω 235 ἐξέστην δ' (Eust.): δ' om. cet.

Unsupported *ll.*—Of the 28 likely or possible πόλιος Λ 168 and ἐκόσμεε ⊚ 388 are the most striking.

f Ancient—

- M 246 ὑπ' with Zen.; ἐπ' cet.
 C 424 θέτις with Zen.; θέτι cet.

Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.—

- B 456 κορυφῇ Eust.; κορυφῆς cet.
 O 58 παυσάμεν Eust.; παυσάμενον cet.
 134 πῆμα, ἐν ἄλλω Ven. A.; πᾶσι cet.

Unconfirmed—

- H 342 ἐγγὺς for ἀμφίς.
 M 118 μεθείη for μεθίει.
 ⊚ 491 ὄπαζε for ὄπασσε.
 506 εἴλετο for ἔλλαβε.
 O 78 βοῶπις πότνια for θεὰ λευκώλενος.

Two members of the family, Vat. 14 and N 1, break away in certain books and show some striking peculiarities.

g Ancient—

- Z 266 ἀνίπτῃσι with Zen. Ar. and Herodian; ἀνίπτοις cet.
 Φ 303 ἴσχευ with Ar.; ἔσχευ cet.

Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.—

- ⊙ 394 δὴ with Eust.; θὴν cet.
 Λ 72 εἶχον with Eust.; εἶχεν cet.
 P 480 ἐπιβήσομαι with Ven. A in text.; ἀπο- cet.
 415 οὐκ ἂν with Ven. A in text.; οὐ μὲν cet.
 T 133 πρὸς with Ven. A in text.; ὑπ' cet.
 Ψ 474 δίωνται Ven. A superscr.; διένται cet.

Unconfirmed—

- Ε 872 ἔργ' αἰδῆλα for καρτέρᾳ ἔργα.
 Z 343 ἀμείβετο δία γυναικῶν for προσηγύδα μελιχίοισι.

- Θ 4 ἄμα for ὑπὸ.
 520 τε for δέ.
 694 ἀπόειπεν for ἀπέειπεν.
 P 728 ἀίξεται for ἐλίξεται.
 Υ 60 τεῖχος for νῆες.
 X 207 ἐλὼν for βαλὼν.
 363 ἀδροτήτα for ἀνδροτήτα.
 Ψ 136 σχέθε for ἔχε.

The abundance and the interest of this class of reading constitute *g*'s claim to consideration.

h Ancient i Aristarchean ll.

- Δ 260 κρητῆρι for κρητῆρσι.
 321 ὀπάξει for ἱκάνει.
 465 πόνος for φόνος.
 Ε 531 αἰδομένων for αἰδομένων δ'.
 560 εἰκοτέ for εἰκοτές.
 787 ἐλεγχέες for ἐλέγχεα.
 Η 475 ἀνδραπόδοισι for ἀνδραπόδεσσι.
 481 πιεμέναι πρὶν λείψαι for πρὶν πιέναι πρὶν λείψαι.
 Θ 7 θεῶν for θεός.
 228 ἐλεγχέες for ἐλέγχεα.
 405 ἀπαλθήσονται (Ar. ed. 2) for ἀπαλθήσεσθαι.
 Ι 73 πολέσιν γὰρ for πολέεσσι δ'.
 472 ἐν for ὑπ'.
 564 κλαῖε ὃ μιν for κλαῖ, ὅτε μιν.
 681 σάως for σόψς.
 Κ 431 ἱππόμαχοι for ἱππόδαμοι.
 505 ὑψοῦ for ὑψος'.
 Λ 103 ἐόντε for ἐόντας.
 144 οὔδας ἔρεισεν for οὔδει ἐρείσθη.
 Μ 68 ἔετ' for βούλετ'.
 144 πόνος for φόβος.
 192 οὔδας ἔρεισεν for οὔδει ἐρείσθη.
 211 ἐνιπλήσεις for ἐπιπλήσεις.
 318 ἀκλεές for ἀκληεῖς.
 Ν 399 ὁ ἀσθμαίνων for ὁ γ' ἀσθμ.
 235 χάριν ἰδέω (εἰδέω) for ἰδέω χάριν.
 Ξ 173 κατὰ for ποτὶ.
 276 τῆς for ἧς.
 418 ὥκν for ὥκα.
 Ρ 202 εἶσι for ἐστί.
 Σ 198 αὐτὸς (and Zen.) for αὐτως.
 Τ 390 πόρε for τάμε.
 Υ 263 ῥέα διελεύσεσθαι for ῥεῖα δ' ἐλεύσεσθαι.
 Φ 195 οὔτε for οὐδέ.
 213 βαθὲς for βαθεῖς δ'.

ii. Other coincidences with ancient editions are—

- Ζ 436 ἐν πεδίῳ with Aristophanes for ἐκ πεδίου.
 Ξ 44 δαίδια with Aristophanes for δαίδω.

- Φ 127 ὥς with Aristophanes for ὅς.
 576 τις with the πολιτικάι for μιν.

This list is so long that I will omit the details of the other two categories; agreements with Papyri, Ven. A marg. and Eust. are markedly few (7); on the other hand the unconfirmed but probable readings are very numerous.

The members of this large family (to which Dr. Leaf's Paris MSS. *grec* 1805 and 2766 and *supplément grec* 144 are to be added) are very variously related to each other, possess many interesting private readings, and play very different parts in representing the family; in the construction of the archetype the evidence of 'L Lips.' and the Aristarchean readings as known from the scholia assist.

i. The value and the internal relation of this family cannot be settled with accuracy until we possess a new and reliable collation of 'H' (Vindob. 39) its oldest member. In the meanwhile it is plain that Ven. 13 and the fragment Vrat. d are descended more or less directly from 'H,' and have lost some of the original property of the family in the process, while on the other hand, as happens in every family, they exhibit several good readings of their own.

Dr. Leaf (l.c. p. 192 *sq.*) tabulates the peculiar ll. of 'H'; many of these are found to be no longer peculiar. Those that remain are—

Ancient—

- Γ 193 κεφαλὴν Ar., κεφαλῇ cet. [Ven. 13].
 Ν 115 τε (ἐν τισι), τοι cet.
 289 οὔκεν (αἱ κοιναί), οὐκ ἂν cet. [Ven. 13].
 Η 710 τυτθὸν Zen., πολλὸν cet. [Ven. 13].
 Φ 281 ὀλέσθαι fort. Ixion for ἀλῶναι.
 446 πόλει Aristoph., πόλιν cet.
 Ψ 635 πάλην Ar., πάλη cet.

Ven. 13 agrees in three out of these six ancient readings, in addition it offers of its own

- Ι 214 ἀπαείρας Ar. for ἐπαείρας.
 Ξ 283 ἱκανον (with Vrat. d) Strabo, for ἱκοντο.

Under the head of *Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.* 'H' is reported to exhibit—

- Λ 381 ὀλέσσαι Eust. for ἐλέσθαι.
 Μ 160 αὐτεον Eust. for αὐτεον. [Ven. 13].

N 331 μαρμαίροντας (ἐν ἄλλω Ven. A),
for δαιδαλέοισι. [Ven. 13].

Ξ 342 ἄλλον (Syr.) for ἀνδρῶν. [Ven.
13].

O 639 ἀέθλων (marg. Ven. A, Eust.) for
ἀνακτος. [Ven. 13].

Υ 143 ἀναγκαίηφι (γρ. Ven. A), for
ἀνάγκη ἱφι.

Φ 101 δέ (ἐν ἄλλω Ven. A), for τι.
[Ven. 13].

with five of which places Ven. 13 agrees;
it adds of its own

II 84 ἄροιο with Eust. for ἄρηαι.

The unsupported readings peculiar to the family may be left over till fuller collations of 'H' and 'Vrat. d' are to hand; the most remarkable is II 736 χάζετο 'H' Ven. 13 and Eust. for ἄζετο of cet. The family has further the singular distinction of a palpable connection with one of the oldest uncials, B. M. Pap. 107 of the first century B.C. (the older of the two Harris papyri), which agrees with it at Σ 357, 413, 427, 546, 617.

II.—INDEPENDENT MSS.

That is, MSS. that agree too little with any family to be attached to it, and exhibit too many peculiarities for these to be the result of correction. They are

M 8 [Ambr. I 58 sup. s. xiv] Vat. 1 [Vatic. graec. 26 s. xiii], Vat. 10 [Vatic. graec. 903 s. xii], Vat 16 [Vatic. graec. 1319 s. xii], Vat. 21 [Palat. 150 s. xv], Ven. 1 [Marc. 431 s. xiv], Ven. 5 [Marc. IX. 3 (a) s. xv], Ven. 10 [Marc. IX. 16 s. xv] Ven. 11 [IX. 21 s. xv-xvi], Ba 1 [Barberini I. 161 s. xiv], Mo 2 [Estensis II. D. 5 s. xv] N 4 [Neapolitanus Bibl. Naz. II. F. 3 s. xiv].

The most noticeable are Vat. 1, Vat. 10, Vat. 16, and Ven. 1.

	Peculiar.	Anc.	Pap. &c.	Unconfirmed but possible.
Vat. 1.	49	8	6	15
Vat. 10.	17	7	4	1
Vat. 16.	34	10	9	8
Ven. 1.	17	1	3	1

I give examples of the readings:

Vat. 1. *Ancient*—

A 424 κατὰ with Ar. and others for
μετά.

Δ 426 ἰδν with Ar. for ἰόν.

I 19 τότε with Ar. for πρίν.

O 377 ἐκλυε with Zen. for ἔκτυπε.

640 ἀγγελίην with Zen. for ἀγγελίης.

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Ψ 48 ταρπόμεθα ancient (with B. M.
Pap. 128) for παυσώμεθα (Ar.).

135 καταείνυσαν with Ar. for καταεί-
νυον.

Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.

Ε 264 ἐξελάσας with Ven. A in text,
for ἐκ δ' ἐλάσαι.

854 ὑπὲρ with Ven. A in text, for
ὑπέκ.

N 207 ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ with Syr., for
ἐν αἰνῇ δημοτῇτι.

832 παρὰ, Ven. A marg., ἐπὶ cet.

X 23 ὅς τε ρεία (D and γρ. Ven. 4), for
ὅς ῥά τε ρεία.

301 πάροιθέ γε (γρ. M 1), for πάλαι
τὸ γε cet.

Of the thirty-five unsupported readings
fifteen seem worth consideration, but only
one, ἐμὲν Ψ 789 probably right.

Vat. 10. *Ancient*—

K 176 ἄστησον for ἄνστησον.

Ξ 95 σε ut vid. with Zen. for σευ.

T 385 ὥστε with Aristophanes for εὔτε
or αὐτε.

X 48 οὓς (as ἄλλοι) for τοὺς.

64 ἄστν as Stobaeus for γαίη.

251 διες as αἱ χαριέστεραι for δίων.

478 ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ut vid. as αἱ κοινότεραι
for κατὰ δῶμα.

Pap. Ven. A marg. Eust.—

O 116 τίσεσθαι (Ven. A suprascr.) for
τίσασθαι.

Π 455 ἱκνται (Ven. A marg. for ἱκωνται.

T 423 corr. ἐλάσω (Eust.) for ἐλάσαι.

Φ 403 παλλὰς ἀθῆνῃ (Ambr. marg. Ven.
A), for χειρὶ παχείῃ.

Of the unsupported ll. X 195 ποτὶ is pos-
sible, Φ 70 ἄσαι δὴ for ἄσασθαι or ἄμεναι is
interesting.

The large proportion of ancient readings
(7) and semi-ancient readings (4) in a small
total (17) is remarkable.

Vat. 16. *Ancient*—

Ε 787 ἄριστοι with Ar. (and 'L') for
ἀγγοί.

K 146 ἔπε' with Ar. (and T) for ἔπεν.

252 παρωχκεν with Ar., παρώχηκεν
cet.

Λ 135 ζῶω with Aristoph., ζωὺς cet.

455 ἐμ' εἶκε θάνω κτεριοῦσι με (ἐμ'—
γε Ar.) for ἐπέικε—με of cet.

M 340 πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώχατο with Ar.
(and Ven. A) for πᾶσας γὰρ
ἐπώχετο.

Ξ 351 ἐπέπιπτον with Zen. for ἀπέπιπτον.

412 βεβλήκειν with Zen. and Aristoph. for βεβλήκει.

Pap. Ven. A Eust.—

I 318 ἴση μοίραι with Ven. A (ἴση DT), for ἴση μοῖρα.

N 6 δικαιοτάτων τ' (with ἄλλοι), τ' om. cet.

Ξ 9 ἐῶς with Eust. εἴοιο cet.

119 μίννε, ἐν ἄλλω Ven. A (and T), μέινε cet.

294 ἔρος with Eust., ἔρως cet.

X 403 τερπικέραννος (Ven. A marg.), δυσμενέσσι cet.

Ω 28 ἀρχῆς γρ Ven. A (B. M. Pap. 128 and 'Vrat. A'), for ἄτης.

Eight unsupported ll. seem possible, e.g. P 639 μέγα for μάλα, and μετηῦδα constantly for προσηῦδα.

Ven. 1. Ancient—

A 83 φράσον with Zen. for φράσαι.

N 583 ἀνέλκε with Ar. (and 'L') for ἀνείλκε.

Pap. Ven. A Eust.

H 113 τοῦτον (τοῦτον γε γρ. Ven. A) for τούτῳ γε.

I 381 ἐρχόμενον, γρ. Ven. A. for ὄρχομένον.

The only possible unsupported reading is I 258 ἀργεῖοι.

III.—CONTAMINATED MSS.

All Homeric MSS. may be called contaminated in some degree; the MSS. I include in this class are such as incline to definite families in different books. They are M 7 [Ambr. I. 4 sup. s. xiii] M 10 [Ambr. L 73 sup. s. xiii-xiv] Vat. 9 [Vatic. graec. 902 s. xiii] Vat 20 [Palatin. 12 s. xiii] Vat. 26 [Urb. 138 s. xv]—a very small class, and practically undistinguishable from the more irregular members of the families.

So far our material consists of fifteen families, of which five may be taken as representative, and a number of independent MSS. of which four are the most substantial. The question that next arises is, how far can these documents be taken back, and what is the age of their archetypes? It is very difficult to say how long a period of time is necessary for the growth of a family; I know of no evidence that bears on the

point directly. However it will be agreed that the period must be certainly a long one. The five families all contain members as old as the thirteenth century, and the younger members in each case are not descended directly from these. One family, *o*, contains a MS. of the tenth to eleventh century, and another, *f*, is closely allied to two eleventh century MSS., B and C. On the whole I think we shall be moderate if we suppose the archetypes of these families to be not later than the ninth, or even the eighth, century—the period of the rise of minuscule. Much the same may be said of the origin of the independent MSS.

We have then (to part company, for convenience' sake, with the independent MSS.), five archetypes which more or less completely represent the whole of the tradition later than 800 A.D. Towards following them yet further back there are two methods: (1) comparison among themselves, (2) comparison with older documents, *i.e.* with papyri.

The comparison of the five archetypes among themselves leads to hardly any appreciable result, except that *h* stands apart to the end. *e*, *f*, and *g* appear almost equidistant one from the other; as against *h* they hold together, and probably descend from a single source. The age of this archetype is obviously a matter of pure imagination. I have not included *i* in these calculations.

Among the very numerous papyri (or uncials) that are now available, the following show the most marked character, and are therefore suitable for comparison:—

(1) The Ambrosian fragments; ? saec. v-vi. Mai, *Iliadis fragmenta antiquissima*, Mediolani, 1819.

(2) The Syriac fragments; s. vi. B.M. Add. MSS. 17, 210; Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer*, 1851.

(3) Bodleian; ? s. iv. Published by A. H. Sayce, ap. Petrie, *Hawara Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 1889.

(4) Br. Mus. Pap. 126 (Harris II.); s. iv-v. (F. G. Kenyon in *Classical Texts*, p. 81).

(5) B. M. Pap. 136; s. iii. *Ib.* p. 93.

(6) B. M. Pap. 114 (Bankes); s. ii. See *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Part I. Greek, 1881, p. 6.

(7) B. M. Pap. 732 (A. S. Hunt, *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 25 sqq.); s. i A.D.

(8) B. M. Pap. 107 (Harris I.); s. i B.C. *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts, &c.*, p. 1 sq.

(9) B. M. Pap. 128 (*Classical Texts*, p. 100, *Journal of Philology*, xxi. p. 296 sqq.).

I classify the peculiar readings of the papyri on the same system as those of the minuscule MSS., only that the category 'Pap. Ven. A. Eust.' naturally disappears.

	Total variants.	Peculiar.	Anc.	Possible.
Syr. S. VI.	195	28	2	8
Ambr. S. IV.-V.	136	10	3	?
Bodl. S. ? IV.	18	3	(2 marg.)	1
Harris 2. S. IV.-V.	84	36	1	26
Pap. 136 S. III.	40	15	0	7
Bankes S. I.	115	26	2	7
Hunt S. I.	99	36	3	15
Harris I. S. I. B. C.	39	7	1	?
Pap. 128 S. I. B. C.	94	32	5	19

The Ambrosian, the Bodleian, Pap. 136, and Harris I., show least variation; Harris II., Bankes, Mr. Hunt's papyrus, and Pap. 128, show most. I will not exhibit the variants in detail, since they are at everyone's disposal in the various publications. The result is as follows:—the papyrus variants are the same in kind as those of the minuscules, no gap can be fixed between them. The papyrus-variants increase in number with the age of the manuscripts. This is on the whole the case, though the two Harris fragments contradict the statement. Of course there was in every period a large majority of copies containing the vulgate, but it will be correct to say that divergences become more abundant with the antiquity of a copy. The papyri show no leaning to Alexandria; the most independent of them are distinguished by their peculiar and unconfirmed readings, not by their coincidences with Zenodotus or Aristarchus. They coincide with the minuscule families in many points, and confirm many of their readings, but they do not agree with one family more than another. From *h* they stand completely apart, while no calculation can discover a materially greater inclination to *e* than to *f* or *g*. There is the one apparent exception of Harris I., which agrees singularly with the family *i*.

The assistance therefore that papyri afford towards the genealogy of the minuscule MSS. is rather general than detailed. It seems reasonable to suppose that, since the single families are not continued backwards by any papyrus, while their readings are found in papyri generally, the archetypes of these families may have been single MSS.

similar to the later papyri, *e.g.* to the Syriac or the Ambrosian.

At this point we may recapitulate the evidence we have collected.

We find from the first century B.C. to the 16th A.D. a homogenous tradition. No gulf can be fixed between minuscule MSS. of S. xiii. and papyrus fragments of the Christian era. There is no trace of recensions or any external interference with the course of transmission. The body of MSS., which include very nearly the whole of the available documents, in fact constitute a Vulgate. A vulgate which contained many free divergences within itself—but not more than is the case with any natural text that is not the creation of deliberate recension.

One tendency in it we are able to follow: the variations in question gradually decrease with the course of time: the older uncials are mostly more divergent than the younger, the younger uncials vastly more so than the minuscules: a tendency to uniformity may be seen at work. This, like most other phenomena in the sphere of textual matters, is unconscious, and the result of continual marginal annotation of variants (intended mostly as real *corrections* of presumed mistakes) and absorption of these annotations into the next copy made. We can watch this process at work in our actual minuscule MSS., and it is reasonable to suppose it in operation in centuries where we cannot control it. Such a process diversifies ordinary MSS. at the expense of the independent, makes common property the variants that had been peculiar to one or other branch, and ends by levelling down and up all copies to the same point. Had not printing stepped in to arrest the development, our MSS. would have all passed into the contaminated class, and have presented indeed a rich mass of readings, but with no clue to their origin or descent. At present we are able by an arithmetical process to distinguish the families and independent MSS. that I have mentioned: and though in the earlier documents these families are not seen to be continued upwards as individual, still the minuscule families seem to represent the uncial MSS. in a later stage of diplomatic development.

There are two apparent exceptions to this course of Vulgate tradition, the family *h* and the fragments of Ptolemaic papyrus discovered and published during the last eight years. The latter have been dealt with in Professor Ludwig's book, *Die homerische Vulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*, Leipzig, 1898, of which an account was given

in the last number of this *Review*. They do not affect the age or authority of the Vulgate, nor do they support the influence of the Alexandrians.

The minuscule family which I have called *h*, represented to Dr. Leaf by the earlier designation 'L Lips,' is remarkable for the proportion of Alexandrian readings which it contains. Dr. Leaf (*l. c.* p. 201) estimated it in these figures :

C [= *f*] 7, D [= *o*] 28, G [perh. = *e*] 25, H [= *i*] 27, S Cant. [= *g*] 34, L Lips [= *h*] 91.

In my calculation these figures sink to

e = 3, *f* = 4, *g* = 2, *i* = 6, *h* = 49.

Though the totals are smaller, the proportion is still further in favour of *h*.

I must confess that I can see no certain or even probable explanation of this singular position. Dr. Leaf (*l. c.* p. 204) appears to think that *h* is descended from an Alexandrian or prae-Alexandrian copy; an equally obvious suggestion is that *h* represents a deliberate recension. The difficulties in the way of one or both of these views are : (1) if *h* is a real descendant of an ancient MS., there

is no trace of it during all the centuries between the date of this MS. and the thirteenth century, and this, though papyri are being daily published of every century from the third B.C. to the sixth A.D.; (2) again, as against both descent and recension is to be set the imperfection of the Alexandrian character of the family. There are 133 Aristarchean readings as yet found in no MS., 82 found sporadically in single MSS., or one or two MSS., 12 contained by the other families. This gives a total of 227 Alexandrian or Aristarchean lections which do not appear in *h*.

The question requires detailed examination. The facts just mentioned make it seem probable that *h* differs from the other families only in degree, and that the same process which accounts for the presence of Alexandrian readings in the majority of MSS. also produced *h*. However this may be, the family *h* is the most interesting feature of the mediaeval Homeric tradition, and the most striking result of recent collation.

T. W. ALLEN.

NOTES ON LATIN ORTHOGRAPHY.

At the meeting of the American Philological Association in 1895 the following resolutions were passed :

'Whereas, American school editions of Latin authors exhibit a remarkable inconsistency in Latin orthography, chiefly due to negligence, often, also, to ignorance of the proper spelling in vogue in the time of the respective authors,

Whereas, the orthography of Latin, barring, possibly, that of the archaic period, has now been scientifically determined,

Therefore, be it resolved, that a committee of three members of the American Philological Association be appointed by the chair to report at its next annual meeting concerning a uniform standard of Latin orthography for the use of school text-books.' See the *Proceedings* in Vol. xxvi., pp. liv. f.

A committee was appointed of which the late Professor Allen was chairman, and made a report in the following year, of which a summary appears in the *Proceedings* of Vol. xxvii., pp. xxii. ff.

Notwithstanding the statement in the second paragraph of the resolutions, the committee undoubtedly recognized, that, in

spite of the labours of Brambach and others, there are still some points upon which opinions may reasonably differ; and the recommendations are made with all due caution.

As to the period whose spelling should be taken as the standard, everyone will agree with the opinion of the committee, that it cannot be that of the Ciceronian period with its *quouis*, *servos*, *equos*, nom. pl. *servei*, etc., but must be rather that of the first century of our era. The committee further suggests that the Monumentum Ancyranum may well serve as a pattern as far as it goes. But with this preference for the first quarter of the century one may reasonably take issue. There seems to be no reason for departing from the judgment of Ritschl (*Opuscula* II, pp. 725 f.; followed by Brambach, *Neugestaltung d. Lat. Orthographie*, p. 67) that Quintilian's spelling should be good enough for us. For the Augustan period is one of transition in matters of spelling, and it is not until later that a fairly uniform system becomes thoroughly established. It is true that the Monumentum Ancyranum shows for the most

part the spellings which became the established ones, side by side with examples of the older style (as *clarusum* beside *claussum*, *caussa*; dat. pl. *-is*, but occasionally *-eis*; dat. sg., third decl. *-i*, but also *plebei*),—but not always (e.g. no example of *milia* beside the numerous examples of *millia*). And in some specific cases our advocacy of this or that spelling will depend upon our point of view in this matter of the relative importance of the first part of the century.

THE SPELLING *apsens*, *optineo*, ETC.

For example, the committee, after stating that 'there can be little doubt that the usage of the early first century is exemplified in the *apsens* of the Monumentum Ancyranum, and that the grammarians' fad (Quint. i. 7, 7) which introduced *absens*, *obtineo*, etc., against the actual pronunciation, was not known at that time,' is inclined to recommend the adoption of *-ps*-, *-pt*-, in these compounds. Preferable, it seems, would be the principle that the traditional spelling need not be reversed provided it became established, or at least was in common use before the end of the first century. And following this principle we are justified in retaining *absens* (and *plebs* which had the same history), *obtineo*, etc. For, aside from the statement of Quintilian,¹ we have the actual

¹ One might add the report that Varro preferred *bs* in the nominative of words with *b* in the oblique cases, quoted by Terentius Scaurus (Keil, vii. p. 27), Papirian apud Cassiodorus (K. vii. p. 159), and by many modern writers. But if this statement is to be found in Varro's extant works, I have not noticed it. And his words in one passage (*Ling. Lat.* x. 56-7) seem to show clearly that, whatever he may have preferred, the actual spelling with which he was familiar was *-ps*, which agrees with what we know from the inscriptions of his time. For in developing the idea that it is often better to start from the plural form in explaining a word, he says that from *trabes* and *duces* we see that the *c* is dropped, and therefore *traps* and *dux* formed in the singular, but that from the singular we do not see how *traps* is made from *b* and *s* or *dux* from *c* and *s*. The text is corrupt and editors read *trabs*, but with this reading the point is lost. The later grammarians were at odds in this matter. Those who favoured *ps* in *urps*, etc., justified their belief, characteristically enough, by stating that such words would show *ψ* in Greek, and that for *ψ* one should write in Latin *ps* not *bs*. So Terentius Scaurus, K. vii. p. 27, Marius Victorinus, K. vi. p. 21, and others. But Marius Victorinus would write *bs* in compounds like *abstinēt*, *obstipuit*, etc. Those who favour the etymological spelling of *urbs*, etc., also demand *lapsus*, *scripsi*, etc. And Velius Longus, who is unable to come to a decision, is as much troubled about the spelling of *absorpsi* as about that of *urbs* (cf. K. vii. pp. 61, 64, 73-4). But Priscian differentiates clearly, and while favouring *urbs*, *plebs*, etc. (K. ii. pp. 33, 320-1, 326), as well as

evidence of inscriptions. Take the question of *ps*: *bs* in compounds. The *ps* is, to be sure, all but universal in inscriptions of the republican period and remains the usual spelling throughout the Augustan period. But *bs* is not unknown even in the republican and Augustan periods, and becomes more frequent in the course of the first century. Examples are: *substructionem*, *C.I.L.* i. 592 = vi. 1314 (78 B.C.), *subsellarium*, i. 1341 (after Caesar), *subscripta*, v. 7231 (9 B.C.—a copy, but without variant), *subsignata*, x. 781 (4 B.C.; cf. also *subsignata*, i. 577 = x. 1781, which, however, was inscribed in imperial times), *subsellio*, xii. 6038 (Augustus), *subscalaria*, vi. 5531 (1 A.D.), *obsequium*, Dessau 212 (48 A.D.), *absentis*, x. 5394 (Nero), *subsiciva* beside *subpsiciva*, ix. 5420 (82 A.D.), *absente*, *absolvere*, Lex Col. Genet., Eph. Ep. ii. pp. 222 f. (written out at about the close of the first century), and especially *subscripta* without exception on the 'military diplomas,' which extend from the time of Claudius on. From those given in *C.I.L.* iii. I have noted twenty-nine examples of *subscripta* which fall before the end of the first century, and the total number of occurrences in the whole series of extant diplomata must be upwards of seventy, perhaps a hundred. No example of *supscribo* has been noted in these or other inscriptions. We have then ample justification for the retention of the spelling *absens*, etc., which gradually becomes the prevailing one, though the old *apsens*, *opservo*, etc., continues to be found with considerable frequency in inscriptions and manuscripts falling within the first six centuries.

For the cases like *plebs* and *obtineo* I have made no collections, but am satisfied that the conditions are essentially the same as with *absens*, etc. The forms *plebs*, v. 7231 (71 A.D.) and *obtinente*, Dessau, No. 105 (13/14 A.D.), casually noted, are enough to show the existence of our present spelling in the first century.

As for the pronunciation there is no question that we should give the sound *p*, as is clear from Quintilian's express statement in regard to *obtineo*. But in the course

abscondo, etc. (K. ii. p. 46), teaches *scripsi*, *lapsus*, etc. (K. ii. 506-7). And in laying down this principle, which is the one we follow, Priscian was certainly no innovator but the expounder of what had long been the best usage. For inscriptions show that, while *bs* had long since become the standard spelling in prepositional compounds, and also, though perhaps somewhat less exclusively, in *plebs*, etc., forms like *scripsi*, *conlapsus* (cf. even *ibsius*), though not uncommon in the aggregate, are far in the minority as compared with *scripsi*, *conlapsus*, etc.

of time the spelling doubtless reacted on the pronunciation, and in mediaeval times at least *absens* and *obtineo* came to be actually pronounced as *ab-sens*, *ob-tineo*.

THE SPELLING *servus*, *vultus*—*ecus*
secuntur ETC.

There can be no question as to the type of words represented by *servus*, since the spelling *-vus* became established in the Augustan period and the continued appearance of the old spelling *servos* in the first century and even later is simply archaistic. There is little doubt that the change from *voltus* to *vultus* took place at the same time, and that the following statement of the committee is to be approved. 'A middle course—*voltus*, *volnus*, but *parvus*, *perpetuus*—which we find pursued in several recent school-books, seems to have no historical justification.' The practice alluded to is perhaps to be explained by the fact that in the case of *vultus* etc. the archaistic spelling with *vo* is more persistent than in the case of *servus* etc. Many of the early manuscripts, though fairly consistent in the use of *servus* etc., show *volt*, *voltis* with surprising frequency beside *vult*, *vultis*.

The question of the spelling *ecus*, *secuntur*, etc., which the committee recommends, is more complicated. Not that there is any question that *ecus* is the only spelling of the Augustan period, barring of course the not infrequent appearance of the older *equos*.

Everyone agrees with Bersu that Brambach was wrong in assuming that *equus* was of equal age with *divus*, *servus* etc. Even *divos* passed into *divus* through the intermediate stage of *dius*, as has been shown clearly by Solmsen, *Studien zur lat. Lautgeschichte*, pp. 44 ff. But such forms as *dius* had a merely ephemeral existence, were in fact almost immediately replaced in the cultivated speech by *divus* etc., with the *v* restored by the analogy of the oblique cases. But *equus* etc., with *qu* restored from the oblique cases arose later,—just how much later is the crucial point. Solmsen, *l.c.* p. 52, remarks that, while *divus* replaced *dius* in the Augustan period, words like *ecus* regained their *qu* only in the first century. But did *equus* make any serious inroads on *ecus* in the first century? The rise of the form *equus* has been carefully traced by Bersu. The first step which the grammarians took to do away with the seeming anomaly of *ecus* was to introduce the 'Accian' orthography *qu* in place of *cu*

(as in *pegunia* for *pecunia*), and so secure the same consonant in all cases. It is to this spelling *equus*, as Bersu, *Die Gutturale* p. 63, has shown, that the passage in Probus, *Inst. Art.* (K. iv. p. 108) refers. Cornutus, however (ap. Cassiodorus K. vii. 149–150, cited by Bersu p. 65), recalls an old rule that *q* should be written only when followed by *u* and another vowel, and so advocates the spelling *extinguunt*, 'though it cannot be pronounced.' For he is professedly one who, when there is a question 'whether we should write as we hear, or as ought to be written,' 'would not trust always to the ears.' But this was only one of the vagaries of Cornutus which probably had no decisive influence on the practice of his time. Velius Longus (K. vi. p. 59) discusses the matter anew and decides that, while one *u* would suffice to indicate the sound, the 'ratio' demands *equus* in order that the nominative plural may be formed in the regular way by substituting *-i* for the *-us*. It is clear that the actual pronunciation with which this grammarian of Trajan's time was familiar was *ecus* (*equus*). But the spelling *equus* which he advocated and which was adopted by the later grammarians unquestionably reacted on the pronunciation of cultivated speech, and by Priscian's time there was no longer any recollection of a difference between *equus* and *divus*.

It is unfortunate that words of the type in question are of such rarity on inscriptions. Bersu quotes three examples of *equus*, also *Propinquus*, *Antiquus*, *Aequus*. One of these, namely *equus C.I.L.* viii. 7986, belongs to the first century according to Mommsen's dating of the inscription, but Bersu regards this as one of the instances in which the precept of Cornutus was followed in disregard of the actual pronunciation. The form *reliquum* on an epitaph of a man who held office under Augustus (ix. 2845–6) would seem to be an earlier example than any cited by Bersu and to seriously invalidate his whole argument. But, unless the line in which it occurs was added at a much later date,¹ the form must be regarded as an example of the 'Accian' spelling of the quadrisyllabic *relicuum* which later became trisyllabic. On the other hand the spelling *ecus* (*equus*) is found as late as the third century. So *equus* viii. 4508 (202 A.D.) for *ecus* like

¹ The line is printed in the *Corpus* in smaller type than the rest of the inscription, representing, we may presume, an insertion. But there seems to be nothing to indicate that this was anything more than the stone-cutter's immediate rectification of his oversight in copying from the written text.

peguaria of the same inscription for *pecuaria*; *relicum* viii. 2728 (152 A.D.); *ecus* eph. ep. vii. no. 309, an inscription from Thereste in Africa which according to viii. p. 215 did not become a Roman Colony until about the end of the second century.

Taking all the evidence together it seems well nigh certain that *ecus* was the regular pronunciation throughout the first century, and highly probable that this also remained the usual spelling. Of the two fads of the grammarians, *egus* was not in accord with the usual system of orthography, *equus* not in accord with the pronunciation of the time. And so to follow our principles

strictly we ought to write *ecus*. But the fact that at least the spelling *equus* was not unknown in the first century may seem to many a sufficient excuse for retaining it and not introducing in our schoolbooks a set of forms which would perhaps trouble our students as much as they did the Roman grammarians. At all events it is clear that the necessity of reform is not so great as it was in the case of *quum* which was not invented before the fourth century, and then had only a limited vogue, not being recognized by Priscian for example.

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(To be continued.)

THE LITERARY DISCOVERIES OF POGGIO.

A GREAT deal of interest has recently been excited by two Madrid MSS. (X. 81, M. 31), which contain Asconius and Valerius Flaccus, Manilius and the *Silvae* of Statius respectively. These are not written in the same hand, but, as is shown by a list of contents on the first page of M. 31, were once bound up together in one volume. The way was led by Professor Ellis, who in 1892 collated the Manilius, and in 1893 published an article in *Hermathena* (No. xix pp. 261-286) demonstrating the value of the MS., and gave a full collation of it in the *Classical Review*. Dr. Moritz Krohn of Zittau, who has for some years been occupied upon the *Silvae* of Statius, was in 1895 fortunate enough to obtain for the period of three months the loan of both MSS., a privilege denied to English scholars. In 1896 I collated, while in Madrid, X. 81 (containing Asconius and Valerius Flaccus), and in the July number of the *Classical Review* published an article upon Asconius, in which I showed that the Madrid MS., which I termed μ , is itself the archetype of all MSS. of this author belonging to the Poggian family.¹ I abstained from pronouncing as to whether it was or was not written by Poggio himself, because, although the internal evidence pointed strongly to this conclusion, the hand differs from the published specimens of his writing. I thought, however, that certain notes in the margin

were probably written by him. Shortly after the appearance of this article I received several letters from Dr. Krohn, in which he informed me that he had independently come to the same conclusion, but that he went further than I had done and identified the writing with that of Poggio. He arrived at this conclusion by the aid of a Berlin MS. containing Cicero's Letters to Atticus (Berol. Hamilton 166) written by Poggio in 1408, in which the superscriptions and *marginalia* are written in a hand which differs from that employed for the text, and is in his opinion identical with that in which the text of X. 81 is written. He considered these two hands to represent the *manus bellissima* and *manus velox* of Poggio respectively.

I did not proceed to examine the case of Valerius Flaccus, partly because I had no desire to further anticipate Dr. Krohn, and partly because I was conscious of certain difficulties. The first reason no longer exists, since Dr. Krohn has given up his intention of editing the *Silvae* and handed over his materials to a successor. Quite recently, also, Mr. Souther has published a collation of the *Silvae* made by himself in August 1898, the work being undertaken for the managers of the Craven Fund at Cambridge [*Classical Review*, Nov., Dec. 1898].

I have, therefore, gone through my collation of Valerius Flaccus and now proceed to set forth the results. Before, however, doing this I would briefly dismiss the one MS. of Asconius belonging to the Poggian

¹ i.e. of all MSS. except Laur. plut. liv. 5, which represents a copy taken by Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano, and the Pistoia MS. (Forteguerra 37) attributed by Kiessling and Schoell to Sozomenus.

family of which, in my article, I spoke with some reserve, viz. the *Leidensis* [L], of which only a few readings are published by Kiessling and Schoell. By the great kindness of Dr. de Vries this was lent to the Bodleian Library for my use. I found that it also is without any possibility of doubt derived from μ . It contains in its text various corrections scribbled in μ by different hands. In the notable case (p. 78, 6 KS.) the note which is found in the margin of μ in somewhat illegible cursive—*Vincis me: itaque puto non defendisse, sed tantum de defendendo cogitasse, quod per epistolam negari non potest*—reappears in the margin of L written in large letters by the rubricator, while *vincis* is corrupted to *antis*. A marginal analysis written in μ in a thin and delicate hand from time to time is reproduced in L by the rubricator, while conjectures found in μ are continually followed. To give a single instance, p. 76, 27. *male de populo Romano* μ gives *male cie tr.*, and above the line in small letters *c* [i.e., *credimus*] *de re p.* L has *de re p.* To multiply examples would be needless.

Since the appearance of my article I have made some study of Poggio's hand. There are at Florence, in the Laurentian Library, three MSS. written by him [plut. xlviii., 22, l. 31, lxvii., 15], while the Vatican Library possesses one undoubted specimen (Vat. 3245).¹ The hand in these is identical with that of Berol. Hamilton 166 both as to the text and the *marginalia*. The result of the examination is to leave me where I started:

¹ Two other Vatican MSS. (Vat. 3330, 3331), containing the 3rd and 4th Decads of Livy, are reputed to have been written by Poggio, on the strength of an entry to that effect on the first page of each of them, signed F. Ursini. These signatures, I am informed by Father Ehrle, are not the work of Orsini himself, since in his will he directs that his name should be put into his books. I reject the ascription of these MSS. to Poggio. The hand is quite different, being larger and coarser. The writer was an ignorant person who misspells common words, writing e.g. *Seiciliam* for *Siciliam* (3330, f. 1). Poggio nowhere signs his name, as he does in the MSS. mentioned above. Further, the dates at which the MSS. were written, viz. 1453 and 1455 are strongly against the statement. In 1455 Poggio would be 75 years of age. His letters ten years earlier are full of complaints about his bad sight and the trouble of writing. Thus in July 1444, he says—*superiora in librarii manu. Nam et anni suadent scribendi laborem subterfugere et accurate litteras componere est mihi difficillimum tum oculorum tum manus culpa* (MS. Ricard. 759, f. 191 b), and some years earlier, *superiora sunt librorum manu. Nam raptim cum scripsissem rescribendae litterae fuerunt, quod mihi est difficillimum. Laborem enim in diem libentius declino, scribendi manu mea praesertim* (f. 173).

namely, that, although I am prepared to accept the identification proposed by Dr. Krohn, if it is adopted by experts, I am not willing to make it myself. I regard it as very probable, in view of the internal evidence, but am not convinced on grounds of handwriting. The fact is that the *marginalia* in the various MSS. written by Poggio are themselves for the most part in a formal hand, and, though they often approximate to that in which the text of μ is written, are not really specimens of his *manus veloc.* Until we have an undoubted specimen of a MS. written by Poggio *manu veloci* the question cannot be finally settled.

Kiessling and Schoell say nothing as to the fate of Poggio's transcript after it was sent to Italy. I find, however, that it was for a long time in the possession of Niccolo Niccoli. In a letter written in 1427 Poggio says, *expecto Valerium Flaccum, Pedianum, et Varronem, quae forsitan transcribam, ni distuleris in hiemem* [ed. Tonelli, p. 209]. Two years later he reproaches Niccolo with having kept his Asconius for twelve years, i.e. ever since it reached Italy (p. 303). In the same letter he says that, if he gets the Asconius, he will have a copy made and return it to Niccolo. As his complaints cease after this, we may presume that he was successful. At any rate the MS. was for at least thirteen years in the hands of Niccolo.

A curious feature of μ is that, before any copies of it were taken, a large number of corrections and annotations were entered in it by more than one writer. This is proved by the fact that all these corrections and annotations are adopted in the later MSS. As Niccolo was a good textual critic, it is probable that many of these proceeded from him during the thirteen years in question. An interesting fact is that in μ several

conjectures are introduced by the symbol *c*. This also occurs in the celebrated MS. of the Letters to Atticus (Med. xlix. 18) which passed into the possession of Niccolo from that of Coluccio Salutati. Schmidt holds

that *c* in Med. xlix. 18, stands for Coluccius, and draws important conclusions as to the critical methods of Coluccio.¹ I would suggest that in both MSS. it marks conjectures of Niccolo Niccoli: as elsewhere in μ conjectures are introduced by *credo*, *c* probably = *credimus*.

¹ O. E. Schmidt, die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros an Atticus, pp. 32-34 (Leipzig, 1887).

I now come to the case of Valerius Flaccus. I started with a full expectation that here also μ would appear to be the archetype of the *apographa Sangallensis*. Since, however, I did not wish to assume anything without proof, I proceeded to examine the MSS. Thilo enumerates four of these. Three are in the Vatican library (Vat. 1613, 1614, Ottoboni 1258). The fourth belongs to the library of my own college. The first two contain Valerius Flaccus only, while Ott. and the Queen's College MS., which I term Q, also contain Silius Italicus, an author found at this period by Poggio or, as is more generally believed, by his colleague,¹ Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano. Of the three Italian MSS. Thilo considers Ott. the best, but as its value is much injured by erasures and alterations, he only collated it for Book ii. He collated Vat. 1613 throughout, while he dismisses Vat. 1614, which is a *gemellus*, with a few words. He had no collation of Q.² His system of nomenclature is very confusing. In Books i. iii. and iv. he terms Vat. 1613 P, but in ii. calls it π , and transfers the symbol P to Ott. In the following remarks π^1 = Vat. 1613, π^2 = Vat. 1614, Ott. = Ottoboni, Q. = the Queen's College MS. and μ , as previously, the Madrid MS. The rarity of MSS. copied from the *Sangallensis* is without doubt due to the fact that the celebrated Vatican MS. (Vat. 3277, ninth century, known as V), which appears to have been shortly afterwards brought to Italy, contains eight books of the *Argonautica*, and so was naturally copied in preference to the apographs of the *Sangallensis*, which ended at iv. 317.

Of these MSS. π^1 and π^2 present no difficulty. That π^1 is derived from μ is proved by the fact that a large omission in π^1 (ii. 324-406) occupies exactly two pages (ff. 78 b, 79 a) in μ .³ No other origin is possible for

π^2 , which is a *gemellus*. The relation of μ to its apographs is curiously different in the case of Asconius and that of Valerius Flaccus. In that of the former most of the criticism represented by notes and corrections in various hands is prior to the time when it was first copied. In that of Valerius Flaccus corrections of the first hand are sometimes not followed, those of later hands but rarely, while the MS. has itself suffered from much posterior criticism in the shape of erasures and alterations. Thus $\pi^1 \pi^2$ are often of use as containing a reading tampered with or obliterated in μ . Thus in i. 303, where π^1 has *Hiaonique* (*Hiaionique* V), in μ a recent hand has entered *Chaonique*, in *ras*. So i. 389 π^1 has (with V) *Felevis*, while μ has *Et levis Elis*, also by a recent hand, in *ras*. The writer of π^1 did his work faithfully, though sometimes he substitutes a word, e.g. ii. 121 *libidine* (*cupidine* V μ *cett*). Beside the large omission ii. 324-406, he also omits i. 819-822, iii. 351, and 717.

An interesting point of difference between π^1 and π^2 is that in many cases where π^1 adopts a superscription, or marginal reading in μ , π^2 exactly produces μ , giving both the original reading found in the text of μ , and the correction in the margin. I give a few instances—

- | | |
|-------|--|
| | inuui |
| 1.288 | umida μ . |
| 330 | paucos μ , in <i>mg.</i> oculos. |
| 374 | undantem μ , in <i>mg.</i> sudantem. |
| 713 | eductus μ , in <i>mg.</i> et luctus. |

In each of this π^2 is a facsimile of μ , while π^1 adopts the correction, and does not record the original reading.

On the other hand, π^2 has been frequently corrected from Q Ott. or V, while in π^1 there is no trace of contamination. I give the following instances:—

- i. 527. *flectens* $\mu \pi^1$ Q, *flentes* V, π^2 in *textu*, in *mg.* at. *flectens*.
552. *effusa* $\mu \pi^1$, *hiberna* V Q Ott., π^2 in *textu*, in *mg.* at. *effusa*.
- ii. 49. *perginus* $\mu \pi$, *deriginus* V π^2 , *diriginus* Q Ott.

It thus appears that π^2 represents a later stage in the development of the Poggian recension than π^1 . That both the MSS. were copied not directly from μ , but from an apograph of it now lost, appears likely from the following passage:

- i. 28. *pecudum* μ , *pecodum* π^1 , *pecodum* π^2 .

¹ F. Barbaro to Poggio (*Epp.* 1. 1), *quia te et Bartholomaeum ad hoc munus obcurandum summi Romanae ecclesiae principes delectos publice dimiserunt*: in another passage addressing Poggio he speaks of the ancient authors whom Bartholomaeo, collega tuo, adiutore... in Latium reduxisti. For the special connection of Bartholomeo with Silius, v. *infra*.

² This MS. was collated for Silius Italicus by Blass in 1870. Blass attaches great value to it for Silius, considering it the best of one of the two groups of uncontaminated MSS. It has not been collated for Valerius Flaccus by any modern scholar.

³ It must not be thought that this is the only proof. I could fill pages with illustrations of the way in which corrections of the first hand in μ are accepted in π^1 or *proprii errores* are reproduced. For the sake of brevity I confine myself to this, the most striking, proof.

It is hardly likely that two copyists would independently make the same mistake, and put -o- in the wrong place.

There are some very interesting cases in which π^1 and π^2 follow readings of a second hand in μ . Two of these are cases where whole lines were originally omitted in μ , viz. i. 198. ii. 149. These are added at the foot of the page in a different hand of equal antiquity. In $\pi^1\pi^2$, as well as in Q Ott., they occur in the text. The addition must therefore have been made in μ before $\pi^1\pi^2$ were written. The following is a very curious case:—

- ii. 103. *iam tum ea cum reti crinem subnectitur auro.* V.

Here the original reading of μ is

iam tunica cum crinem subnectitur auro.

A second hand adds *reti* above the line after *cum*: and *reti* is found in the text of π^1 .¹ It is, however, omitted by Q O. The insertion by a second hand in μ must therefore be due, either to a renewed examination of the *Sangallensis*, or to conjecture, or it must come from V. The last hypothesis at first sight seems most likely, but, if so, it is odd that *tunica* should be left uncorrected.

The large majority, however, of corrections made in μ by a second hand have not passed into $\pi^1\pi^2$. These are too numerous to mention. I would merely remark that it is the exception to find them followed. A good many alterations which in my collation I have marked as proceeding from the first hand are likewise not adopted in π^1 . I instance the following:—

- i. 178. ^{at}*sede* μ , *sede* $\pi^1\pi^2$ Q.
252. *funduntur ex funguntur* μ , *funguntur* V $\pi^1\pi^2$, *surguntur* Q.
iv. 237. ^c*ferans* μ , *ferans* π^1 Q.

It was natural to expect that Q Ott., the remaining apographs of the *Sangallensis*, would also turn out to be derived from μ . These two MSS. are very closely connected. As previously mentioned, they both contain Silius Italicus as well as Valerius Flaccus. Also, whereas π^1 and π^2 are the work of *docti homines*, Q and Ott. were written by ignorant copyists. This is especially true

of Q. A further point is that Q is, in my judgment, not written in an ordinary Italian hand.

The nature of the agreement between Q and Ott. may be best seen in Book ii., since in this Thilo has published the variants of Ott. I find in his notes, omitting some trivial cases of orthography, some 50 cases in which Ott. disagrees with π . In 36 of these Q agrees with Ott., 13 are *proprii errores* on the part of Ott., and there remains only one real difference.

- ii. 247. *irruerant* Q., *irruerant* Ott. (^a*irruerent* Vb, *irruerant* μ , *irruerant* Va).

The ignorance peculiar to Q Ott. may be illustrated from the following errors:—

- i. 498. *siderea tunc arce*] *sidera* Q Ott.
521. *abnuat* Inoas] *audiant* Q Ott.
583. *Acamas*] *amans* Q Ott. [*acamans* V, *adamas* μ].
597. *proturbat*] *poturbat* Q Ott.
668. *par regia caelo*] *regio* Q Ott.
ii. 57. *nallus in ore rubor*] *robur* Q Ott.
437. *adytisque*] *additusque* Q Ott.

The writer of Q does not appear to have known Latin. I instance the following blunders:—i. 607. *carcabasa* Q (*carbasa* Ott.); 717. *discrimi* Q (*discrimina* Ott.); 768. *ferrigine* Q (*ferrugine* Ott.); 829. *pollo* Q (*polo* Ott.); ii. 56. *gradido* Q (*gravidito* Ott.); 119. *sibi sub* Q (*sub* Ott.); 246. *pallacia* Q (*palatia* Ott.). Other errors are i. 152 *saeviet*] *semet*, 157 *agnam*], *amnam*, 255 *Chiron*] *duon*, 268 *parvus*] *pervus*, 384 *cothurno*] *conturno*. In both MSS. the spelling is odd, but especially in Q. I note the following:—

- i. 611 *yppotades* Q, *ippo-* Ott., 672 *ymano* Q, *imago* Ott., 552 *Troyam* Q, *Troiam* Ott., ii. 228 *choruscet* Q, *coruscet* Ott. Such spellings as *Grayo*, *Dyane*, *ponthus*, *sompnus* are frequent.

The theory naturally suggests itself that the discrepancies found in Q Ott. are due to the ignorance of the writers, and compatible with descent from μ . In support of this, passages may be quoted in which Q Ott. appear to have adopted a correction in μ . I made out the following list of passages which might appear to point to this conclusion:—

- i. 43. *Aeetes*: & a V: et μ in *textu*, in *mg.* oeta m. 1: oeta π Q.
157. *erigit*: *regit* V (ve- m. 2. in *ras*):
ⁱ*erigit* μ , in *mg.* *rapit* m. 1: *erigit* Q: *erigit* Ott.: *rapit* $\pi^1\pi^2$.

¹ My collation of π^2 was incomplete; and I have not noted its reading here. This remark applies to other cases where I quote π^1 only. For a similar reason I sometimes do not give the reading of Ott., but only of its *gemellus* Q.

202. illum ego tu : illi ^cmi * * tu V :
illo metu μ : ille metu π Q Ott.
205. crinem : crimen V ; ^{nem}crimen μ :
crinem π^1 Q.
229. comarum : cumarum V : ^ocumarum
 μ : comarum π^1 Q Ott.
553. quot : quod V : quod μ : quos π^1
Q Ott.
639. Eurus : euros V : ^ueuros μ : eurus
 π^1 Q.
759. sic : si V : ^csi μ : sic π^1 Q.
ii. 94. hinc reduci : hinc ^{ui}rudici V : hinc
^{edu}rudici μ : huic reduci π^1 : hinc
reduci Q Ott.
iii. 158. Protin et : protin et V : ^{us}protinet μ :
protinus π^1 Q.
610. vina V : ^avina μ : bina π^1 Q.
iv. 58. Teucros V : teneros μ : tenedos π^1 Q.

These, however, admit of a simple explanation, viz. that the correction was above the line, or in the margin of the *Sangallensis*, and that, while μ reproduces both readings, the correction has been adopted in Q.

On the other hand, Q Ott. continually agree with V, and therefore with the *Sangallensis* (which is known to have been its *gemellus*) as against μ . This is so, not only in the case of important readings, which might have been introduced from V, e.g.

- i. 495. secuntur V Q. : loquuntur μ .
582. hiberna V Q Ott. : effusa μ .
ii. 49. derigimus V. : ^udirigimus Q Ott. :
pergimus μ .
50. ipsa V Q Ott. : iam μ .
537. collibus V Q Ott. : montibus μ .
563. piacula V Q Ott. : pericula μ .

but also in that of *proprii errores*. The following is a typical case:—

- ii. 9. pabula mages : pabulā agnes V (e coll.
mea) : pabula agnes Q Ott. : pabula
^omages μ : pabula magnos π^1 .

Here correction from V and descent from μ are equally impossible. This agreement is most frequent in the case of Q, though this MS. was written by a more ignorant scribe than Ott.; I instance the following cases in which V Q agree *solī*:—

- ii. 185. verbere : urbere V Q.
326. Graiis : gris V Q.
iii. 294. fatis id : ^ufatisia V Q.
431. bidentes : ^uvidentes V Q.

Of these two MSS. Q represents an earlier stage in the development of the recension than Ott. I instance the following:

- i. 141 subitae de virgine pugnae] subita
d. v. pugna Q : -ae . . . -ae Ott. ex -a . . . -a.
ii. 134 rapidas V μ : rabidas ex rapidas Q :
rabidas Ott. (e coll. mea).

Also, the fact that in the margin of Ott. there are a quantity of variants entered by the first hand shows that when it was written there were a number of MSS. in circulation. Thus it has, 1.103 *armorum*, in mg. *arvorum*, 109 *gaudentibus*, in mg. *at. candentibus*, 121 *ad undas*, in mg. *in oras*, 123 *gracili*, in mg. *grandi*. In Q there are no such variants.

Not only is Q nearer to the archetype than Ott., but it has rarely been corrected, whereas Ott. has been tampered with to such an extent that its value is greatly diminished. When Q has been corrected, the correction was first entered in minute letters in the margin, and the alteration was then made, apparently by the original scribe. The reading of the *prima manus* is, however, always legible. It follows that Ott. should disappear from critical notes to Valerius Flaccus, and its place should be taken by Q. I do not assert that Ott. was copied from Q, but I do not find anything inconsistent with such a hypothesis.

The conclusion at which I am forced to arrive is, that Q Ott. are not derived from μ , but represent another apograph made from the *Sangallensis*. If we ask by whom, or for whom, this was made, the name which must suggest itself is that of Poggio's colleague in the work of discovery, Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano. We know that Bartolomeo himself made a copy of Asconius (which was found together with Valerius Flaccus at St. Gallen) since a MS. descended from his copy and possessing a *subscription* in which his authorship is attested is in existence.¹

¹ Laur. plut. liv. 5. I cannot agree with Kiessling and Schoell who consider that this was written by Bartolomeo himself. It is in a formal hand, quite different from that employed in another MS. (Laur. plut. lxxx. sup. 42) which contains various works written by him at Constance with *subscriptiones* to that effect, which have greater claims to authenticity. The *subscription* in liv. 5 occurs on fol. 73b after Asconius, but there are no similar *subscriptiones* to the other works contained in the MS., viz. Ant.

What could be more natural than that he too should have a copy of Valerius? This conjecture is supported by the fact that Bartolomeo is specially connected with Silius Italicus, an author bound up in precisely these two MSS. with Valerius Flaccus, and is, I think, verified by the *provenance* of Ott. This MS. bears in it the name of Joannes Angelus Altaemps. He, as I am informed by Father Ehrle, obtained his books from Marcello Cervini (afterwards Pope Marcello II.) who, like Bartolomeo, was a native of Montepulciano.

Q, then, I would connect with Bartolomeo. That it was written by him is not possible, since he could not make such mistakes as are found in it (and Ott.). I suggest that he had a copy made for him by a local scribe. This would account for the blunders of Q Ott., and also for the fact that there is no *subscriptio* in either of them bearing witness to their connection with him as is the case with the Asconius previously mentioned (Laur. plut. liv. 5). This suggestion derives probability from the fact that his copy of Silius (an author found with Valerius in Q Ott.), is said by Philelfo to have been *manu Germani librarii exscriptus*. It will be recollected that, as previously stated, Q is not written in an ordinary Italian hand. This may mean that the writer was influenced by the style of the 'German scribe,' or it may possibly be the transcript in question.

The result thus arrived at is not without importance, since it follows that μ and Q are independent sources of evidence for the readings of the lost *Sangallensis*, which for convenience I call ς . Where μ Q agree we may be satisfied that their reading is that of the archetype. In cases of disagreement the reading which approximates most closely to that of V must be original, in view of the fact that ς was undoubtedly a *gemellus* of V. The net result is chiefly negative, but it enables us to clear the critical notes to Valerius of much rubbish, which is in itself a gain.

It is the well-known theory of Thilo, arrived at without the help of μ and Q, that ς was itself directly copied from V. It had occurred to me as an objection that V omits iii. 146-185, a passage which occurs in the

apographs of ς . I found, however, on examining V, that a page (the second page of the fifth quaternion) has been torn out. As V generally contains 20 lines on a page and the missing passage consists of 40 lines, it is obvious that a folio has been torn out. Father Ehrle pointed out to me that the leaf must have been cut out in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, before the folios were numbered. Thilo's position is greatly strengthened by the results of my collations. Out of eleven instances which he gives to illustrate divergences between V and ς , three are *proprii errores* of V (1.710, ii. 81, 114), and do not count; in six the first hand of μ agrees with V (i. 205, 219, *232, ii. 67, 80, *94), as does Q except in the two asterisked cases. In the remaining two cases (ii. 32, 49), the evidence of Q shows that μ misrepresents ς . I cannot, however, regard Thilo's contention as proved. Some of the omissions of ς are hard to explain if it was copied from V. Thus ii. 236, the omission of *frigore cursus* can only have been due to some obscurity in the archetype. In V, however, *freore cursus* is perfectly legible. Thilo's *certissimum argumentum*, viz. that in ii. 213-263, a passage written twice in V, the *apographa Sangallensia* agree with the first transcript (Va), as against the second (Vb), from which he infers that the writer copied Va and did not go on to compare his text with Vb, is not convincing since the repetition may have been in the common archetype. The number of new readings, however, to be gleaned from the *Sangallensis* is extremely small. This is a subject which I will reserve for another occasion.

I now proceed to discuss some further discoveries made by Poggio, or by Bartolomeo, at this period. Much light is thrown upon these by a letter of Poggio written from Constance at the end of 1417 or early in 1418. I found a copy of this in a Bodleian MS. (Canonici, Misc. 484 ff. 35, 36 b): another mutilated copy exists in a MS. now at Venice (Marciana CL. xii. no 80 f. 130) which is printed by Mittarelli (Bibl. S. Mich. p. 924). As the letter does not appear in any of the edition of Poggio's letters, and the most important parts of it are omitted in the mutilated copy used by Mittarelli, I give it in full. The mutilation may possibly be due to the imprudence with which Poggio expresses himself regarding the new Pope, Martin V. Mr. Horatio Brown has kindly examined the Venetian MS. for me and verified its readings.

V = reading of the Venice MS. Mitt. = readings of Mittarelli, which are not always

Lucei, *Inquisitio Artis in Orationes IV. Ciceronis*, and various speeches of Cicero. Further, the text of this MS. is largely affected by conjectures made in the margin of μ . I conclude, therefore, that the *subscriptio* of Bartolomeo was copied, just as that of Poggio has been reproduced in so many of the copies of works discovered by him.

accurate. I have to acknowledge several suggestions made to me by Professor Remigio Sabbadini.

Poggius P. S. D. Francisco Barbaro. Si vales, bene est, ego quidem valeo. Matthaeus <Barucius> noster reddidit mihi tuas litteras admodum suavisimas, quibus ego mirifice sum delectatus, tum quia optimi viri officium continebant, tum quia plenae amoris erant atque humanitatis. Nam de gratulatione pontificis quod erat in primo capite epistolae non admodum laboro. Iucunda est mihi quidem propter rem publicam nam si privata¹ respicio, malo vivat² ut inquit ille Augusto. Illud paulo molestum fuit quod me de Guarino³ nostro admones. Credam mihi velim mi Francisco, cupio illum ornari pro meritis suis, id tum requirit amicitia nostra tum virtus sua. Sed quid ego homuncio possum in tanta confusione rerum, ubi non ratio, non virtus sibi locum vindicat, sed fortuna dominatur? Antea pecuniis, nunc ambitione certatur, tantaque est suffragiorum ac tribuum varietas, ut nedum Cato, sed Paulus repulsam ferret. Obit ille qui doctorum omnium erat asyllum.⁴ De reliquis quid dicam nescio: melius est tacere quam pauca loqui, <verum haec ipsa plura quam tempus ferat>. Multa non immutata sunt, sed novata. Gasparinus noster ista tecum melius disputabit, qui vidit, qui a nobis audivit plurima. Ab eo igitur pereuncator. Ego <enim si facile esset in eos scribere qui possunt proscribere, ipsemet tibi explicarem quae spes esset habenda doctis, sed forsan, si vivero, non inultum ferent. Aliquando vindicabo me in libertatem ut ne Iovem⁵ quidem tonantem aut fulminantem pertimescam. Nunc et mussanda et ferenda sunt omnia. O sub quam lentis maxillis⁶ sed tempore avertuntur, et utinam non fiat cena Thyestes (sic). Vide quid aliis sperare queas: ego, qui tam diu in hac tam morata vici patria, quique>, ni forsan fallor, neque sum in postremis, neque in sordidis,

<linguo crudeles terras et litus avarum
quaeroque patriam

alio sub sole iacentem
et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos>

Grave est mihi, sed illud multo gravius,⁷ videri indignos quousque <promoveri> deprimi bonos. <praeterea ubi non sis, qui esse soles, non esse cur esse velis>. Sed de me alias pluribus et, ut opinor, coram. Haec scripsi ut perspicias, <ut> quasi qui oculis vident, Guarino nostro non esse valde laborandum hoc tempore, ut hic aliquid se dignum reperiat. Quantum quisque sua nummorum tenet in arca,

¹ privatam V.

² vivat *Mitt.* (-at V). The reference, as Prof. Sabbadini points out to me, is to the saying of Tiberius about Galba (Suet. Galba iv.), *vivat sane, ait, quando id ad nos nihil pertinet*. Poggio is purposely using guarded language, which would be intelligible to his correspondent.

³ Guarino left Venice when it was visited by the plague in 1416. Prof. Sabbadini suggests that he may have wished to gain a post in the service of the new Pope. At the end of 1418 he settled at Verona.

⁴ i.e. Cardinal Zabarella, Archbishop of Florence, who died on Sept. 17, 1417. Poggio in his funeral oration says of him *is unus erat maxime ad quem docti homines et Musarum amici sine fastidioso stomacho possent adire*.

⁵ This appears to refer to the Pope.

⁶ Cf. Suet. Tib. ch. xxi., *miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit*, said by Augustus of Tiberius.

⁷ honorari indignos quosque V.

tantum habet et fidei. Consulo ut studeat et vacet virtuti, quae si reliqua desint, contenta erit⁸ conscientia sua. Quamvis spero aliquando tempus futurum quo suam obtineat dignitatem, nam vel inter malos elucebit. Dixi de Guarino: idem conicere potes de Francisco Braccio⁹ quem ego propter virtutem et humanitatem suam tota mente complexus sum. Locutus sum <cum> Cincio¹⁰ nostro de utroque. Is, pro sua in doctos homines benevolentia, omnia respondit se facturum quae ad eorum augendam dignitatem pertineant. Sed quid haec prosunt? Qui nequeunt, vellent bonis bene facere, qui possunt, nolunt. Multi miserantur, nemo succurrit. O quam vellem totam hanc familiam dari mihi obviam, ut in eos iram hanc evomam¹¹ omnem, dum aegritudo haec est recens. Ego Francisco nihil rescribo ad praesens, nescio enim quonam modo me ab eo exsolvam aut pollicendum est ei studium et operam¹² meam, quae cum nullum fructum consequi possint,¹³ non est hominis verbis polliceri quod nequeas re ipsa persolvere, aut culpanda tempora et mores, quod non est satis tutum, neque cuique omnia credenda, tuque ipse, si sapiens, nescis quae scis. Tu ei pro me respondeto, quae tibi in rem cadere videbuntur. Verum haec haecenus: verbosior fui quam putaram sed traxit me abundans materia et quae nequeat paucis absolvi. Ago tibi gratias pro xx florenis, quos dedisti Matthaeo: liberatus enim sum aere alieno, <utque aliquid incipiam referre, mitto ad te per Presbyterum Brandinum Pisanum, qui est ex familia¹⁴ Cardinalis Pisani. Silium Italicum, libros V Statii Silvarum, item M. Manilium Astronomicum. Is>¹⁵ qui libros transcripsit ignorantissimus omnium viventium fuit, divinare oportet¹⁶ non legere, ideoque opus est ut transcribantur per hominem doctum. <Ego legi usque ad viii librum Silii, multa emendavi, ita ut recte scribenti facile sit similes errores deprehendere eosque corrigere in reliquis libris, itaque da operam ut transcribantur, postea mittas illos Florentiam ad Nicolaum>. Orationum¹⁷ volo¹⁸ hic exemplar remanere, post modum vel ego ipse deferam vel per alium ad te mittam, idque quam primum. Lucretius mihi nondum redditus¹⁹ est, cum sit scriptus: locus est satis longinquus, neque unde aliqui veniant: itaque expectabo quoad aliqui accedant qui illum deferant: sin autem nulli venient, non praepionam publica privatis.²⁰ <Nam de Anniano Marcellino non reperio, qui symbolum conferat.>²¹ Hi quidem sacerdotes opus commendant, remque sedentes collaudant et cotidie a me postulant copiam orationum. Ceterum de exclusionem²² verbum nullum. O portenta et varia monstra ferarum>.

⁸ comestiva sua V, om. *Mitt.*

⁹ Francesco Bracco of Cremona, a scholar frequently mentioned in the letters of Poggio.

¹⁰ Cincio Romano, ¹¹ evomerem V.

¹² opera mea V. ¹³ possent V.

¹⁴ Alamano Adimano, Archbishop of Pisa and Cardinal of St. Eusebius. He is said to have discovered Pompeius Trogus in Spain.

¹⁵ Presbyter qui tibi V: qui Presbyter tibi *Mitt.*

¹⁶ Opus V.

¹⁷ i.e. *Ciceronis*. Poggio refers to his *orationes Cluniacenses*.

¹⁸ nolo hic V, hic nolo *Mitt.*

¹⁹ i.e. 'delivered.'

²⁰ i.e. 'he will go and fetch the copy himself.'

²¹ i.e. 'aid in the decipherment or interpretation.'

²² i.e. *curiac*. Prof. Sabbadini has very kindly given me a copy of an unedited letter of Poggio, written to F. Barbaro immediately afterwards, in which he says *cognovi vos commotos propter novum consilium meum, verentes ne desperatione mei curiam relinquam*. (Bertoliana di Vicenza cod. 492, f. 80).

The date of this letter is fixed by the reference to the death of Cardinal Zabarella (Sept. 17, 1417), the election of Martin V. (Nov. 11, 1417), and his projected journey to Britain. As it would take some time for the news of the latter event to reach Italy, and for F. Barbaro's reply to get to Poggio, the letter cannot have been written before the end of Dec. 1417 or the beginning of Jan. 1418. Poggio did not go from Constance to England, whither he had been invited by Cardinal Beaufort, but, after the dissolution of the Council, on May 16, 1418 accompanied Martin V. as far as Mantua, reaching that town at the end of September. At Mantua he became desperate and suddenly went off to England without even taking leave of his friends. This letter must have been written before Poggio started for Italy, since, if he were returning, he would have brought his MSS. himself instead of entrusting them to a messenger. Also, the references to the *suffragiorum ac tribuum varietas*, and to the *sacerdotes* who *rem sedentes collaudant* are specially appropriate to the time of the Council. The letter, therefore, was probably written between Jan. and May 1418.

It will be noticed that Poggio expresses his wish to keep with him at Constance his MS. containing those speeches of Cicero which he first discovered.¹ Ambrosio Traversari, the friend and correspondent of Poggio, in a letter to F. Barbaro, generally assigned to the year 1417, says *orationes illas omnes a Poggio missas iam credo acceperis. Misit enim illas Nicolaus noster* (Martène, vol. iii. p. 559). As at the beginning of 1418 the MS. was still at Constance, this letter must be somewhat later than has been supposed.² The fate of this MS. is curious and instructive. As early as Nov. 6, 1423 Poggio wrote to Niccolo begging him to use his influence with F. Barbaro to procure its return (Tonelli, vol. i, p. 100). Barbaro, however, kept it, just as Niccolo did that of Asconius and Valerius Flaccus. In spite of frequent complaints he did not succeed in recovering his MS. until 1436, when F. Barbaro returned it with the following note :³

¹ Poggio says that he obtained them *ex monasterio Cluniacensi*, and calls them his *Cluniacenses* (Tonelli, vol. i., pp. 100, 153). In a *subscriptio* to a MS. Abbat. Flor. S. Maria they are said to have been found in *silvis Lingonum*. Reifferscheid (Rhein. Mus. xxiii., p. 146) conjectures that they were found at Langres.

² Prof. Sabbadini would now assign it to July or Aug. 1418.

³ Centotrenta Lettere inedite di Francesco Barbaro, Salerno, 1884, ed. Remigio Sabbadini.

Orationes illas Ciceronis quas a Germania in Italiam longo, ut aiunt, postliminio reduxisti, ab illis mensariis, de quibus fecisti mentionem, accipies. Quae etsi tardius ad te reverterentur quam voluisses, sibi facile ignoscas : nam cum mecum peregrinari non crederent, sic in aula Camenarum ut aiunt, apud me se receperant, quasi haec sua hospitalitas illius tuae Germanicae legationis monumentum quoddam in perpetuum esse debuisset. Vale. Venetiis, 1436.

F. Barbaro appears to have amply compensated himself for the 20 florins with which he relieved the difficulties of Poggio at Constance. The statements made in this letter of Poggio concerning Silius Italicus and the *Silvae* are of great importance. We now know that Poggio—as well as Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano—possessed a MS. of Silius, and also have direct evidence that the *Silvae* are to be included among his discoveries. Dr. Krohn in his preface to Vollmer's edition (1898) points out the want of testimony to this effect. The only evidence which he is able to give is that of Vespasiano, a bookseller, who states (*Messer Poggio trovò le selve di Stazio in versi*). The addition to the *subscriptio* of a Florence MS. of Asconius (Soc. Columb. Flor.), in which they are mentioned, is a later and ungrammatical addition. On the other hand they do not appear in the list of Poggio's discoveries given by F. Barbaro, nor, except in one passage curiously overlooked by Dr. Krohn and previous writers, in published letters of Poggio.⁴

The view might be advanced that Poggio when speaking of the person *qui libros transcripsit* was referring, not to a copyist employed by himself, but to the original writer of the MS. discovered by him, and that he was sending this MS. itself to F. Barbaro. This, however, would not agree with his use of the word, which he always uses of a contemporary writer. Thus in the case of Asconius, Valerius Flaccus, and Quintilian he says *haec mea manu transcripsi et quidem velociter*, or again of the *Orations*, *decrevissem orationes Tullii per scriptorem meum transcribi*. Of a *vetustus codex* he uses such expressions as that it is *novis et barbaris litteris, parumque emendatus*. For a combination of these terms cf. his description of his *vetus codex* of Ammianus Marcellinus, *Cardinalis de Columnis habet eum codicem quod portavi, litteris antiquis, sed ita mendum ut nil corruptius esse possit. Nicolaus Nicolaus illum manu sua transcripsit*. Also,

⁴ In a letter to Niccolo Niccoli alluded to above, Poggio says, *Lucretium tenuisti per annos quattuordecim, eodem modo Asconium Pedianum, sic et Petronium Arbitrum et Statium Silvarum*. (Tonelli i., p. 303.)

it is not likely that Manilius and the *Silvae* were found in one MS. together with Silius Italicus, or that, if the MS. itself had come to Italy, all trace of it would have been lost. It follows then that Poggio had a copy made for him on the spot, and in all probability by a local scribe. It is not clear from his words whether he himself read and corrected Manilius and the *Silvae* as well as Silius i-xiii, or whether he is only referring to Silius.

This new evidence throws much light upon debated questions in connexion with the MSS. of Silius Italicus. The chief authority on this subject is H. Blass, whose conclusions are to be found in a long and careful paper in the *Jahrbücher f. class. Philologie, Suppl. Band*, 1875-1876, pp. 162-250. He considers that all our MSS. are descended from a single copy now lost, brought to Italy by Bartolomeo de Montepoliciano. This is based upon statements of Philelfo, a scholar now chiefly known on account of his famous quarrel with Poggio. He says *advectus enim tum primum fuerat* (i.e. *codex Silii*) *ex urbe Constantia in Italiam per Bartholomaeum Pulicianum* (Epp. xxiv. p. 163, ed Ven. 1502). It was bought after the death of Bartolomeo in 1429 by the father of Antonio Barbadori,¹ and Philelfo wished to ascertain its whereabouts, remarking, *Nam codices omnes, quotquot illo exemplari exscripti sunt, depravatos corruptosque invenio* (Epp. xvi. 116). This he says was *solus per id temporis in Italia* (xxiv. l.c.), and adds that it was *manu Germani librarii exscriptus*.

Blass enumerates twenty-five MSS. of Silius, of which twenty are contaminated, and of little value. There remain two groups which consist (1) of three MSS., Q (the Queen's College MS.),² V (Vatic. 1652), and G (Gaddiana plut. lxxxxi. sup. 35), which are free from attempts at emendation. (2) of two MSS., F (Bibl. Aedil. Flor. Eccl. exevi.), and L³ (Laur. plut. xxxvii. 16). These differ from the first group in that they frequently contain readings found in none of the other *apographa Sangallensia* and known only from the lost *Coloniensis* used by Carrion and Modius. These readings are more frequent in F than in L². The latter is a beautifully written MS. copied in 1457 for Cosmo dei Medici by a Florentine notary,

¹ Philelfo says of A. Barbadori *quem nunc audio istic agere relegatum ab iis qui Florentiae principatum tenent*. In the printed book *isticagere* is given as one word. Blass proposes to read *isto carcere*, a very unfortunate emendation.

² This is termed O by Blass. He places Ottob. 1258 among the interpolated MSS., so that here, as for Valerius Flaccus, it appears to be inferior to Q.

Gherardus Johannes del Ciriagio. The former was previously supposed to have been written by Ambrogio Traversari, the friend and correspondent of Poggio. Blass has no difficulty in showing that this is impossible, since the writer was a man of extraordinary ignorance. The errors which he makes are worse even than those which I noticed as occurring in Q (in the case of Valerius Flaccus), while the spelling is still more eccentric. There are a number of *lacunae*, while the alterations and erasures of later hands, coupled with the blunders of the original scribe, make it impossible to use F as the foundation of the text. This honour he gives to L³. The fact, however, remains that in a number of cases F alone has the reading of the *Coloniensis* as against L³ together with all other MSS., and, what is still more remarkable, in several cases these unique readings are written in the margin by a second hand. Blass makes the highly suggestive remark that the writer of these had an opportunity of again consulting the archetype from which F was taken. As to the hand employed by the writer of F, Blass remarks that he begins with a *Gothic* minuscule, then adopts a cursive style on ff. 2, 3, on ff. 4, 5, resumes his first manner, then goes back to his second style, which with certain varieties he maintains until the end.

Blass considers the question as to whether F may be the original MS. brought to Italy by Bartolomeo, but decides in the negative on 'internal grounds,'³ presumably the ignorance of the writer, and the difficulties in the way of deriving QVG from it. He thinks that it as well as QVG, is copied from the apograph of Bartolomeo. The reader naturally wonders how it was that the most ignorant of the copyists of this author so frequently preserved unique readings, and how it was that so ignorant a person writing a *Gothic* hand came to copy the apograph after it was brought to Italy.

It is impossible, while reading this in the light of Poggio's letter quoted above, not to suspect that F is the copy made for him by his local scribe, the *ignorantissimus omnium viventium*. If this is so, all difficulties disappear. The two families FL³ and QVG represent two apographs, one made for Poggio, and the other for Bartolomeo, both written *Germani librarii manu*, the first being attested by Poggio's letter, the second by the statements of Philelfo. This explains the 'Gothic hand' employed by the writer of F

³ p. 239, n.

on the first pages of the MS., the bad spellings, the monstrous corruptions, together with the survival of unique readings. Stupidity is often a valuable quality in a scribe, since it is frequently coupled with great fidelity. The readings in the margin of F, which Blass thinks were entered by a second person after a fresh examination of the archetype, are at once intelligible, if we suppose this second person to have been Poggio. Finally, the fact that F was supposed to have been copied by Ambrogio is easily explained. Who was more likely than Ambrogio to have Poggio's MS.? I therefore, suggest that F is the transcript made for Poggio, while QVG represent the *familia Montepoliciana*, Q, as in the case of Valerius Flaccus, being the best member of the group.

Before quitting the subject I would remark that Bartolomeo's MS. would naturally be preferred to Poggio's, if written by a less illiterate copyist. That this was so appears probable from Q, the writer of which, though very ignorant, does not make such extraordinary mistakes as those found in F. The statement of Philéfo that Bartolomeo's copy was the only one brought to Italy deserves no credence in view of his feud with Poggio.

I now proceed to consider the second Madrid MS. (M. 31), containing Manilius and the *Silvae* of Statius. The presumption that this is very closely connected with the MS. found by Poggio is very great in view of the fact that it was once bound up with the companion MS. (X. 81). It cannot, however, possibly be written by Poggio, since the hand is quite different, and not Italian in character. Professor Ellis in *Hermathena* (xix. pp. 261 sq) thus describes it: 'The writing is at starting very large, clear and careful, somewhat in the Gothic style, and possibly in imitation of an earlier form of writing. By degrees it becomes smaller: a palpable and distinct diminution begins on f. 4 a. But on f. 4 b it begins to be large again, though it soon becomes smaller, and this smaller hand, but in varying degrees of smallness, is retained through the rest of the poem' (*Hermathena*, viii. p. 262). This description of M. 31 curiously resembles that which Blass gives of F.

Dr. Krohn, in his Preface to Vollmer's edition, forms two groups of MSS. containing the *Silvae*. Of one group M. 31, which he terms M, is the best. Of the other the best MS. is *Vallicellanus* C. 95 (G). It is, he says, possible that the G group is derived from M, but this cannot be definitely

proved. He thinks that the members of the M group are copied from M, though he hesitates about one of these, Bodl. auct. F. 5, (F). I have myself compared portions of F with photographs of M, and cannot doubt that it was copied from M. All readings of the second hand in M are adopted in F, and blunders in F are often due to obscurity of particular letters in M. Dr. Krohn finds that M agrees far more closely with the *vetus liber Poggi*, which was afterwards collated by Politian, than does any other MS. Politian quotes the *liber Poggi* 80 times. In 74 cases M agrees with his citation. The rest of the M group agree in dwindling proportions, while G agrees only 43 times. Some of the discrepancies appear to be doubtful cases. One is of real importance, viz. 1.4.86, where M contains the line 86 a—

attollam cantu, gaudet thrasymennus et alpes,

which Politian says was not in the *liber Poggi*.

The suggestion which I would offer to the consideration of students of the *Silvae* is, that M. 31 is itself the copy of Manilius and the *Silvae* made for Poggio by his local scribe. This would explain how it came to be bound up with X. 80, and how it is that this, the most valuable member of the Poggian family, alike in the case of Manilius and the *Silvae*, is not written in an Italian hand. It is noticeable that Politian when describing the *vetustissimus liber Poggi qui e Germania in Italiam est relatus* says that it was written *Gallica manu*.¹ The *subscriptio* to the *Silvae* quoted by Mr. Souter would naturally proceed from Poggio's ignorant hireling.² As to the internal evidence, I would submit that 74 agreements out of 80 practically amount to identity. Few ancient

¹ That this description does not necessarily imply great antiquity has already been pointed out by Dr. Krohn. He says 'Es war höchst wahrscheinlich keine alte Handschrift, sondern eine Abschrift. . . aus der Zeit des Kostnitzer Konzils, die aber nach Polizianos Urteil die Mutter aller ihm bekannten Silvenhandschriften, in diesem Sinne also die älteste, war.' ed. Vollmer, p. 42. The Editor of the *Review* sends me the following citation from the praefatio to Schwabe's Catullus, which shows how a MS. at Milan (Ambrosianus D 24) written about 1500 was dated by a historian of that city not very far on in the 16th century:—'Ripamontius in hist. urbis Mediolani 20, 15 narrat Frederico Borromaeo Cardinali ab ep. melitano donatum esse 'Catullum, quem aut poetarum ipsius manu aut aetate certe illa scriptum diceret quisquis perite faciem ductusque litterarum aestimaret.'"

² FINIS ADEST VERE PRECIUM VULT SCRIPTOR HEBERE (*Class. Review*, December, 1898, p. 445).

scholars would have quoted with such accuracy. Whether the existence of two families of MSS. in the case of the *Silvae* may show that two copies were taken as in the case of the authors previously discussed is a question which may also deserve investigation.

To sum up the results of this discussion. When the first discovery of MSS. was made at St. Gallen in 1416, consisting of Quintilian, Asconius, and Valerius Flaccus, Poggio copied these authors and sent his copy to Leonardo Aretino and Niccolo Niccoli—the latter of whom kept the Asconius and Valerius Flaccus for thirteen years. The Madrid MS. (X. 81) is the archetype of the *Poggiana familia*, and very probably the transcript made by Poggio himself. Bartolomaeo also copied the Asconius, a copy of his transcript being now in Florence (Laur. plut. LIV. 5.) An independent copy of Valerius Flaccus was taken, apparently by a local writer, which there is reason to suppose was executed for Bartolomaeo. This is represented by Q Ott. of which Q may possibly be the transcript in question.

Shortly afterwards other authors were discovered by one or other of the friends, viz. seven (or eight) speeches of Cicero, Lucretius, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Poggio sent the speeches early in 1418 to Francisco Barbaro—who kept them until 1436. The next discovery was that of Silius Italicus, Manilius, and the *Silvae* of Statius. We do not know where these were found. Poggio employed a local scribe to copy all three authors. Bartolomaeo did the same in the case of Silius. His MS., which was seen by Philelfo, who describes it as *Germana manu exscriptus*, became the archetype of the ordinary Italian MSS. Its best representative is Q. The apograph made for Poggio is represented by FL³, of which F., which is connected by tradition with Poggio's friend Ambrosio, may well be the original. The Madrid MS. (M. 31) is probably the copy of Manilius and the *Silvae* made for Poggio at Constance. As to whether a copy of these authors was also made for Bartolomaeo I make no statement. The work of these Swiss or German scribes is characterised by their ignorance and curious spelling, as shown notably in Q F.

If it be asked why Poggio and his friend entrusted the work to ignorant persons, instead of making transcripts themselves, two reasons may be given: (i) that they were unable to keep up with the supply of new material, and (ii) that as the dissolution of the Council was imminent, there was no

time to lose. A further possibility is that the original MSS. may not have been in the neighbourhood, and that they could only obtain copies.

I would conclude by making a few remarks about the neglect with which Poggio's correspondence has been treated, which is very strange in view of his fame as a letter-writer, and the numerous references to his discoveries which his letters contain, especially as the letters of most of his contemporaries have been published in full. In the *ed. Bebel*, 1538, only 45 of his letters are included. Mehus in his *Vita Ambrosii Camalduni* refers to a large collection of them in a *Riccardiana* MS. No. 759, and announced his intention of publishing them. In this century Tommaso Tonelli began to put together an exhaustive collection, taking the *Riccardiana* MS. as his basis, and adding to it letters from other sources. He does not include the letter which I print, nor does he appear to know of the mutilated copy in existence at Venice printed by Mittarelli.¹ It should come sixth in order among Poggio's letters. Poggio in later life made preparations for the publication of his letters, and mentions his inability to procure copies of those which he wrote in early years. Thus, in a letter to Niccolo Niccoli, he urges him to look through his library for letters, especially those which he wrote from Gaul and Germany mentioning his discoveries of MSS., and in a later letter to Francisco Marescalco complains that he cannot bring out his book because Niccolo will not answer him or send the letters. Tonelli published one volume in 1839 at Florence which contains 129 letters divided into four books, but his work was cut short by death. I have myself looked through the *Riccardiana* MS., and made extracts. It consists of (a) a first collection of letters, originally 89 in number, of which the two first have perished, and (b) two volumes of 170 and 176 letters forming 10 and 7 books respectively. This arrangement was made by Poggio himself, as we learn from a statement on f. 226 b.

(epistolas) . . . in volumen coegi, quod decem libros continet: detraxi autem omnia, quae praeter epistolas in priori volumine inserta erant: hoc vero ex epistolis solis constat. Cepi quoque secundum epistolarum volumen, cuius libri tres iam sunt confecti et nescio an id consummabitur: sum etenim factus tardior in exscribendo.

I have recently heard from Prof. Sabbadini that two other volumes, containing the

¹ Mittarelli's catalogue was published in 1779.

rest of the *sylløge Riccardiana*, have been published since the death of Tonelli, appearing in the years 1859 and 1861, but that they are excessively rare, so rare that, to the best of his belief, only two copies are in existence, of which one is at Berlin, and the other in the National Library at Florence. He informs me that Dr. Willmanns, chief librarian of the Berlin Library, has undertaken to edit anew the letters of

Poggio. It is to be hoped that this will not be long delayed. Pages in the catalogues of our libraries are taken up by the successive editions of Poggio's scandalous *facetiae*, or of his *risqué* letter upon the public baths of Baden, but his letters generally, which throw so much light upon classical literature, are still not accessible to scholars.

A. C. CLARK.

NOTES ON QUINTILIAN.

THE object of the present paper is to point out several misstatements that have been made in regard to the usage of Quintilian.

I. ETSI.

Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*² § 305 says this Conjunction is not found in Quintilian ('nicht bei Quint.'). Landgraf, Note 427 b to Reisig's *Vorles. über lat. Spr.* p. 269 says it is wanting in Quintilian ('bei Quintilian fehlt *etsi*'). *Etsi*, however, is found in Quintilian 8 times, 7 times with the Indicative and once with the Subjunctive: *Ind.* i. proem. 19; 5, 28; ii. 5, 19; vii. 8, 7; ix. 1, 19; 2, 100; xi. 3, 18. *Subj.* v. 13, 3.

II. DUMMODO.

Dummodo did not find favour with either Tacitus or Quintilian. Gudeman, *Dialogus*, p. 257 says that it occurs only two times in Tacitus. Bonnell Meister and Hild in a note to Quint. x. 3, 7, say that *dummodo* is not found in Quintilian ('*Dummodo* findet sich bei Quint. nicht, sondern nur *dum*, oder *modo*, oder *si modo*'). These latter particles occur frequently in Quint., but it is a mistake to say that *dummodo* is not found at all, for he uses it in i. 6, 8: 'at quae o solam habent, dummodo per eandem litteram in infinito exeant,' etc.

III. IGITUR.

Neue, *Formenlehre*,³ p. 975 says that in

Quintilian *igitur* begins the sentence 12 times. In point of fact, however, it is the first word in the sentence 16 times; it begins a book twice: i. 1, 1; viii. 1, 1; a chapter, once, v. 14, 1; a paragraph, once, ii. 14, 5; a section, 8 times, i. 9, 2; ii. 11, 3; iii. 8, 24; v. 12, 22; vii. 10, 3; viii. 3, 42; x. 1, 46; xi. 3, 153; and is placed elsewhere 4 times, i. 6, 44; ii. 14, 5; vii. 1, 3 and ix. 2, 44. Its use, therefore, in an important position is to be noted.

Quintilian's statement (i. 5, 39) in regard to the varying position of *igitur* at the beginning of a sentence is well-known: 'Maximos auctores in diversa fuisse opinione video, cum apud alios sit etiam frequens, apud alios numquam reperitur.' Quintilian's own usage therefore is interesting in view of the above remark: he uses *igitur* 16 times in the first place, 114 times in the 2nd and 25 times in the 3rd.

IV. ITAQUE.

Neue, *Formenlehre*,³ p. 975 says that in Quint. *itaque* is found in the 2nd place in the sentence only 6 times. In point of fact, Quint. places it thus 12 times: i. 1, 14; v. 8, 57; vi. 3, 28; vii. 2, 45; viii. proem. 3; 16; 3, 20; 35; 4, 12; x. 4, 3; xi. 1, 63; 85. (A new example in prose is Mart. *Praef.* to viii. line 5 Gilbert).

EMORY B. LEASE.

SUDHAUS' AETNA.

Aetna, erklärt von SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS. Teubner, 1898.

THIS new edition of *Aetna* will be received by most English scholars, if I am not mistaken, with very mixed feelings. They will

be grateful to the German editor for the large amount of scientific illustration drawn from ancient no less than modern authorities which he has brought to bear upon the acknowledged obscurities of the poem; they will be amazed at the extravagant self-con-

fidence with which he assures his readers that what all scholars have agreed to consider corruptions of the MS. tradition are not only defensible as a possibility, but sound as a fact.

It is to be remembered—and the fact has to be stated emphatically—that *Aetna* has been edited in comparatively modern times by no less a scholar than H. A. J. Munro. When Ribbeck was preparing his first edition of the *Appendix Vergiliana* (published in 1867), he asked Munro to collate for him the MS. in the Cambridge University Library containing the *Culex* (Kk. v. 34). This MS. contains also *Aetna*. Munro, as might be expected, made a collation of *Aetna* also; the interest which the excellence of the MS. was sufficient to arouse by itself, combined with the scientific character of the poem and his own Lucretian studies, led him on to examine the other MSS. of *Aetna* and to publish a new edition of the text with a complete commentary in the same year in which Ribbeck's *App. Verg.* appeared. This was the first time that a full collation of C (the Cambridge MS. above mentioned) had been published: Haupt indeed had obtained many of its readings before and had seen its unique importance, but no thorough and complete collation of it was extant before this edition of Munro's in 1867.

Munro's work, which had fallen rather coldly (considering his unrivalled eminence) even in England, was unacceptable to Haupt, who thought his own contributions to the criticism of *Aetna* had not been sufficiently appreciated in it. The fact, I think, was that starting from a constant and immediately present inspection of the *one* unimpeachable authority for the text of the poem, Munro kept as closely to this as he possibly could, never admitting any emendation, except where he thought it absolutely necessary, and continually recurring to the excellence of C, where its readings (shown for the first time in a perfectly clear form) in comparison with corrections based on inferior MSS. were undeniably right, or at least superior to any of the proposed corrections. The general tone might be called conservative, that is to say, so far as the rules of criticism permitted.

So far as I know, the only other revision of the text up to the present time is that of Bährens in the second volume of *Poetae Latini Minores*. This was in most respects a retrogression. Bährens, who in spite of undoubted ingenuity, was on the whole reckless in his manipulation of Latin poetry,

had not the time or the patience to weigh the many crucial passages of *Aetna* with a care at all proportioned to their difficulty; his revision is therefore marred by many doubtful transpositions of lines, and by the admission of emendations which are often unnecessary, sometimes transparently wrong. On one point, where Munro had sounded a warning note—I mean the value of the MS. known as Gyraldinus, Bährens, like Haupt, failed to see that the warning was required, and that the readings *reported as coming* from the Gyraldinus were not always to be treated as if we had any *certainty* of their provenience. Nothing seems to me to be so strong a proof of Munro's critical discernment as his hesitation on this point. Some of these Gyraldinian lections, it is true, are so illuminative as to carry conviction, or something like conviction, e.g. *Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo* for the corrupted tradition of the MSS. *Sacra peringentem capitiue attollere caelum*; others are very like clever guesses; some, in my opinion, no few, are guesses without cleverness, and even misleading. On this point I have said something in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, xvi. pp. 297 sqq.

It must be, then, in comparison with Munro's edition that we shall best estimate the value of the new edition of Sudhaus. And in one respect I am perfectly ready to acknowledge the superiority of the later work. Sudhaus has done excellent service in bringing to the elucidation of *Aetna* a variety of scientific materials never accumulated before. He has a learned and very instructive introduction on the volcano, as exhibited in the writings of Greek philosophers, especially Posidonius, whose views we know tolerably from the large fragments imbedded in Strabo and other writers. He has very apt and always most interesting citations from modern explorers of *Aetna*, Vesuvius, and similar mountains, by which the statements of the Roman poet are confirmed, and placed in a clearer (I hardly dare say, clear) light. He is completely at home with the nearly aequaeval work of the younger Seneca, the *Natural Questions*, and has called attention to many parallels between them and *Aetna*, which may be worked in different ways, but cannot be set aside or ignored. In these points his edition shows a marked advance on that of his earlier rival.

When we turn to the inner and more vital questions—more vital, because all interpretation must be based on such preliminary—what is the real condition of the text of the

poem? how are the MSS. related to each other? is *any* weight to be given to the fifteenth century copies, e.g. the Rehdiger and Vat. 3272? are the reported lections of the Gyraldinus *always* to be accepted? we cannot give an answer in any way so satisfactory. Sudhaus follows here what to some may seem a safe but to the present writer appears an uncritical line. The Cambridge MS. (C) is so much earlier and in every way so much superior to all others (for the Stabulensian fragment, though not far removed in age is much spoilt by time, and hardly comes into close competition) as to stand alone as an unique authority. This, since Haupt and Munro, is universally acknowledged; and Sudhaus is right in so far as he follows them and accepts it as his primary source for reconstituting the text. But it happens that for one portion of the poem certain readings exist which purport to come from a MS. more ancient than either C or Stab. The MS. itself has long been lost, and all the attempts of Nicolas Heinsius to rediscover it in Italy were fruitless. It was, however, extant in the sixteenth century, and was copied by Lilius Gyraldus; nor, after what Munro has written, pp. 31, 32, can anyone reasonably doubt that some part of the readings ascribed to it are genuine and may be accepted as real restorations of corrupt lines. This is all that we can do with safety, all that Munro thought we could do with safety. But Sudhaus, following C elsewhere as a perfectly trusty guide, and even defending its readings where most scholars have pronounced them wrong, forsakes his trusty guide throughout the above-mentioned section and adopts instead the so-called Gyraldinian variants. Thus in 142 where C gives *Incomperta uia est operum tantum effluit intra*, Sudhaus prints *I. u. est: aer tantum effugit ultra* on the strength of Gyr. alone, and even this not precisely, for Gyr. is stated to have had *aeri* not *aer*: in 161 where C gives *Fallere sed nondum tibi lumine certaue retro*, Gyr. is said to have had *Fulleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est*, and this is printed by Sudhaus, though it has every look of a sixteenth century correction: 223 C gives *Digna laborantis respondent praemia curis*, and so the Paris and Escorial excerpts: yet Sudhaus, following the marginal jotting reported from Gyr. prints *Pigra laboratis r. p. e.*, two changes for the worse. But this question, which radically affects the reconstitution of the poem, is too large to be more than touched upon here. Yet I do not shrink from the avowal I have expressed before,

and see no reason to alter, that Munro's hesitation as to some of the Gyr. variants is short of the probable fact: C is to be treated as our primary authority *throughout* the poem, and only rarely to be corrected from the marginalia (for such they are) known as Gyraldinian in the 150 lines where we possess them.

But this is not the point in Sudhaus' edition against which the strongest objection lies. It is even more assailable on the two grounds of Latinity and metre. I mean that his exegesis does violence to the ordinary use of the Latin language and to the rules of prosody: that in order to retain the 'überlieferung,' i.e., the text of the MSS. as we have it in its least corrupted form, words and sentences are forced to bear meanings which a sound criticism repudiates as impossible.

C gives 375 *sqq.* thus:

Sepe premit fauces magnis extructa
ruinis

at. tur

Congeries clauditque uias luctamur ab imo
Et scisso ueluti tecto sub pondere praestat
Haud similis teneros cursu cum frigida
monti

Desidia est tutoque licet discedere montes.

It does not require much knowledge of Latin poetry to see almost at a glance that 377 is slightly, 378 deeply corrupt, or that two sequent vv. did not end with *monti*, *montes*. The combination of *scisso ueluti tecto sub pondere* is inartistic, the possibility of extracting *any* sense from *aut similis teneros cursu* more than questionable. Jacob altered *scisso* to *spisso*, the present writer suggested *tectos* for *tecto*, which at least accords with a well known rule of palaeography, *s* dropping out before another *s* in *sub*.

Sudhaus prints as follows:—

Saepe premit fauces magnis extructa ruinis
Congeries clauditque uias luctamine ab imo,
Et spisso ueluti tecto, sub pondere praestat,
Haud similis teneros cursu, cum frigida
monti

Desidia est tutoque licet discedere, uentos.

In this, against his usual custom, he admits three emendations *luctamine*, *spisso*, *uentos*: yet with a strange inconsistency retains unaltered *haud similis teneros cursu*; with what meaning? 'as under a close roofing, it makes the winds beneath its weight appear no longer like themselves, but weakened in their course.' *Haud similis, teneros cursu*. Has, then, Cobet lived in vain? Are we to be told

that nonsense is sense, medieval corruptions the pure Latin of the first century, A.D. ? If anything is certain in *Aetna*, it is that the 'überlieferung' is here vitiated, and that to force a meaning out of the passage as it stands in the MSS. is to act in defiance of all sound criticism.

394-5 :—

Atque hanc materiam penitus discurrere
fontes
Infectae $\dagger$ eripiantur aquae radice sub ipsa.

The word *eripiantur* is thought by most editors corrupt, and has been variously corrected. I have myself suggested *crispantur* which De Rooy has shown to be particularly applied to the ruffling or rippling motion of water. Mähly proposed *testantur*. Our new editor boldly retains *eripiantur*, explaining (apparently) of bringing the water up to the surface slowly and with effort. But the passage which he cites from Vitruvius does not bear out this meaning, and the use of $\xi\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ in Plato's *Timaeus* is not really parallel. A similar doubt attaches to the word *coritur* 408 *ubi coritur igni* (1) as to its occurring = *cooritur* (2) as to its meaning, which according to the new editor is 'rises to grapple with.' In 429, *Sed genus hoc lapidis—certissima signa coloris—*

Quod nullas adiunxit opes, et languit ignis, elanguit, though Jacob seems to have been the first to make the correction, is so completely confirmed by a large number of similar palaeographical instances as to leave no doubt with any one at all familiar with MSS. Sudhaus, however, retains *et languit* 'ist auch der Feuer erloschen' with little, or at least, a very weak meaning. Equally uncritical (may I not say impossible?) is the view that *extra* in the difficult passage 458-9, *Haud equidem mirum, facie quae cernimus extra,*

Si lenitur opus, restat,

is abl. fem. of *exter*: classical usage is pronouncedly against such an hypothesis.

462 *sqq.*

Nam simul atque mouet uires turbamque minatus

Diffugit exemplot solum trahit ictaque ramis

Et graue sub terra murmur demonstrat at ignes.

In these verses, which follow each other continuously in C, most editors agree that 463 is wrong, or at least that

after it a line or lines have fallen out. 463 bears on its face one error, *exemplo* for *extemplo*, which is actually found in the Rehder MS.; and the smallest familiarity with MSS. is enough to make the interchange of the two words intelligible. *Ictaque ramis*, though it has nothing in itself impossible, may also be affected by the vitiation which attaches to this part of the poem, e.g. it might be *ictaque raris* or *actaque rimis*. But whatever it was, it does not cohere with the surrounding words. The difficulty is heightened by the uncertainty as to the subject of the sentence. Possibly it is *lapis molaris*, possibly the *mons* itself. Munro marks a lacuna after 462, and obelizes *ramis*. Sudhaus retains the reading of C exactly as it is, and translates 'For as soon as it [the lava-stone] sets its powers in motion and threatening turmoil escapes, and draws with it the ground following its initiative (*exemplo*), as well as the substances struck upon by its branching veins' (*ramis*). Surely this is perverted ingenuity, the desperate resource to which a wrong and uncritical theory reduces its believers. What, indeed, is the good of studying MSS. or training our students in palaeography if it does not lead to a saner result than this? It is not difficult to see that if this kind of exegesis is to carry the day, most of the labours of past generations must go for nought, and philological criticism be reconstituted.

If I find it impossible to accept Sudhaus as an interpreter, I am equally incapable of accepting him as a metrist. In 107 C gives

Ut crebrer introrsus spatio uacat acta charibdis

where Munro prints

Ut crebro introrsus spatio uacuata charibdis

The new German edition gives

Ut crēber (introsus spatio uacat acta charybdis)

316

Eminus adspirat fortis et uerberat humor.

Fortis is supposed to be nominative, agreeing with *humor*; and we are referred to the introduction, p. 86. There we find quoted as similar 496, *ac primum tenuis imas agit ulteriores*, where *tenuis* is explained by Sudhaus as nominative singular, but by most critics and Munro as acc. plur., 522 *constat* before *eademque*. But on looking at the passage

Nam uelut arguti natura est aeris et ignis
Cum domitum est constat eademque et cor-
pore saluo

it is obvious that *constat* is wrong as regards the structure of the sentence, and that it is an error of MSS. for *constans* (so Haupt and Munro independently) perhaps through *constas*.

Again, can any one believe, in a poem framed on the most careful rules of metric, that 129 *Hospitum fluvium haut semita*, or 291 *seu fortē flexere caput* can be right? The former indeed is not the *exact* 'überlieferung,' for C and other MSS. give *aut*, not *haut*. But if it were the exact tradition, if five other MSS. of equal antiquity with C, repeated it in precisely the

same form, ought it to be pronounced, I will not say the genuine reading, but even a possible one? The question begins to be really vital, unless we are prepared to upset the conclusions which centuries of painful study have formulated, and to which most classical scholars have been trained from their earliest boyhood. If the school of criticism which Sudhaus's *Aetna* represents in an extreme form is to dominate the rising generation of interpreters of Greek and Latin poets, it is not difficult to see what will be the issue. Nothing in language will be too obscure, in metre too outrageous, not to find some supporter.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

GUENTHER'S *EPISTULAE*; TISCHENDORF'S *SYNOPSIS*; BUTLER'S *LAUSIAC HISTORY*; GELZER'S, HILGENFELD'S AND CUNTZ'S *NICENE COUNCIL*.

1. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis. Vol. XXXV. *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae ex recensione OTTONIS GUENTHER*. Pars II. *Epistulae cyccxxxiv*, Appendices, Indices. Vindobonae, Tempsky. MDCCCLXXXVIII.
2. TISCHENDORF. *Synopsis Evangelica*. Editio septima, novis curis auctior et emendatior. Berlin, Mendelssohn. 1898.
3. *Texts and Studies*, edited by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. Vol. VI. No. 1. The *Lausiaca History of Palladius*, by DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER. University Press, Cambridge. 1898.
4. *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina sociata opera ediderunt H. GELZER, H. HILGENFELD, O. CUNTZ*. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana.) Leipzig, 1898.

1. DR. GUENTHER here completes his edition of the *Collectio Avellana*.

Letters 1-40 refer chiefly to the strife of Damasus and Ursinus for the Roman bishopric in 367, Ep. 2 being the petition of the Luciferian presbyters Faustinus and Marcellinus to the emperors (383-392). Letters 41-50 refer to the Pelagian Controversy, and seem to come from the archives of Aurelius of Carthage. Letters 51-55 are letters of Pope Leo I., written in June and August 460. Letters 56-104 belong to the pontificates of Simplicius, Felix III., and Gela-

sius I. (468-496), except that Epp. 82-93 are of Justinian's times, Ep. 82 falling as late as 553. Epp. 105-243 are to and from Pope Hormisdas between 514 and 521. Ep. 244 is the letter of Epiphanius of Salamis concerning the twelve precious stones of Aaron's breastplate. The Appendix is of four documents, one on the heresy of Dioscorus (451), the others on that of Acacius in the Henoticon controversy. The usual indices follow.

Some of the letters are extant elsewhere, and nearly all have been published before; but this is the first critical edition of the collection as a whole. The Codex Avellanus (Vatic. Lat. 4961), on which former editors have chiefly relied, proves to be a mere transcript of the Codex Vaticanus (Vatic. Lat. 3787) which Dr. Guenther follows.

2. Only changes need notice in so familiar a book as Tischendorf's *Synopsis*. In this seventh edition Dr. Oswald Cramer follows the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition, and adds the readings of Westcott and Hort. Tischendorf's Prolegomena and Apparatus are left practically untouched, on the principle *sint ut sunt aut ne sint*. The additions are trifling.

3. Dom Cuthbert Butler contends that the *Historia Lausiaca* as printed by Rosweyd is a composite work. One part of it is the *Historia Monachorum* of Rufinus: but this he proves to be translated from a Greek

original, which he conjectures to be the work of Timotheus, archdeacon of Alexandria in 412. Cutting out the *Hist. Mon.* from the *Hist. Laus.*, there remains a short recension (printed in Rosweyde's Appendix) which he regards as a genuine work of Palladius, and generally as authentic history. This thesis is elaborately worked out with reference to Sozomen and to the various versions. It is followed by a general discussion of the sources of early Egyptian monastic history, including a defence of the *Vita Antonii* as an authentic history, though he declines to discuss its authorship. He points out a Syriac text (edited by Dr. Schulthess) which may prove to be earlier than the Greek.

The general result is a sound piece of scholarly work on a very difficult subject. The critical method too is generally excellent, though some of us will hesitate more than the author at *e.g.* the miracles related.

No serious criticism can be attempted within the limits of a review. Suffice it that some of his arguments seem conclusive, and all will have to be reckoned with. On a couple of small points they might be strengthened at once.

(1) P. 182: 'Rufinus' was with John of Lycopolis when the battle of the Frigidus (Sept. 5, 394) was announced 'about the end of Sept.'; and then must they not have arrived at Nitria before Epiphany? The difficulty is eased if we notice that the news cannot well have reached Lycopolis much before the end of *October*.

(2) P. 179: concerning the flight of Athanasius, and how he was hidden in Alexandria by a certain virgin. Dom Butler overlooks the statement of the Index to the Festal Letters (ad ann. 360), how Faustinus

and Artemius sought for Athanasius in the house of the Virgin Eudaemonis.

4. Dr. Gelzer holds that the original records of the Nicene Council were lost or destroyed by the Arianizers of the next generation, and that the list of bishops present was restored from memory by Athanasius and the Council of Alexandria in 362.

The extant list, he holds, cannot be original, because it arranges the bishops by provinces, whereas from the Council of Ephesus onward (and therefore probably earlier) the signatures are in order of rank—first patriarchs, then metropolitans, then bishops. He also points out that Socrates (*H.E.* i. 13) refers only to the *Synodicon* of Athanasius, and that the Council of Alexandria was very zealous for the Nicene *Creed*.

His case however does not seem made out. The signatures are in order of rank at Seleucia in 359 (Epiph. *Haer.* 73, 26) but not at Philippopolis in 343 (Hilary, *Fragm.* 3), so that it would be rash to decide for certain which way the Nicene list was drawn up.

As a critical edition however of the extant list, the present leaves little to be desired. First we have four Latin recensions, and these are followed by two Greek, one Coptic, two Syriac (Dr. Braun has since published a third in Knöpfler's *Kyischliche Studien*), an Arabic, and an Armenian, all with critical apparatus. Full indices are also given. The number of bishops is about 220; but the Coptic is incomplete, and the Arabic makes it up to the traditional 318, including (amongst others) Silvester of Rome, and perpetrating many other blunders.

H. M. GWATKIN.

NOTES.

PHAEDRUS, *Append.* IX.—This characteristic of the hen, with a similar application, appears in Burekhardt's *Arabic Proverbs*, 510 (ed. 2, p. 184): 'They said to the hen, "Eat, and do not scatter (the corn) about." "I cannot leave off my habits," she replied. It is useless to instruct an inveterate scoundrel in morals...'

The illustration—derived from fable probably—appears in Greek: Plut. *περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης* 3, p. 516 D, ἡ ψυχὴ...ἐκπηδᾷ θύραζε καὶ πλανᾷται περὶ τὰλλότρια, βόσκουσα καὶ πιαίνουσα τὸ κακὸς. ὥς γὰρ ὕρνις ἐν οἰκίᾳ πολλὰκίς, τροφῆς πολλῆς παρακειμένης, εἰς γωνίαν καταδῖσα σκαλεῖται ἐνθα γέ που διαφαίνεται ἅτ' ἐν κοπρῇ μία κριθή, παραπλησίως οἱ πολυπράγμονες...

Clem. Alex. p. 271, 24, καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐξιτήλους βαφὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀργυρώνητα ἀνδράποδα σπαθῶσι καὶ διαρρίπτονσι τὰ χρήματα, δίκην ὀρνίθων κεκορεσμένων τὰ τοῦ βίου σκαλεῖν οὐσαι κόπρια.

W. G. HEADLAM.

* * *

ST. CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom.* XIII in *Ephes.* p. 830.—Commenting on Eph. iv 22 Chrysostom says that ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος is often ruined by ἐπιθυμία. He gives an illustration καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐρίον ἀφ' ὧν τίκεται ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ἀπόλλυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος and adds instances καὶ γὰρ δόξης ἔρως ἀπόλλυσι καὶ ἡδοναὶ πολλάκις ἀπώλεσαν. The purpose of this note is to call attention to a mistranslation

as I take it, of the former sentence, which, being found in the Latin version (that of Hervetus Aurelius of Rheims, c. 1603) given opposite the Greek by Montfaucon and Migne and being repeated in the Oxford Library of the Fathers (1841 and 1879), may be said to be in possession. Hervetus renders *sicut enim lana ab iis perditur ex quibus nascitur, ita etiam vetus homo*. So the Oxford translation: 'As wool is destroyed by the very same means by which it is produced,' &c. Surely this does not yield a good sense. Sheep, our wool-producers, cannot be said *τίκτειν* their wool or to be in the habit of destroying it. And yet our author has evidently some familiar or even proverbial experience in mind. The 'vetus Latina' (Wolfgang Musculus, Basle, 1536) gives the same sense, but a reprint (Basle, 1558) substitutes *quemadmodum lana ab his quac parit ab iis perditur*. This rendering had occurred to me and is, I think, clearly right. *τίκτεται* must be middle and *ἀφ' ὧν* = *ἀπὸ τούτων* ᾶ (accus.), as in the example from Demosthenes given by Krüger (51, 11, 2) *ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ προσαίτεϊ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει*. The sense will then be: as *ἔριον* breeds the moths that destroy it, so *ἔρως* in 'the old man' often leads to his destruction. Field's A reads *τικτεῖ* ('*ex corr.*'), which requires the same sense. Compare Job xiii 28 *παλαιούται ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον σιτόβρωτον* and Is. li 8 *ὥς ἔρια βρωθήσεται ὑπὸ σιτῆός*. For the play upon words (*ἔρως*, *ἔριον*) compare St. Chrysostom's comment, often repeated by him, on the Foolish Virgins: *ἐνεκλήθησαν... ἔλλειψιν ἐλαίου· τούτέστιν οὐκ ἐποίουν ἐλεημοσύνην* (Hom. vi in ii Tim.).

W. A. Cox.

* * *

THE WORDS *προσκεφάλαιον* AND '*προσκεφάλῃ*.'—Professor Sale's statement (*C.R.* xii. 347) of the rule on the subject of Greek substantives compounded with prepositions seems perfectly accurate; but one of his illustrations is unfortunate. He says: 'The classical word for a pillow is *προσκεφάλαιον*, but in the Septuagint it is *προσκεφάλῃ*.'

But '*προσκεφάλῃ*' is simply a ghost-word, arising, like Virgil's *Inarime*, from misreading two words as one. It is properly ignored by Liddell and Scott (8th ed.), by Hatch and Redpath's Concordance, and by Swete in the Cambridge edition of the LXX. In all the passages cited for '*προσκεφάλῃ*' Swete reads *πρὸς κεφαλῇς* (Gen. xxviii. 11; 1 Regg. xxvi. 11, 12). The combination *ἀπὸ πρὸς κεφαλῇς* in 1 Regg. *loc. cit.*, which was misunderstood by the copyists, explains the apparition '*προσκεφάλῃ*.' There should be nothing in the use of *ἀπὸ πρὸς* to startle a student of the LXX. Very many examples of *ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν* and *ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν* could be cited from the LXX. and the other Greek versions of the O.T.

It may be added that the classical word *προσκεφάλαιον* undoubtedly continued in use in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods (e.g. 1 Esdr. iii. 8; Ezech. xiii. 18, 20; Evang. S. Marc. iv. 38; Plutarch, *De Adulat. et Amic.* 17 and 22; Dio Cass. 59, 7), though this could not be discovered from Liddell and Scott's somewhat meagre account of the word.

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* * *

ARCHAEOLOGY.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON ASIA MINOR.

1. *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au temps des Mermnades*, par GEORGES RADET. Paris: Thorin.
2. *En Phrygie: Rapport scientifique sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure* (Août, Sept. 1893). G. RADET. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1895.
3. *De Coloniis a Macedonibus in Asiam cis Taurum deductis*. G. RADET. Paris: Thorin. 1892.
4. *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-Geographische Reisefrüchte*, von KARL BURESCH. Leipzig: Teubner. 1898.

M. GEORGES RADET, formerly of the École d'Athènes, now Professor at Bordeaux, is one of the growing number of scholars who have devoted at least considerable part of their time and work to the problems furnished by ancient Asia Minor. I propose, after too long procrastination, to notice—much more briefly than they deserve—a few of

the writings by which he has illuminated the subject. Some of his most valuable work—as is always the case—takes the form of short articles in magazines.¹ Each of the books which are here noticed has at once a historical, a geographical, a topographical, an epigraphical, and an antiquarian side; and any of them might usefully engage the whole of our space; but we can briefly notice only the most prominent points in each case.

His historico-geographical account of early Lydia is without exception the most brilliant piece of writing that has ever been consecrated to any district of Asia Minor. It is a most fascinating and striking picture of country and national character, vividly conceived and portrayed. A remarkable power of imagining the conditions and general character of ancient life is at once

¹ For example, the reviews of Lanckoronski's great folios, which he has published in the *Revue Archéologique* under the titles *les Villes de la Pamphylie* and *les Villes de la Pisidie*, are rather elaborate fresh studies of the subject than mere reviews.

guided and stimulated by sound knowledge and by familiarity with the natural features of the land. I have heard the style criticised by his countrymen as failing in the noble and graceful simplicity of the purest French prose; but to the untutored taste of a northern barbarian, who has not enjoyed the advantage of a proper French training, it seems a very effective and vigorous style, revelling in its own power of reproducing in words the infinite variety of mood and tone in the brilliant light of an Asiatic landscape. I am very sure that no one who takes up the book, and opens it at the chapter on the Lydian civilisation will fail to read the work from end to end; and, when he does that, he will understand, even though he has never seen the country, something of the fascination that the problems of its mixed civilisation and the eternal conflict of East and West of which it has been, is, and will be the scene, exercise on all who have wandered in the country—a fascination almost stronger than that of Greece itself.

The book is divided into two parts, the Lydian Land and the Lydian State. In the first there are chapters on the 'Relief du Sol' (a subject of special importance in Anatolia, which is 'une terre d'Asie en-châssée dans un littoral d'Europe'), on the river system, the roads and fortresses, products, climate, and ethnography. The last is a thorny subject, on which it is hard to say much that will be generally accepted; but M. Radet has been able to say a good deal that is very well put.

The second part is the mass of the book, pp. 63–304. It contains chapters on the *Origines*, on the political situation of Western Asia in the eighth century, on the Lydian revolution of 687 B.C., on Gyges, on his successors, and on the Lydian civilisation. The book ends with twenty pages of *Notes Justificatives*.

An index would add immensely to the usefulness of the book; and its 324 pages might without much difficulty have been furnished with at least an index of ancient names, by means of which one usually would be able to find a passage which one has read in the book but cannot rediscover at need.

If space permitted, there are, naturally, many points on which I should like to say a little, and to make corrections. For example, on p. 35 M. Radet quotes from an inscription of the Caicos valley, published in *C.I.G.* 3658, a reference to soldiers ἀπὸ τῆς Πακαλείας. He connects this with the plain

of Pankaleia near Amorion;¹ and founds on it the theory of a great road leading direct from Amorion to the Caicos valley. It is true that there can always be a road from any point in the inner country to any harbour on the coast; but apart from that a road from Amorion to the Caicos valley could never be a route of real consequence in the development of the coast. As to the inscription, M. Waddington found on revising the stone² that the reading of *C.I.G.* was false; and in his great epigraphic work (*Le Bas* iii. No. 1011) he gives the correct reading παραλείας, i.e. παραλίās. M. Radet says many very hard things about my humble attempts to elucidate the geography and topography of Asia Minor; but, if he had oftener consulted the index to my *Historical Geography* he would have been saved from some unfortunate mistakes, and from this among others. I at first made exactly the same mistake about Πακάλεια, and then, discovering my error in time, inserted a note to warn future students against it (see p. 452 of my *Histor. Geogr.*).

In the frequent contradictions of my topographical views which occur in the book, I accept as correct his defence (p. 315) of Ptolemy's statement.

M. Radet expresses his criticisms with a vigour and freedom of speech that is quite delightfully refreshing; and they are directed more frequently against myself than against any other. Only in one case is his criticism really regrettable, and that is where he accuses Dr. Schuchhardt of bad faith (pp. 319 and 320).³ With that exception M. Radet is a thoroughly chivalrous antagonist; and there is a hearty, breezy outspokenness about his sharpest invective that makes it impossible to feel angry. He seems always to regard a discussion as a duel in which he must do his utmost to kill his antagonist; but he offers every advantage to his opponent and scorns any unfair stroke. I am indebted to him for several useful corrections of my mistakes, and for

¹ The name Pankaleia occurs only in late Byzantine time, and the ancient authorities differ as to its position. M. Radet assumes the truth of my argument as to the situation in *Histor. Geog.* p. 231, which he quotes. I am not aware that any other modern writer on ancient geography has mentioned the word.

² It is in the British Museum, and therefore readily accessible.

³ 'Qui témoigne de l'industrielle habileté de son auteur, mais qui fait moins d'honneur à sa bonne foi.' Again: 'Schuchhardt spéculé sur l'ignorance du lecteur,' and 'toute l'argumentation repose sur une équivoque,' etc.

some brilliant and illuminative suggestions.¹ I have to mourn over two or three cases in which, through misconception, I previously had criticised him wrongly, and for which I can only express sincere regret. But on most of the questions that he has raised against me he seems to me to have missed the truth. In a number of these cases, either new evidence or the opinion of subsequent explorers has gone against him. In some we were both alike wrong. I tranquilly await the progress of discovery. To discuss the cases here would be neither suitable nor possible.

2. In his book, *En Phrygie*, containing a report of a short journey in Asia Minor in 1893, M. Radet's weak points are more apparent. In that year he spent 7-13 August in Bithynia, and 13 August to 2 Sept. in Phrygia; but of that brief time illness made several days ineffective.² Pages 6-71 of the book are devoted to what we should in England publish separately as a popular account of the tour—very interestingly and well narrated, with very few archaeological details to weary the ordinary reader. Pp. 71-92 contain an elaborate account of the topography of Dorylaion, in which there is much that I cannot accept; but as Prof. A. Körte has already discussed, and (as I think) sufficiently disproved, the general theory, I need not go into the subject. In 93-128 there is a study, *sur la Géographie historique de la Phrygie du sud-ouest*, which gives a sketch of the topography of the greater part of Phrygia. This sketch is founded on quite insufficient knowledge. Anyone can make a theory of the ancient topography of Phrygia, provided he be sufficiently vague in his conception of roads, situations, and distances. On page after page proofs appear of the want of accurate information. I take an example at random. On p. 123 he speaks of the hot springs of Leontos Kome; and mentions my suggestion that they are to be sought for '*soit dans l'angle nord-ouest soit dans la partie sud-ouest de Caystropédion.*' This is vague and misleading. In the page which he quotes I give the exact situation of the two alternate identifications, and neither is in the south-west of Caystropédion. Then M. Radet gives his own view: *à Kara-Arslan Tchihatcheff signale en effet des eaux*

chaudes. Now Kara-Arslan means Black Lion, and here obviously is the ancient Lion-Village in a Turkish dress! The theory is delightful and convincing. Professor Partsch of Breslau has selected it for warm praise: it is so ingenious that it fully deserves all the praise. But, unluckily, it is founded on a series of errors. (1) There are no hot springs at Kara-Arslan. (2) The hot-springs mentioned by Tchihatcheff are situated about seven miles E.S.E. from Kara-Arslan between Tchobanlar and Yeni-Keui: now that is the precise place where I proposed to place Leontos-Kome.³ M. Radet begins by condemning me, and ends by confirming me, because his ideas of the country are so vague and misty. (3) Kara-Arslan is an estate belonging to the Tchelebi-Effendi, the head of the dervishes of Kara-Hissar, a Tekke second only to that of Konia in the whole of Turkey. The family, the most aristocratic and dignified and courteous that I have ever known in Turkey (not excepting the Tchelebi-Effendi at Konia, the noblest in the land), is of ancient Seljuk descent, direct from the Sultans of Roum. The emblem of the Seljuks was the 'dread lion,'⁴ and the emblem gave name to the estate that belongs to the family. The modern name of the estate therefore has nothing to do with the ancient hot-springs. (4) I have now, like Prof. A. Körte, but on different grounds, come to the conclusion that the other of the two alternatives which I originally suggested was the right one, and that Leontos-Kome lies in the north-west angle of Caystropédion, at the hot-springs called Kazli-Gyol-Hammam. It may be added that in 1884, attracted by the noteworthy name, I camped a night at Kara-Arslan, and found no signs of ancient life there except a few carried stones.

I might go over the pages of M. Radet's study, pointing out in detail reasons for the judgment that it will not permanently add to the justly high reputation that he has acquired by other work. He does not know the country well enough to see the difficulties. He makes roads go where no road is possible (let him who thinks this too sharp a criticism go along the road marked on M. Radet's map by double lines as a specially important artery, from Sarai-Keui by Aidoz to Hissar and Akmonia and there forking; if after this he still thinks I

¹ They have been carefully stated in the fullest possible terms in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, and need not be repeated here.

² M. Radet had travelled several times previously in Phrygia.

³ My words are '14 miles E.S.E. from Kara-Hissar, between Tchobanlar and Yeni-Keui.' Kara-Arslan is 8 miles S.E. of Kara-Hissar.

⁴ Kara, 'black,' is regularly used of anything great or strong or terrible.

speak too sharply, he will be justified in setting aside my opinion, in everything else topographical); and on this he builds up a complete theory of topography, logical, self-consistent, bold and ingenious, which impresses and dominates the minds of those who have not seen the country. But the railway now goes far, we shall soon have decent maps, and it will then be seen who has travelled and observed, surveyed and mapped, and who has drawn his map from his imagination and from second-hand information. Time will set all things in their proper light, and will in due course make clear the difference between exact knowledge and vague opinions.

It is, perhaps, only fair to say that my judgment may seem to some to be guided by prejudice. With some writers on Anatolian topography I find myself in general agreement as to principles, and differ only as regards details; but M. Radet and I differ fundamentally as regards method, and only agree occasionally as to details. Hence as time goes on our views become on the whole more divergent. For example he accepts my view as to Tralla; but simultaneously with his work I published a correction of my view about that city. If I were to criticize this essay in a thorough-going way, it would be to take many of the paragraphs, and show why I should prefer a different method of reasoning in each of them. To seize firmly the critical points, and found one's reasoning upon them, is the only procedure in topographical reasoning. But what are the critical points? As to that, we are hopelessly disagreed; and the difference is so great that there seems no possibility of reconciling them.

It is, however, impossible that a mind so acute, self-reliant, and ingenious as M. Radet's should apply itself to any subject without finding many things that are instructive and saying them well; and I have adopted his views as to the position of 'Socratu' and of Alia, and as to the correction of the corrupt name Debalikia in Hierocles into Sibidounda (though without feeling very confident that this is right).

M. Radet often blames me for too great freedom in altering the text (corrupt as it admittedly is) of ancient names in the lists and other documents; and I quite admit that I have probably gone too far in the attempt to introduce order amid the dire confusion that reigned, though I think, too, that the general idea was a good one, even if the execution was sometimes faulty. But he himself makes changes from which I

would shrink. He identifies Aurakleia or Aurokla with Akroenos, and Karoura with Kydrara. He revolts from the name 'Socratu' (which is mentioned in the Peutinger Table), very justifiably; and his principle of correction is that the true name must consist of seven letters: *nous rencontrons dans la nomenclature géographique un mot de sept lettres 'Motella' qui se substituerait bien, paléographiquement, à 'Socratu.'* On pourrait encore, et mieux, songer à 'Pepouza' (p. 110). In these cases I take Aurokla as equivalent to Aulokra or Aurokra, and Socratu as an attempt to express in Latin εἰς χωρίον 'Arvos' (which as a fact was situated exactly where M. Radet puts 'Socratu' on his map); cp. Stabiu in the same authority for εἰς Τάβιον. There are many corruptions in the Table; but M. Radet's rule that the true word must contain exactly the same number of letters as the corruption would lead to strange results. Karoura I regard as a different name and place from Kydrara.

3. The collection of the names of Macedonian colonies in Asia Minor is a very useful work. M. Radet makes a stately list of 119. The number makes one hesitate. One hundred and nineteen in the western half of the country alone, no account being taken of the eastern half! But the principles on which the list is drawn up are very dangerous. Wherever any one of such personal names as Alexander, Amyntas, Antiochus, Themison, Andronicus, &c., even Attalus, is found in inscriptions (these belong to the Roman period almost entirely), there we have a Macedonian colony. But many of these names are due simply to the tendency of the natives to adopt Greek names when they learned the Greek language; and they commonly adopted famous names. Hence Alexander is a common name among the Jews (*Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, Pt. ii. p. 672). In a country ruled first by a succession of Antiochi, then by a succession of Attali, these names were certain to be adopted widely. Themison proves, not Macedonian origin, but rather the influence of Antiochus's general, from whom the Seleucid colony Themisonion took its name. Similarly the Roman names Flavius, Aelius, Aurelius, &c., were successively introduced in honour of the emperors, and the names of governors often spread in the provinces which they administered.

The occurrence of a Macedonian name of a month in an inscription at any place is also taken as a proof of a Macedonian colony. But the Pergamenian civilisation—not to mention the Seleucid—encouraged the use of

the Macedonian names for the months; and they were introduced even at Pergamos and became common there. It would be as reasonable to make Pergamos a Macedonian colony as many of the other places in the list. Eumeneia, which boasts on its coins of Achaean origin, Synnada, which on its coins celebrates its Dorian blood, are both given as Macedonian.

Again, wherever the noun *κάτοικοι* or the verb *κατοικεῖν*, *κατοικοῦντες*, occurs in an inscription, a Macedonian colony is planted; as if there were no *κατοικοῦντες* except Macedonians. Greeks, Jews, Romans, and strangers generally were all said *κατοικεῖν*. Thus, e.g., on p. 30 M. Radet places a Macedonian colony at Iné on account of an inscription, which he quotes as *οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικοῦντες*, omitting the words that follow *Ῥωμαῖοι τε κ[α]ὶ [ξένοι]*. This is obviously a mere slip due to hasty composition. There are many signs that the work was done too quickly, as e.g. in the Latin on p. 10, *cui legentes ambigui haerent*; p. 11 *Byzantiae scribenti*. To this want of care is undoubtedly due the absence of proper classification and distinction which detract from the value of the list of colonies.

I should not have mentioned the faults of this book, had it not been that the list has become a standard, and is quoted in a recent number of *Hermes* by a distinguished young scholar as a conclusive authority for the origin of so many cities from Macedonian mercenary soldiers. Thus it has become necessary to protest against such uncritical acceptance of its conclusions. A very different conception of the meaning of *κατοικοῦντες*, and *κατοικία* appears in the next book on our list.

4. The untimely death of Karl Buresch was the greatest loss that the exploration of Asia Minor has sustained in recent years. The sketch of his life prefixed to this posthumous publication by his teacher, Professor O. Ribbeck (whose death Bonn has recently deplored) reveals a singularly charming and enthusiastic personality. To me, personally, it is a cause of special sorrow that fate did not bring me into relations with him, even by letter, until the last few weeks of his life. His earlier writings were buried in publications that I did not see; and it was only the accident that a common friend reported to him some highly complimentary language which I had used about one of his articles, that led to a too short correspondence.

Buresch, p. 2, says that 'the term *κατοικία*,

which occurs so often in inser. of Asia Minor, is synonymous with *κώμη*, as Foucart remarked *B.C.H.* ix. 1885, p. 395': the same place is called by both names, and the government of a *katoikia* is styled *κωμαρχία*.¹ He regards a *katoikia* as a large and prosperous *kōme*, a 'Landstadt,' a town not possessing the constitution of a city. The constitution of the *katoikiai* seems to have been modelled on that of *poleis*: the titles *ἀρχων τῆς κατοικίας*, *prytanis*, *agoranomos*, *logistes*, *stephanephoros*, occur in them. A *gerousia* might exist in a *katoikia*; and Buresch even thinks that there might be a Senate and Demos. But it is, I think, probable that the Senate could not exist in a *katoikia*, which was subject to a *polis*: that institution was confined to self-governing communities. Now Buresch omits to take notice of one class of communities, styled *κωμοπόλεις* in Byzantine documents. An excellent example is furnished by Teira, the *katoikia* where Buresch finds a Senate and Demos. Teira was the leading village or *katoikia* of the Kaystrianoi, a self-governing people, who possessed the right of coining money, and therefore constituted in the strictest sense a *komopolis*. Coins of the Kaystrianoi are found, both autonomous of the last century B.C. and imperial under Pius. But a state which had the right of coining must have been autonomous and self-governing, and could not be subject to any other city. The Kaystrianoi, then, formed a state of the native Anatolian type, organized on the village-system (*οἰκεῖσθαι κωμηδόν*), and not on the Greek *polis*-system. Teira was the largest and most important of these *komai* or *katoikiai*; and the Senate of the Kaystrianoi is alluded to in the inscription of Teira; and on p. 2 f. Buresch shows himself quite aware that Teira was a village of the Kaystrianoi.

But on p. 32, forgetting all about his previous view,² Buresch speaks about Teira as subject to Ephesus, because in a Teiran inscription it is said that a copy is deposited in the archives at Ephesus. But the copy was deposited at Ephesus not because Teira looked to Ephesus as its superior city, but because Ephesus was the seat of the conventus; and in this passage, pp. 30-32, Buresch is explaining that such copies were

¹ *Sm. Mous.* No. σ 4 ζ', σ 4 η': τῇ Χονδριανῶν κώμῃ and τῇ [Χονδριανῶν] συγκατοικία (the inser. were found together, so that the restoration is highly probable); *Sm. Mous.* No. φοθ': ὑπὲρ κωμαρχίας αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἰδειφυτηνῶν κατοικία; Buresch, p. 1: τῇ Τατεικωμητηνῶν κατοικία . . . ἐπιμελησαμένων . . . κωμαρχῶν.

² Stated on p. 2 f.

deposited either in the archives of the governing city, or of the *conventus*, or of both.

In my own work a view intermediate between these extremes is taken. *Katoikoi* in earlier time were probably mercenaries, as M. Radet thinks (but not merely Macedonian, as he implies); but Buresch is certainly right about all *katoikiai* in upper Anatolia in the centuries after Christ; and the verb *κατοικεῖν* merely implies residence without citizenship (as an *incola*).

In this discrepancy we have one out of many signs of the want of proper editing of the text. Had Dr. Buresch lived to correct the proofs, such contradictions would have been removed. It is clear that the epigraphic studies which form the chief part of the book, pp. 1-132, were written at different dates and in different attitudes towards the material. It would have involved some real care and study of Asia Minor to select the statement which corresponded to the author's mature view in each case. For, like a true scholar, Buresch was steadily struggling onwards towards the truth; and amid the many brilliant discoveries and suggestions of his early work, there are many things which he himself abandoned as time passed, and others which he would have abandoned had he been granted a longer life. One does not like to say much about the editorial work, as the editor is now dead, and probably the want of care and knowledge shown in it was caused by failing health; but, certainly, the book would have been a far more worthy memorial of the author's ability and learning if the proof-sheets had been revised throughout by a responsible editor, skilled in the special subjects, of whom Germany has no lack. Dr. Cichorius is mentioned in the preface; but clearly he cannot have had the whole submitted to him.

An example may be given of a conjecture, which Buresch probably wrote hurriedly, as a thought struck him, but which he would never have allowed to stand, if he had seen it in proof. On p. 27, the transcription

ΟΙΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΝΙΕ//ΤΟΧΟ

οἱ κάτοικοι (ἐ)ν ἱερ[ρ]ο[λ]α[φ]ω

is obviously impossible; Buresch was not so bad a copyist as to misrepresent a text to such an extent as his own transcript implies. I defend Buresch against himself and his editor. They make him out to have omitted an Ε, to have indicated a gap where there

should be no gap, and to have miscopied ΤΟΧΟ for ΡΟΛΟ.¹ If such a transcript as the above is permitted, epigraphy degenerates into mere guesswork. Yet, on the sole authority of this fragment, Hierolophos is accepted by Kiepert as a discovery, and placed without hesitation on the map of Lydia (incorporated in the book). Now, so high is Kiepert's well-deserved reputation, that any ancient name placed on his maps is accepted by the world (until he himself publishes a new and better map); and therefore one must protest against this utterly unjustifiable and false interpretation.

The proper transcription is, indubitably,

οἱ κατοικο[ῦ]ν[τ]ε[ρ]ε[ς] τὸ χο[ρίον], (i.e. χωρίον)

I for T is not even an error of the copyist; it merely shows that the upper part of the letter was broken. So with ι for Υ. Ο for Ω is a fault that every copyist knows well: it is often hard to distinguish between them, when the horizontal lines at the bottom of Ω are injured: I have in my note books several cases in which it is noted that a certain letter may be either Ο or Ω. Moreover, Buresch's copy may perhaps be right, for confusion between ο and ω began early in Asia Minor (though hardly so early as this inscription seems to be).

It may be said that Kiepert merely makes the accompanying map to embody Buresch's views, and does not express any opinion as to the correctness of these views. That, however, is not the case. Kiepert embodies his own opinions in this map, even when they are in flat contradiction with the views expressed by Buresch in the text. For example, Buresch, p. 168 f. discusses the question whether Trajanopolis was situated at Tcharik-Keui or Giaour-Euren, and considers that his discoveries prove it to have been on the latter site. But in the map Kiepert places it at Tcharik-Keui. Again Buresch, p. 189, scouts the idea that Temnos was situated at Ulujak; but in the map Kiepert indicates it there. In both cases Buresch is right, so far as I may presume to judge; and they are examples of one striking merit in his work. He has the topographical instinct. He appreciates topographical arguments and uses topographical reasoning in a masterly way. This is by no means a common faculty; or, rather, the knowledge upon which alone it can be safely founded is very

¹ The correspondence is so indicated in the printed work.

rare. There have been travellers and writers on the subject, who could name a site correctly when an inscription was found upon it giving the name—and no more. Whenever they were called upon to decide on a more complicated problem, they looked at part of the evidence, and came to a false conclusion. They had not patience to co-ordinate in their mind the entire evidence, geographical and otherwise, and then strike the balance. No living scholar has shown more power of estimating apparently conflicting evidence, and gradually working his way to the truth, than Buresch. He had to serve an apprenticeship, like everybody; he rose to higher things on stepping-stones of his dead theories. The unthinking critic will blame him, because he has often changed his opinion, and will say, perhaps, that one never knows what his final opinion is, and therefore cannot feel any confidence in him. But those who have the topographical instinct recognise that every change in his views is a step towards the truth, made because new evidence has enabled him to narrow the possible range of the solution. In the first stage the evidence leaves open a wide circle; and the topographer chooses some site which he knows within the circle, often by a confessed conjecture, sometimes with over-confidence. New evidence narrows the circle, and often excludes the first conjecture; but in many such cases that conjecture was the necessary stepping-stone towards the final discovery. It may be that two or three steps are needed; and then the bad topographer ridicules the change of mind, ignorant that such is the path of discovery in difficult cases. It may be said—why publish the first guesses? why not wait till certainty is attained? Chiefly because one is not always master of one's work. One is often compelled to publish what one knows to be immature. Thus, to take a humble example, neither my *Historical Geography* nor the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* would have yet been published, if I had been free to take my own course; and I should have continued to work out parts of the problem in detail. But one is fortunate in being compelled to publish quickly, for the journey is accomplished far sooner, if one is whipped on; and many things which are rightly said in my *Historical Geography* would still be hid from me, had not the book been imposed on me as an inevitable duty.

So it has been with Buresch. His work bears marks of prematureness; but his mark will always remain on the map of Lydia.

He has made many brilliant discoveries; but hard fate has denied him the final steps. *Mihi autem videtur acerba semper et immatura mors eorum qui immortale aliquid parant!* None mourn for him more sincerely, few more deeply, than I.

As to his point of view towards the religion and antiquities of Asia Minor, it is exactly what seems to me right. He is in full sympathy with the peculiar character of Anatolian life. The country has enthralled his soul, and therefore he understands it, and deals with it as a master. There is no book from which I have learned so much, and with which I find myself in such accord, as this unfinished work.

The best conclusion to this too short notice will be to add some confirmations and corrections. Here I find myself in an embarrassing position, for there is hardly a page on which I have not something to say. I take a few cases at random.

Buresch, p. 49, points out how frequently a badly-formed symbol representing $\alpha\iota$ has been misread as *sigma* or *zeta*, and expresses the wish that inscriptions which have been read as containing the form $\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\tau\tau\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ should be verified. In 1884 I read $\alpha\iota$ in place of *zeta* in several inscriptions where $\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\tau\tau\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is published; and there is practically no doubt that Axiottenos was the correct name of this Lydian god.

On p. 111, No. 53, a better restoration would be $[\text{Μάρ?}] \kappa\omicron\varsigma \text{Τατιαν}[\omicron\upsilon \text{τὴν στήλλ}]\eta\nu^1 \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma[\alpha \text{ταύτην, ἀ} \pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ὑπὸ ἀν} \tau\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu \nu\acute{\iota}[\nu \delta\epsilon \kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma],^2 \text{μετὰ νιϐῷ} [\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}] \phi\eta\sigma\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma [\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ὑμῶν}].$ The analogies collected in my forthcoming chapter on this district of the Phrygian frontier-lands will prove the general sense, though not the exact words of this tentative restoration.

On p. 83, No. 40, NO, after year and month, is obviously the day (according to the usual formula). Read $\nu\omicron(\nu\mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha)$.

On p. 45 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha$ for $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\phi\eta$ is said to be peculiar to Lydia; but it is found at Eumeneia *Cit. and Bish.* Nos. 272 and 361. On p. 46 the name is perhaps $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$. On p. 24 it is stated that $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \eta\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \pi'$ cannot, as Waddington thought, indicate a double date, on the ground that the double date must be indicated by the formula $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \eta\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon \delta\epsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi'$. This statement is full of errors, and I do not believe that Buresch wrote it. It shows the correcting (?) hand of

¹ $\Lambda\Lambda$ is given in the copy as $\mathbf{M}$, a common error, often made by the engraver himself in these rude inscriptions of confession.

² $\delta\epsilon$ improves the syntax, but probably the writer did not write it.

an editor, who thought that mastery of Greek and Latin implies mastery of Anatolian usages and antiquities (a mistake which is not unparalleled among great German classical scholars). The formula η' , τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ π' , would be most unusual. I know only one example of it, and Buresch himself remarks on p. 51 that he knows only one, while he actually quotes an example of the formula η' καὶ π' , whose existence is denied on p. 24. The further error as to Waddington's opinion, as well as the interpretation of the double era in this inscription, is shown in *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 340.

On p. 32 note, Buresch corrects M. Foucart and me for assigning the village Dareiokome to the territory of Magnesia. But in the passage which he quotes I assign Dareiokome to the territory of the Hyrcani, dissenting expressly from M. Foucart. This is an example out of several where my views are first misread and then contradicted.

On p. 197 an inscription seen at Koula is traced to its origin in a village Koeres three miles south-east from Koula. The stone has, however, travelled much further. I saw and copied it at Simav, 50 miles north of Koula, in 1884; and published it with a more complete and accurate text¹ in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1889, p. 227. The ancient village Keryza, mentioned in the inscription, is placed by Buresch and Kiepert at the place where Buresch supposes the stone to have been found. This identification becomes groundless, when it is shown that the stone has come from Simav.

On p. 87 μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξ (ε)ἰδόντων (which Buresch, like previous editors, finds unintelligible) ought, of course, to be read συγγενῶν ἐξ (ε)ἰδόντων, as I pointed out in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889, p. 227.

On p. 58ff. an inscription is restored ἀνεστάθη ὁ βωμὸς προνοήσαντος τοῦ δούμου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῆς ναυκόρου, and thus rendered: 'the altar was erected, while the priestess who guards the temple provided for the celebration at her own expense.' Doumos, a Lydian word corresponding to δόμος and domus, is used in another inscription of the district in the sense of a religious association, as Buresch shows clearly and well. But he goes on to argue that in this case it means the rites performed by the association. Then instead of connecting προνοήσαντος τοῦ δούμου, he connects προνοήσαντος τῆς ναυκόρου, on the ground that 'the connecting of masc. participle with feminine words is found

from early times in so many indubitable examples that it need only be noted here.' The reference which is added to Hatzidakis *Eintl. in die Neugr. Gram.* p. 144 throws no light on this extraordinary statement. Hatzidakis quotes only a few examples of very late date² and of the most contemptible character (grammatically speaking), such as εἶδον γυναῖκες ὀμνύοντας in *Papyrus du Louvre* No. 23. It is obvious that the word διὰ has been omitted before τῆς ναυκόρου; and M. Foutrier (who first copied the inscription) mentions that there is a gap sufficient for four or five letters after ἰδίων at the end of a line; then the next line begins with τῆς. The text certainly should be προνοήσαντος τοῦ δούμου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων [διὰ] τῆς ναυκόρου. This restoration gives the usual order of procedure; the society, δόμος or συμβίσις, provides for the erection (προνοεῖ or other verb) through the agency of (διὰ) the Neokoros, or by the care of the Neokoros (ἐπιμελουμένης).³ Apart from this false construction Buresch's discussion of the inscription is admirable; and his defence of the MS. reading δούμος against the conjecture δούπος, which has been admitted by all editors in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 222, 3, is brilliant and conclusive.

Buresch has at last discovered p. 22 ff. (what I have for years in vain been urging my German critics to admit) that the Sullan era was not the only one used in Lydia. The fact is obvious, and he has had no difficulty in proving it conclusively. Now mark the result! Superficial criticism at once leaps to the conclusion that the Sullan era is doubtful even in Phrygia, and has boldly stated that, without taking the trouble to glance at the facts. In Lydia there are a considerable number of inscriptions dated on a different era, the Actian; but some are certainly, and many probably, dated on the Sullan era. In Phrygia the facts are very different. In the Cibyratic conventus the eras employed were probably the provincial 133 B.C.⁴ and the Cibyratic 25 A.D. In the rest of Phrygia, out of some hundreds of dated inscriptions a number indubitably use the Sullan era, and

² I am unable to verify them all, not possessing the books. I may add that readings in papyri which were published when the decipherment of these documents was in its infancy, do not deserve the implicit trust that Hatzidakis and others repose in them.

³ The equivalence of διὰ and ἐπιμελουμένης or ἐπιμεληθείσης might be illustrated from coin legends and inscriptions.

⁴ Buresch wrongly speaks of the Sullan era by the name of provincial era. The province was formed in 133 B.C. Sulla added Phrygia Magna to it, and the new parts adopted the era, 1 = 85-4 B.C.

¹ For Γαλλικῶ the true text is Παλλικῶ. Ἰταλικῶ for Ἰταλικῶ is not impossible on the stone, but gives no good sense.

no single one has yet been found inconsistent with it. All this is proved in my *Cities and Bishoprics*, and there can be no doubt that the Sullan era was in regular use in Phrygia, except the Cibyratic conventus: the Philomelian conventus remains uncertain, owing to dearth of evidence. By a slip Buresch dates No. 31 by Sullan era on p. 53 and by Actian era on p. 23.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Feyen, near Trier. An important find of silver coins has been made, amounting in all to 100, of late Roman date, having apparently been deposited not later than 268 A.D. Some are quite rare, and most are in good preservation. They were probably put aside for use in an emergency in time of war. The Emperors represented are Saloninus and Salonina, Postumus, and Marius.¹

Kannstadt, Württemberg. A Roman burying-place has come to light. It contained various representations of Hermes Psychopompos, and about 200 vases, of every variety of form, all perfect; also small clay lamps, some with effective ornamentation. Two children's graves contained playthings, including a clay doll and a cock. Among the bronzes were some fine weapons, pins, and brooches, one of the latter with remains of enamelling; also numerous coins of the time of Hadrian.¹

ITALY.

Rome. In making preparations for a partial restoration of the Temple of Vesta it was found that the base of the temple was not a solid mass of concrete, as hitherto supposed; but a little square cella existed in the centre, which was underneath the altar on which the perennial sacred fire burned. It is suggested that this was the *penus Vestae* in which various sacred objects were kept.²

Another important discovery in the course of recent excavations is in the Forum, consisting of the front of the basement on which the temple of Julius Caesar stood, and where the rostra of the ships taken by Augustus at the battle of Actium were situated. The basement had in the centre a large semicircular niche of tufa blocks, before which is a *platea* or flat space of travertine. In the centre of the niche is a

pedestal of small tufa blocks, which may be the actual pedestal of the statue of Julius Caesar placed by Augustus in the Forum. On the other hand there are good grounds for thinking that it supported the column of Numidian marble erected after Caesar's death with the dedication *Parenti patriae*, and afterwards thrown down by Dolabella. Both theories have since been proposed.²

The discovery of the *lapis niger* has already been discussed in the *C.R.* (p. 87). The question is not yet settled, but may be any day by further excavation, as it is proposed to tunnel through the ground at the proper depth, which has never yet been disturbed since the rebuilding in the time of Carinus. Sig. Lanciani points out that the ancients themselves did not know why the *lapis niger* was placed in the Comitium, or what its meaning was.³

On the right of the Rostra in the centre of the Forum reconstructed by Augustus, there was found not long ago a later construction of bricks. This was at first thought to be the base of a column or honorary monument, but has now been shown by Sig. Boni to be only an addition made to the Rostra towards the end of the fifth century. Pieces of a marble slab inscribed with the name of Ulpius Junius Valentinus, prefect of the city, have been put together, and the holes for the bronze prows of the ships are visible in the construction. It was during the reign of Anthemius that the new Rostra Vandallia were added, after the ships of Genseric had been captured in the Mediterranean.³

GREECE.

Elassona, Thessaly. A bee-hive tomb has been discovered containing inscribed stones, which show that the primitive tomb was used again in historic times. The inscriptions are *Ἐρμῆς χθονίου* (?) and *Ἡρῆς Ἰππέως ἥρωος* (?), and indicate a cult of the deceased as heroes. Similar fragments were found by Schliemann in the *débris* round the shaft-graves at Mycenae, with the inscription *ἥρωος εἰσι*.⁴

Gortyna, Crete. Some new fragments of the great law have been found, relating to the regulations for debts and mortgages. It was forbidden to distrain upon clothes, marriage-beds, or objects in daily use such as weaving-implements, tools, hand-mills, or ploughs or harness of oxen. Various state decrees were also found, one relating to the introduction of a new copper coin instead of the silver obol. Other inscriptions are concerned with international relations with other states or cities, one being an agreement with the city of Rizene, allowing the inhabitants of the one to occupy land and build in the other.¹

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 7 Jan.

² *Athenaeum*, 7 Jan.

³ *Athenaeum*, 4 Feb.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 14 Jan.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xix., 2. Whole No. 74. July, 1898.

Ernst Curtius, R. P. Keep. *Parallel Features in the two Sanskrit Epics*, E. W. Hopkins. *The Literary Influence of Martial upon Juvenal*, H. L. Wilson.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. The books noticed are Cartault's *Etude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*, Morris' *The Captives and Trinummus of Plautus*, Lease's *Zur Konstruktion von licet*, Rolfe's *A, ab, abs* [the two last being recent articles in Wölfflin's *Archiv*], and Hude's *Thucydidis Historiae ad optimos codices denuo ab ipso collatas*. There are also *Brief Mentions* of Elmer's *Latin Moods and Tenses* and von Arnim's *Dio von Prusa*.

Whole No. 75. Oct. 1898. *Affirmative Final*

Clauses in the Latin Historians, R. B. Steele. *A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History*, G. L. Hendrickson.

NOTES. *Cato's Final m*: a note to *Quint. Inst.* or. i. 7, 23; ix. 4, 39, C. H. Moore. *The Athenian Secretaries*, W. S. Ferguson. *Pindar*, Nem. iii. 62. R. J. Walker. *πείρας* is suggested for *χείρας*.

Among the books reviewed is Vollmer's *P. Papinii Statii Silvarum Libri*. There are also *Brief Mentions* of Usener's *Göttliche Synonyme* (in *Rhein. Mus.*), Lane's *Latin Grammar*, the third edition of Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, Leaf and Bayfield's *School Edition of the Iliad Part II.*, Blass' *Bacchylides* in the Teubner series, Blass' *Grammar of New Testament Greek* and Lawton's *Successors of Homer*.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

THE Cambridge Senate rejected by considerable majorities the proposals of the Board of Classics for changes in the Classical Tripos. The *status quo* has accordingly been reaffirmed; but the substantial minority, 89 out of 208 votes, which supported the grace to take away from Part I. its power to qualify for a degree, shows an amount of discontent with the present régime which will have yet to be reckoned with.

From the Annual Report of the President of Harvard College, a very interesting document, we learn that the new degrees of Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Literature, and Bachelor of Philosophy in America are rapidly gaining ground on the old degree of Bachelor of Arts. At Harvard, which confers Baccalaureates in Art and Science only, the students in Arts have increased from 1127 to 1650 since 1890-91, but those in Science have grown from 27 to 319. In the advanced or Graduate School, Modern Languages (including English), History and Political Science, and Philosophy are the three subjects most favoured, 'Classics with Sanskrit making a good fourth.' Amongst other points to which the Report draws attention, two are of special interest on this side of the Atlantic—the success of the institution of scholarships without stipend, and the age of those who take the higher degrees (Master or Doctor) of whom, in the year 1898, 49 out of 121 were 28 or over, and 61 were 27 or over. On this the Report comments: 'The figures are formidable . . . For such men two-fifths of their seventy years are over before they are able to support themselves.'

Students of Greek Palaeography may be interested to know that, by the kind permission
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of the authorities of the Imperial Library at Petersburg, the MS. Gr. LXII. (according to Muralt's Catalogue) is at present lying in the University Library at Cambridge. It will probably remain there till the middle of May. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the continuation in minuscule characters of the Bodleian Genesis. The uncial and minuscule parts of the same manuscript were acquired by Tischendorf on two different journeys to the East. The Petersburg part of the MS. is stated to be in three different hands, all probably of the tenth century. Whether the uncial part is earlier is regarded as an open question. A more detailed account of the MS. will be given in the May number of the *Classical Review*.

Prof. Buck's contributions to this journal must arouse in us all a keen sense of the want of a full and up-to-date treatment of Latin orthography. Yet the need does not lie so much in ignorance upon many points of detail as in an inability to grasp the general issues of the question.

Three motives (principles it would be grotesque to call them) may be traced through the mass of inarticulate opinions, a desire for correctness, a desire for consistency and a rooted aversion to change. The first and the last are most observable in the average teacher who is ever prone to conduct his pupils in pursuit of truth by easier paths than nature has intended. The deadly character of this combination under favourable circumstances may be seen from the utterances of the promoters of *Praeco Latinus* and M. Fouillé. 'Why, indeed, should we spell *cottidie* for *quotidie*, if we do not say *cotus*...why *intellego* for *intelligo*, if not *interfacio* for *interficio*?...Quite often is

the Greek origin so manifest, that a child can see it, though they [*i.e.* "our etymologists"] ignore, or question it, and tell us that the spelling of such words is *wrong*, like *sylva coelum*, *coelebs*, *caeteri*, but should spell: *silva*, *caelum*, *caelebs*, *ceteri*; yet these words are acknowledged to be Greek words; no imaginable cause can be assigned for a different spelling, excepting the morbid craving for contrariety' (*Academia Gentium Latina*, p. 17). 'La griffe des philologues se retrouve dans le besoin qu'on a éprouvé, au moment même où les études latines étaient battues en brèche, d'en compliquer encore la difficulté en modifiant l'orthographe latine selon les découvertes les plus récentes des érudits. Par exemple, le professeur de latin était heureux autrefois de dire; *adolescens* est devenu en français *adolescent*; aujourd'hui, nos enfants écrivent: *adulescens*, ce qui brouille un peu plus leurs idées. On dit en français *intelligent*, adoptons pour nos élèves *intellegens*: ce sera plus *intellegible*!... Virgile s'appelle en latin *Vergilius*: finira t'on par l'appeler en français *Vergile*?' (*Les études classiques et la démocratie*, p. 94). Yes, we may answer to the last question of M. Fouillé, if France is to follow the lead of England whose Virgil seems already doomed. This simple hatred of change, however unreasonable we may think it, is still not without its temporary advantage if it delays the introduction of a new system but imperfectly accredited. And, as we may gather from Prof. Buck, even in America there is a not inconsiderable risk of overhaste, while here, it is rumoured, a great University is about to build an orthographical series of Latin texts on the crumbling foundations of Brambach.

The desire for consistency itself conflicts with the striving after correctness, though not to the same extent. There is a false consistency as well as a true. The latter will remove the contradictions which now disfigure our texts, where tradition has combined the spellings of different ages. If there is any certainty in these matters, it is certain that Lucretius did not write *linquuntur* in iii. 713 and *lincuntur* in iii. 714, as he is made to do in Lachmann's and Munro's editions; and although the fact that the contemporary spelling has been preserved in one line and modernized in the next, is without doubt to be recorded, the text of an edition for 'school and college use' is not the place. But what are we to think of a uniformity which obliterates contemporary varieties of spelling, as in the assimilation of prepositions in compounds, and makes the Romans

consistent where it is notorious that they were not? What is this but a falsification of antiquity? The conscience of the age is against the sham antique, and not even pedagogical reasons require this particular spurious to be forced upon the market. In all except the most elementary books it would be enough to teach the more usual, or the more reasonable, of two rival spellings and to warn the student that he may expect to find the other one in the course of his reading.

What again can we say when considerations of consistency and correctness are disregarded by the orthographical reformers themselves? It is well known that to two of the ancient Roman vowels there were consonants so nearly allied that each pair was expressed by a single sign. The practice of writing *i* alone in the one case and both *u* and *v* in the other has nothing but present use in its favour: yet no scheme that has been formulated includes a proposal to write both *i j* and *u v* on grounds of consistency, or *i, u* only on grounds of consistency and correctness. We have indeed seen (and the sight is a strange one) the *j* revived in scientific expositions of Latin etymology and textual criticism, where it puts one more obstacle in the way of a student's comprehension of the tradition of texts and the relationship of sounds, although the simple device of an italic letter would have satisfied every need for discrimination. But *juvit*, though not correct, is at any rate consistent; *iuvit* is neither. The world has no place for such half-rights. Talma, we used to read, played Agamemnon in a wig and a snuffbox; but we have yet to hear of that hero being represented with a buckler and an umbrella.

The whole question has been further embarrassed by a confusion of spelling and pronunciation. Those who are told for the first time that the *spelling* of the accusative of 'three' in classical Latin fluctuated between *tres*, to which they have been accustomed, and *tris* to which they have not, may not unnaturally regard this as a needless uncertainty about a trifling detail. But the matter will assume a different aspect if they realize that these were two distinct *forms* with vowels as dissimilar as those of *trees* and *trace*, and that, according to the unimpeachable witness of antiquity, the 'wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of men' used either form as the music of his verse demanded, Aulus Gellius xiii. 21.

SOPHOCLEA.

Ant. 213.

νόμῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι παντί πού γ' ἐνεστί σοι.

Such is Erfurdt's generally accepted conjecture, ποντ' L, which the other MSS. divide into πού τ'. Well might Linwood say: 'Sed certe γ' otiosum sonat.' Besides I do not know in what language one says παντί πού γε; in Greek one says παντί γέ που. Dindorf's πάρεστι is both sense and Greek, but that is all that can be said for it. I am surprised not to find τοῦτ' suggested, 'to enforce every law, *that* is in thy power.' For compare 466: ἀλλ' ἂν εἰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμῆς | μητρὸς θανόντ' ἄθαπτον ἦνσχόμην νέκυν | κείνοισ ἂν ἤλγουν. *O.C.* 639: εἰ δ' ἐμοῦ στείχειν μέτα | τόδ' ἡδύ. *Trach.* 458: τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι, τοῦτο μ' ἀλγύνειεν ἄν.

Electra 374.εἰ μὴ κακὸν μέγιστον εἰς αὐτὴν ἰὸν
ῥηκουσ' ὃ ταύτην τῶν μακρῶν σχήσει γόων.

It needs surely a poor opinion of Sophocles to believe that he could write ταύτην after αὐτὴν in this way. From Bacchylides v. 110 I propose εἰσάντην ἰὸν. That εἰσάντην would probably be corrupted may be judged from the fact that it was actually corrupted in the first edition of Bacchylides. For the sense compare *Ant.* 10: πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά. For the tone of the phrase *O. T.* 324: τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰὸν | πρὸς καιρόν. Homer often says ἄντα ἰέναι τινός and uses ἄντην ἔρχεσθαι for 'to advance' without a case after it; it is easy here to supply a genitive as in the only other place where the word has survived. Sophocles uses ἔναντα (*Ant.* 1298) in a lyrical passage however; but see Tyrrell on *Electra* 21 (p. xxii. of his edition).

Talking of Bacchylides I should like to make a belated suggestion on xi. 85:

τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν ξείνα τέ νιν πλᾶξεν
μέριμνα.

Here ξείνα is unintelligible and Herwerden's δεινὰ was not likely to be changed to it; the poet wrote perhaps κραδίαν ὀξεῖά τ' ἰν πλᾶξεν μέριμνα. The form ἰν is familiar to us as a dative in *Pyth.* iv. 36, and as τιν is both dative and accusative in Doric, so ἰν has as good a right to the one case as the other, if indeed there ever was such a word. It was sure to be corrupted to νιν, as it was

in Pindar. Then as ὀξεῖα would not scan it got changed to ξείνα. Or we might start at the other end; in the papyrus an o is sometimes hardly more than a mere dot; in some previous copy with a similar writing ὀξεῖα might thus easily lose the first letter and ξείνα would then be naturally changed to ξείνα, carrying the rest with it.

Compare then *Nem.* i. 53. ὀξεῖαις ἀνίασι τυπείς. But dear me, all this is very speculative.

Ajax 774.ἄνασσα, τοῖς ἄλλοισιν Ἀργείων πέλας
ἵστω, καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' οὔποτε ἐκρήξει μάχη.

No one can explain ἐκρήξει, but the sense required is plain. Help others if you like, but the battle will never break where I stand, *i.e.* οὔποτε ῥήξει. For μάχη 'used in a concrete sense, as in old English, of the embattled hosts' (Leaf) see *Iliad* Λ 216, and the phrase στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην where στησάσθαι μάχην must mean the same thing. I remember a sentence of Mr. Ruskin's somewhere: 'And all their battle broke before him into flight.' The intransitive use of ῥήγνυμι is rare but Sophoclean; see the lexicon. For the lengthening of the syllable before it compare *O. T.* 847 εἰς ἐμὲ ῥέπον, *frag.* 870, *Ant.* 318, etc. And how likely the lengthening was to cause corruption may be seen from the change of ἀπὸ to ἀπαὶ ῥυτῆρος at *O. C.* 900 by Triclinius.

Since this was in type I find 'qu. οὔποτε ῥήξει' in Blaydes (1875). But it does not seem to have been considered so much as it deserves.

O.C. 547.

καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα.

The metre being four dactyls, καὶ ὦλεσα is generally read and ἄλλους variously emended. That ὦλεσα is right seems pretty clear, the last foot being a pure dactyl as every one assumes and the next line beginning with a consonant; therefore this line must end with a vowel. For synaphea in such cases exists with the next line. (So also if a verse ends with a first paeon in cretics.) It is indeed objected that ὦλεσα is weak after ἐφόνευσα, but surely repetitions of this sort are the commonest thing possible, especially in lyrics. Euripides says, διὰ μ' ἐφθειρας κατὰ δ' ἔκτεινας (*Hipp.* 1357).

Did not a celebrated critic of tragedy take exception to the opening of the *Choephoroi* on the same grounds? δις ταῦτόν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ὁ σοφὸς Αἰσχύλος.

None however of the corrections of ἄλλους are at all satisfactory. Is ἐμούς any better? M is easily written as ΛΔ, and ἔλλους would naturally become ἄλλους.¹ So Antigone speaks of her brother as τῶν ἐμῶν (*Ant.* 48). Cf. τοὺς ἐμούς at *O.C.* 832, and εἰς οὓς τ' ἔδρων said by Oedipus himself of his father, in exactly the same connexion as here, at 976.

Then consider the context, 'I was in a way justified,' says Oedipus, 'in killing my father (not simply in killing my opponent on the occasion) because I did not know who it was: αἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον, and therefore I am νόμῳ καθαρός.' His argument is not that he killed him in self-defence; if it were, what is αἰδρις doing here? The sense appears to me to demand imperatively some such word as ἐμούς. And 975-978 back it up pretty strongly.

O.C. 1014.

ὁ ξείνος, ὄναξ, χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, ἄξια δ' ἀμυναθεῖν.

'The speech,' say Campbell and Abbott truly, 'shows the vacillation of the Chorus, who are divided between fear of pollution by the presence of Oedipus and the desire to help him.' Exactly, *him* not *it*. What they are commenting on is really ἄξιος. It is impossible to make out that his συμφοραὶ are deserving of help; of pity they are deserving, but that is not what ἀμυναθεῖν means. If the συμφοραὶ were the loss of his daughters ἀμυναθεῖν would be all very well, but it is clear that they are his parricide and incest, which are past all help now. 'The stranger is a good man (though his calamities are

accursed) and deserving of help.' Read then ἄξιος, which was easily corrupted by the neighbourhood of συμφοραὶ, and either change the colon after χρηστός to a comma, or the comma after πανώλεις to a colon.

O.C. 1733.

ἄγε με καὶ τότ' ἐνάριξον.

So L.; the corresponding line is μέγ' ἄρα πέλαγος ἐλάχέτόν τι, and the accepted correction of 1733 is Elmsley's καὶ τότ' ἐπενάριξον. Yet τότε is surely, if possible, still not the natural word; you would expect εἴπειτα or εἴτα; and you would expect the second foot to be a tribrach by preference rather than a trochee. Perhaps Sophocles wrote:

ἄγε μ' ἄγε με κατὰ τ' ἐνάριξον.

The first ἄγε μ' was easily dropped and ΚΑΤΑΤΕΝΑΡΙΞΟΝ and ΚΑΙΤΟΤΕΝΑΡΙΞΟΝ are hardly distinguishable. The shifting of the metrical ictus on the same word or words, in ἄγε μ' ἄγε με is a favourite ornament of Sophocles, e.g. *O.T.* 216, αἰτεῖς δ' αἰτεῖς, 261, κοινῶν τε παίδων κοῖν' ἄν, 1282, ὁ πρὶν παλαιὸς δ' ὄλβος ἦν πάροιθε μὲν | ὄλβος δικαίως, *Phil.* 1041, τείσασθε τείσασθ' ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ, and any number more in him and others.

The effect is heightened still further if a change of quantity goes along with the change of ictus, as at *Ant.* 1240, κείται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῷ. So with the beautiful regretful rhythm of Horace's *Postume* | *Postu* | *me* and *ibimus* | *ibi* | *mus*,¹ doubtless imitated from Alcaeus. And compare Milton's *Lycidas*, 'Yet once more O ye laurels and once more.' Swinburne's *Study of Shakespeare*, p. 219.

ARTHUR PLATT.

¹ For the opposite change cf. 1266 τᾶλλα MSS. τὰμὰ Reiske.

¹ — — — | — — — | —

NOTES ON GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

A FRAGMENT of *Epicharmus* is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus *Strom.* 6, 2, 21 side by side with a saying of Chilon. Chilon said ἐγγύα, παρὰ δ' ἅτα: Epicharmus is reported to have written ἐγγύα ἅτας θυγάτηρ, ἐγγύα δὲ ζαμίας. Lorenz (*Epicharmus* p. 264) says this gives good sense and need not be changed, but, as the three last words

are evidently the end of a trochaic tetrameter, we shall rather agree with Ahrens (*De Graec. Ling. Dial.* 2, 461) who tries to throw the whole into metrical form thus—ἐγγύας ἅτα 'στί θυγάτηρ, ἐγγύα δὲ ζαμίας. It is hard, however, to see what meaning he attached to these words. The sense obviously requires an inversion of the relations

thus stated: guarantorship, suretyship, giving bail for another man (ἐγγύα) is the child of infatuation (ᾄτη) and loss is the child of suretyship. With this much improved sense the line appears in another conjectural modern form, the exact history of which I do not know: ἐγγύα θυγάτηρ μὲν ἄτας, ἐγγύας δὲ ζαμία. It is plain, however, that the words are still not quite right, for there is no proper correspondence in the μέν and δέ. Any one who began with ἐγγύα θυγάτηρ μὲν ἄτας must have gone on with another predicate of ἐγγύα (μάτηρ δὲ ζαμίας, τίκει δὲ ζαμίαν, or something of the sort). It follows that we may confidently restore . . . ἐγγύα μὲν ἄτας, ἐγγύας δὲ ζαμία as the real form of the verse: the only question is as to what preceded ἐγγύα. In the first foot the anapaest θυγάτηρ is probably inadmissible, as in Attic tetrameters; could τέκνον stand there as a trochee? Not in Aristophanes; but Epicharmus has such lengthenings: e.g. λύχνος and μακρός ('Ελπίς 2 and 'Ηβ. γάμ. 1) and τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ('Αδῆλα 27). Τέκνον may therefore be the missing word. But, of course, there are many other possibilities.

For the general form of the sentence compare fragment 44 of the 'Αδῆλα (Lorenz).

A. ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνα (?)
ἐκ δὲ θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο. B. χαρίεν, ὥς γ'
ἐμοὶ (δοκεῖ).
A. ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κόμου δ' ἐγένεθ'
διανία, κ.τ.λ.

Teleclides enumerates in well-known lines the things of which the Athenians have made Pericles master (Meineke 2, 372: Kock 1, 220).

πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτὰς τε πόλεις τὰς μὲν δεῖν
τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
λάϊνα τείχη τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πάλιν
καταβάλλειν κ.τ.λ.

Kock gives a long list of the changes proposed for τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ, none of which is satisfactory, and himself suggests τὰ δὲ τᾶμ-
παλιν αὐ. Perhaps τὰ δὲ πάντα would do, the πάντα going of course closely with κατα-
βάλλειν. The μέν and δέ show that different fortifications are meant, but most of the changes ignore this. Πάλιν is *contrariwise*.

I have noticed two fragments of Plato where a slight change is needed to restore the poet's hand. We find in trochaic tetrameters (M. 2, 620: K. 1, 605)

εἴξασιν ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι τούτοις τοῖσι λεπτοῖς
ἀραχνίοις, ἂν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἢ φάλαγξ ὑφαίνει.

But the second syllable of ἀραχνίοις is short, and Porson therefore wrote

ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι
εἴξασιν τούτοις τοῖσι λεπτοῖς ἀραχνίοις
ἂν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἢ φάλαγξ ὑφαίνεται,

a somewhat violent alteration (but cf. Xen. Mem. 3, 11, 6), which Kock modifies into εἴξασιν ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι | τούτοις τοῖς λεπτοῖσιν ἀραχνίοισιν ᾄ | κ.τ.λ., while Meineke in his larger edition and Cobet (p. 61) seem content with the original reading. Meineke in the smaller edition and other scholars, too, have suggested ἀραχνιδίοις, and in the line of Cratinus, ἀραχνίων μεστήν ἔχεις τὴν γαστέρα, they would read ἀραχνιδίων. This is ingenious and may be right, but I am inclined to think that after λεπτοῖς the article τοῖς was lost through similarity of letters. We thus get τούτοις τοῖσι λεπτοῖς | <τοῖς> ἀραχνίοις ἂν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἢ φάλαγξ ὑφαίνει without any further change of reading or metre. Against Porson I may appeal to an emendation of Porson's own (*Adversaria* p. 41) in which he put right

ιδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρέσβυν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο
μὴ οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεσιν ἐν φθιτοῖς ἔχειν

by writing ἠνέσχετο <τὸ> μὴ οὐ.

The other passage is a fragment of the *Hyperbolicus* (M. 2, 669: K. 1, 644)

ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη 'δητῶμην' λέγειν,
ἔφασκε 'δητῶμην', ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
'ὀλίγον', 'ὀλίον' ἔλεγεν.

The rhythm of the last three words is so halting that we may surely put in an ἂν to help it, 'ὀλίγον', 'ὀλίον' <ἂν> ἔλεγεν.

It is very doubtful whether *Aristophanes* would use βλέπω with an accusative of a thing seen or looked at. This is a poetical use, and if it occurs once or twice in Menander we may remember that his Attic was said not to be of the very purest. When therefore we find in a fragment of the *Nῆσοι* (M. 2, 1109: K. 1, 493)

A. τί σὺ λέγεις; εἰσὶν δὲ ποῦ;
B. αἰδὼ κατ' αὐτὴν ᾧ βλέπεις τὴν εἰσόδον,

we are warranted in conjecturing ᾧ βλέπεις or ᾧ βλέπης.

A fragment of *Alexis* deals with the conditions of pleasure:

οὐκ ἴστε ταῖς πλείσταισι τῶν τεχνῶν ὅτι
οὐκ ἀρχιτέκτων κύριος τῆς ἡδ. νῆς

μόνος καθέστηκ', ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χρωμένων
συμβάλλεται τις, ἂν καλῶς χρῶνται, μερίς

(M. 3, 451: K. 2, 351).

Read οὐχ ἀρχιτέκτων with Bothe, but this is not all. Συμβάλλεται is not active in meaning, but passive with μερίς for its subject. He does not mean that some of the people contribute to their own pleasure: they all do. It is some of the pleasure, which is contributed by them. But then τῶν χρωμένων is left without construction, until we give it an ἐκ by turning καὶ to κακ.

A slight and obvious error in a line of Philemon's occurs in M. 4, 11: K. 2, 486

ἐμοῦ γάρ ἐστι κύριος μὲν εἰς ἀνὴρ,
τούτων δὲ καὶ σοῦ μυρίων τ' ἄλλων νόμος,

where γάρ and μὲν should change places. Of course ἐμοῦ μὲν is contrasted with τούτων δέ, and μὲν is absurd where it stands. In a verse from Philemon's Παιδες will be found μετέχειν ἀνάγκη τῶν κακῶν γὰρ γίγνεται: which shows that we need not be afraid of putting γάρ late.

Less easy to put right is the fifth line of the following (M. 4, 22: K. 2, 496) which must be quoted at some length for the point to appear.

οἱ φιλόσοφοι ζητοῦσιν, ὡς ἀκήκοα,
περὶ τοῦτό τ' αὐτοῖς πολλὸν ἀναλοῦται χρόνος,
τί ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, κοῦδὲ εἰς εὐρηκὲ πω
τί ἐστιν. ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν φασὶ καὶ
5 λέγουσι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τί τὰγαθόν.
ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβων τήν τε γῆν σκάπτων ἐγὼ
νῦν ἡῦρον· εἰρήνῃ 'στίν· ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε,
τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ.

The philosophers were always expounding τί τὰγαθόν, and therefore these words (line 5) cannot be right. What the speaker means is not that they do not profess to tell you τί τὰγαθόν, but that they have not really got hold of it. Their ἀγαθόν is not the true ἀγαθόν. In other words

λέγουσι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτό τὰγαθόν.

Cf. Ar Eccles. 643 for the scansion. In line 3 we should probably read τί τὰγαθόν ἐστι; with Brunck.

My next emendation of Philemon is so obvious that it is a marvel no one has already made it:

τέθνηκεν υἱὸς ἢ μήτηρ τινί,
ἢ νῆ Δι' ἄλλων τῶν ἀναγκαίων γέ τις

(M. 4, 34: K. 2, 505). Ἀλλων τῶν ἀναγκαίων τις is not grammar: read ἄλλος.

Turning to Menander, it is not hard to see that in the verse (M. 4, 141: K. 3, 71)

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν, πάτερ, ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει
μείζον λογισμοῦ τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα

we should read λογισμῷ τοῦ διαθέσθαι, i.e. τοῦ λογισμῷ διαθέσθαι. The speaker goes on to show that you can do anything and become anything τῷ λογίσασθαι. What possible construction is there for τῷ διαθέσθαι?

The beginning of another fragment (M. 4, 231: K. 3, 158)

εἴτ' οὐ δικαίως προσπεπατταλευμένον
γράφουσι τὸν Προμηθέα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις,

our ears tell us must be altered to

πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις γράφουσι τὸν Προμηθέα.

And in a third (M. 4, 234: K. 3, 161)

ὁ πάντα βουληθεὶς ἂν ἄνθρωπος πονεῖν
πάντ' ἂν γένοιτο· πλούσιος τρόπον τινά,
πάλιν φιλόσοφος τινι μαθήσει χρώμενος·
τὸ σῶμ' ὑγιαίνει τινὰ δίδαιταν προσφέρων,

the general connection shows that we must read ὑγιανεῖ. The future is constantly parallel to the optative with ἂν.

In Diphilus a cook is addressing an auxiliary (M. 4, 394: K. 2. 553). He begins

οὐ μὴ παραλάβω σ' οὐδαμοῦ, Δράκων, ἐγὼ
ἐπ' ἔργον οὐ μὴ διατελεῖς τὴν ἡμέραν
τραπεζοποιῶν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς πολλοῖς χύδην.

Παραλάβω may be right, but I rather suspect it should be παραβάλω. 'I will never risk you.' Cf. a fragment of Posidippus (M. 4, 521: K. 3, 343) line 14

ἂν δ' ἀληθινὸν
σαντὸν παραβάλῃς, καὶ προσεκδαρεῖς ἅπει,

which is also the counsel of a cook. Οὐδαμοῦ might be changed to οὐδαμόσε or οὐδ' μοῖ, but there is probably no need.

H. RICHARDS.

ON HERODAS.

ONE of my objects in publishing these notes before my commentary appears is to invite assistance towards clearing up some passages that leave me still in doubt. They are but few; for I am satisfied now about the meaning of many things that puzzled all of us at first. The facsimile (I do not know whether mine is a particularly successful copy) has done me better service than I looked for—though I am well aware of the limited extent to which a photograph can be depended on. Mr. Kenyon with his ever-ready kindness has compared my readings with the original MS. and given me opinions which I shall indicate by the letter K. As I write, I have before me the third edition of Prof. Crusius' text, which has just been issued in a curtailed form to satisfy demand, the editor promising us a larger edition soon (on the plan of his *Babrius*) in which he will be able to give reasons for his corrections and supplements.

I. 32 τὴν Ἀιδεω κόурην, is an extraordinary phrase, unless it means 'the daughter of Hades': and who could that be? Hecate? τὴν κάτω κόурην I could understand.

38 καὶ σεν τὸ ὄριμον τέφρη κάψει. Crusius records a suggestion by Zielinski, τεφρῇ, understanding I suppose, τεφρῇ θρίξι, as though it were ἡ πολιὰ. But τέφρη does not here mean the ash of the funeral-pyre, but of *decaly*, conceived as encroaching until it overlays and swallows up the living fuel. That this is the notion will be seen from Hom. *h. Herm.* 237, Callim. *h. Apoll.* 83, Euenos *A.P.* ix. 62, Lucret. iv. 926.

58 I can still find no support for οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐφ' ἡμέρην: ἐφ' ἡμέρην or ἐφ' ἡμέρης would be good.

82 At the end of the line I seemed to see in the facsimile ΕΛΛΑΠΔΝ (a result like Buecheler's): 'ΕΛΛΑΠΔΝ suits the MS., though the ε is hardly visible' K.

II. 8 The facsimile shows me CMENIH-ΔΞCTITHC which implies some form of δυσμείνεια, e.g. ἐν δυσμενείῃ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς πόλιος κήγῳ ('ΔV]CMENIHΔECTI suits the remains in the MS.' K.). Battaros is arguing with a cynical humour that he is as good as his opponent, if no better:

9 ζῶμεν οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεσθ' ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμεας
ὁ καί]ρὸς ἔλκει προστάτην [νέμει] Μέννην·
ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστοφ]ῶντα πύξιν ἐνίκηεν
Μέννης· Ἀριστοφ]ῶν δὲ κῆτι νῦν ἄγχει.

In vv. 10-12 Crusius now gives what I have long felt sure must be the truth (except that he has ἐγὼ τ'), supporting ὁ καιρὸς (Stadtmueller) by v. 57 sqq. and Philostr. *Epist.* p. 229, 23 ἄγουσι...αὐτοὺς...οἱ καιροί. From a large amount of illustration I may refer here to Liban. *Epist.* 1567, Dem. 307 5, Ter. *Heaut.* 666. καιρός 'circumstances' = χρεία, τύχη, τὰ πράγματα, and ἔλκει = βιάζεται.

16-20 burlesque the Orators' habit of discounting anticipated pleas of service to the State:

16 λέξει [λό]γους μέ]ν· 'ἐξ Ἀκης ἐλήλουθα
πυρ]ρὸς ἄγων κῆστησα τὴν κακὴν λιμόν·'
ἐγὼ δ]ὲ πόρνας ἐκ Τύρου· τί τῷ δήμῳ
τοῦτ' ἐστί; δ]ωρεὴν γὰρ οὔθ' οὗτος πυρρὸς
δίδωσ' ἀλλ]ῃθιν οὔτ' ἐγὼ καλὴν κινεῖν.

'πόρνas is probably right' K. The argument is 'He will plead, no doubt, that he has imported corn from Ake in time of scarcity; well, I have imported something else from Tyre; but his importation cannot be held an ἐπίδοσις τῷ δήμῳ any more than mine—he gets his price as much as I do.'

44. If the orifice of the clepsydra be not stopped, the water will escape too soon and leave no time to complete the argument: it is this which suggests to Battaros his coarse comparison:

μὴ πρόσθε κυσὸς φ<θ>ῃσι χῶ τάπης
ἡμῖν,
τὸ τοῦ λόγου διη τοῦτο, λήτης κύρση.

i.e. μὴ φθῇ ἐπιφερομένη ἡ κοιλία, ne prius venter profluat, with disastrous results; cf. Lucret. iv. 1026 (where the *Babylonica* are the τάπης), Aesch. *Cho.* 753, Diphil. 72, schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 622.—μὴ πρόσθε as Eur. *Or.* 791.

46 ἐπὴν δ' ἐλεύθερός τις αἰκίσῃ δούλῳ
ἢ ἐκὼν ἐπίσπῃ

aut sciens assectatus fuerit, a translation into Ionic of ἐπακολουθήσῃ, as appears from the law cited by Aeschines *Timarch.* 139 'δούλον ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς μίτ' ἐρᾶν μίτ' ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἢ τύπτεσθαι τῇ δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι πεντήκοντα πληγὰς' κτέ.

50 ἦν θύρην δέ τις κόψη = θυροκοπήσῃ, one of the practices τῶν κωμαζόντων, Ar. *Vesp.* 1253, Bekk. *Anec.* 42, 31. 99, 17. Ath. 618c, Ael. *N.A.* i. 50, Theocr. ii. 6, Dioscorid.

A.P. xii. 14, Hor. C. i. 25. 1, Appul. *de mag.* 75; which was a punishable offence at Athens, Antiphanes *fr.* 239.

72 τὸ αἶμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν ὥσπερ Φίλιππος ἐν Σάμῳ κοτ' ὁ βρεῦκος. γέλῳς; κίναϊδός εἰμι, κτέ. The allusion is to the famous proverb (used by Diphilus and Philemon, Kock *C.A.F.* iii. p. 749) τὸν ἐν Σάμῳ κομήτην—a Samian boxer who, because he wore his hair long, was taunted by the competitors with effeminacy, and surprised them by winning the victory.¹ The name of his antagonist (uncertain here) is not elsewhere mentioned. By using this comparison Battaros identifies himself with the celebrated κομήτης, and it is this which raises the laugh, *because κομήτης ordinarily implied κίναϊδος*. Like a true βωμολόχος, he at once admits the imputation.

βρεῦκος or βροῦκος = ἀπτελες, and I understand it is a term of contempt: cf. κεφαττελεβώδη ψυχὴν in Archestratus (Ath. 163d, 310d), A.P. xi. 265, Plaut. *Casina* 239, Phot. *s.v.* κρέξ, τιγόνιον, Hesych. i. pp. 398, 400–3. 'Palaeographically your correction is very easy. Indeed I am not sure, that the copyist did not mean to write ΒΡΕΥΚΟC' K. This similarity of Υ and Γ caused the error of ΑΥΡΕΥ for ΑΓΡΕΥ in iii. 34, and (as I think) of ΑΝΔΥΛΟΝ for ΑΝΑΓΝΟΝ in viii. 7.

80 Aristaenet. i. 14, Plaut. *Poen.* 315, Timocles *fr.* 10, Theocr. xiv. 8.

III. 12 Kuehn on Pollux vii. 132 quotes from a glossary 'πρόνικος *laciniosus*.' Should not this be *lasciviosus*?

24 τριθημέρη Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μάρων' ἐποίησεν οὗτος Σίμων' ὁ χρηστός.

Much good wit has been spent in attempting to discover the significance of these names. It has been rightly felt that they are not likely to have been used by Herodas without intention (like the hypothetical Δίων and Θέων of the Stoics). The clue I believe to lie in the suggestion of Dr. Rutherford that Σίμων was the name of a throw (βόλος) in gambling (Pollux vii. 204); and I think the point will be recovered if the reason of the boy's mistake is that Μάρων too was such another name. We shall see how probable this is. In Schol. Plat. *Lys.* 206 E = Eust. 1289. 57 we are told that the various πτώσεις ἀστραγάλων

were called after gods, *heroes*, kings, and other persons notable for good or evil. Now there were two Μάρωνες, both heroes, either of whom a throw might have been called after — one the popular figure, familiar from the epics, who gave Odysseus wine, the other a Lacedaemonian distinguished at Thermopylae (Hdt. vii. 27), who was honoured with a shrine in Sparta (Pausan. iii. 12. 9). This would be a good throw, while Σίμων we may suppose with Meineke would be a bad one.

29 δοκεῖσ' ἄρωγόν τῆς ἀωρίης ἔξειν. Heliod. i. 13, Quint. iii. 477, v. 446.

49 ὥστε μῆδ' ὀδόντα, κινῆσαι 'so that one doesn't even stir a tooth' means 'so that one gets nothing to eat' (Timocles *fr.* 10, σιαγόνas Liban. iv. 154. 1, Alexis 185. 3). The barrier of the teeth may check speech, but they are never the instruments of speaking—those are the lips or the tongue; they say γλῶτταν κινεῖν, *labra movere*, διαραῖ τὸ στόμα.

54 κοῦδ' ὕπνος νιν αἰρεῖται is strange; ὕπνος and other physical and mental affections are elsewhere said αἰρεῖν or λαμβάνειν. But I hardly think it is a mistake (as for αἰρεῖ τι or αἰρήσει), because Herodas seems purposely to use the middle in unusual ways, δέεται vi. 41, θῶμαι viii. 9.

57 αἶδε. The Muses in the school-room we know from Ath. 348d, Diog. L. vi. 2. 69.

61 The meaning of τῇ Ἀκέσειω σεληναίῃ δέιξοντες 'display him to the moon of A.' is still obscure to me.

88–93 How to divide this passage among the speakers is the most baffling thing in Herodas where the words are legible: if any one will solve it for me I shall indeed be grateful. The foundations I would build upon are these: It is Lampriskos who is inclined to be merciful, not Metrotime (87); it must therefore be Metrotime who insists (91) on twenty more lashes however well the boy may be going to read his book; and that remark must be a reply to a suggestion of Lampriskos that if he does his book he need receive no more. But now begin the difficulties: ὄδρης ποικιλώτερος cannot mean anything else but 'more cunning' or 'unmanageable': the ἀλλά that begins the line might express either an objection, 'But...' or a reluctant assent, 'Well, he is...'; but it will be found that upon either view we stumble. It has been suggested to me that a deprecatory answer by Lampriskos has been lost after v. 88: unless this is so, the only way I can divide the lines intelligibly is as follows

¹ A story the same in its essential points is told by Phaedrus, *Append.* viii.

- M. δαῖρον δ' Α. ἄχρις ἡλίου δύνῃ;¹
 M. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑδρὸς ποικιλώτερος πολλῶ,
 καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν νιν Α. κατὰ βυβλίω δῆκου
 τὸ μηθέν M. ἄλλας εἰκοσὶν γε, κῆν
 μέλλῃ
 αὐτῆς ἄμεινον τῆς Κλεοῦς ἀναγνῶναι.

It is in favour of combining δῆκου τὸ μηθέν that δῆπου is habitually added to excuse οὐδεὶς or πᾶς (as in v. 24 δῆκου πάντα). The interpretation 'at the least,' 'as a mere nothing' has no support in Greek: they say τοῦλάχιστον. 'The good-for-nothing' would be τὸν μηθέν (Soph. *El.* 1161, *A.P.* xi. 364).

IV. 12 οἰκίης τοίχων κήρυκα as a phrase is no stranger than ὄρνεις οἰκίης Babrius 17. 1; and τοίχων is not idle, for we learn from *Geopon. Script.* xiv. 7, p. 985n. that the roosts were made upon the walls, and also that αἶραι (vi. 100) were good poultry-food.

17 ἀπέψησας I take to be substituted by Herodas for the technical ἀπέμαζας: this use of unfamiliar synonyms is part of his method; in iii. 93 for example πλύνας means no more than βάψας or βρέξας.

44 ὀρεῦσα καρκίνου μέζον Xen. *Symp.* v. 5, Ath. 339e. μέζον as Hom. *Υ* 342, Straton 1. 5 (iii. p. 361 Kock) προσβλέψας μέγα.

47 I take the reading to be πανταχῇ δ' ἴσ' οὐ κείσαι 'but everywhere you are rated (or 'set down') at the same value': Aristid. ii. 127 ἦν ἂν πλείστον θῆς, ... Alexis 15. 13 τὸ τάριχος τέθεικας διπλασίονι 'put it down at double'. Philostr. *V.S.* ii. 21 ἐν σπανιστοῖς ἔκειτο 'was counted a rarity'. Mr. Kenyon, however, says 'Υ is not impossible, but there is hardly room enough for O; moreover the letter after C has too upright a stroke to suit O well. I don't say that ICOY is impossible, but I can't satisfy myself about the OY.' The Δ is quite clear, and necessary in any case.

63 ἦν ἰδῆσι Μύλλος?

69 εἰ μὴ ἐδόκειν τι μέζον...πρήσσειν would mean 'if it were not that I think I am doing...', as Soph. *O.T.* 402 εἰ δὲ μὴ 'δόκεις γέρον εἶναι. Correct grammar surely requires εἰ μὴ ἐδόκειν ἂν² μέζον...πρήσσειν 'were it not that I think I should be doing..'. The τι is certainly not necessary, for μέγα ποιεῖν

(Lucian iii. 312, Plut. *Mor.* 233 A) is as good as μέγα λέγειν.

μέζον ἢ γυνή (as the first hand in vi. 34) I have not found elsewhere. Usual expressions are μεῖζον ἢ γυναῖκα χρεή, ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον,³ ἢ χρεών or ἢ δίκη, or with the genitive μεῖζον οἰκέτου 'too much for...'

73 οὐδ' ἐρεῖς 'κείνος ἄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν ἐν δ' ἀπηνήθη', ἀλλ'... This curious phrase is confirmed and explained by Himerius *Or.* xiv. 23, eulogising the attainments of Hermogenes: τριχῇ δὲ τῆς πάσης φιλοσοφίας νενεμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν φύσιν, τὴν δὲ τὰ ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν ζητούσης τε καὶ πραγματευομένης, οὐ τὴν μὲν εἶδε τῆς δὲ ἡμέλησε τὴν δὲ ὡς ἄχρηστον πρὸς χρῆσιν εὐδαίμονος ἡτίμασεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαις, δοὺς ἑαυτὸν οὕτως πᾶσας ἐκτήσατο ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος μίαν τινὰ κτήσασθαι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιησάμενος. The meaning therefore appears to be 'you cannot say that he regarded one department with favour and renounced, disdained, another...' This sense of εἶδεν can be amply illustrated. Himerius is devoted to poetical language and often expresses regret that he is not himself a poet.

94 τῆς ὑγίης μοι πρόσδος· ἡ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν
 μέζον ἁμαρτεῖν (!) ἡ ὑγίη· στί τῆς μοίρης.

I am persuaded that these lines belong to the νεωκόρος. They are entirely in keeping with his character, portrayed already with definite and effective strokes. Long before, Aristophanes had ventured to describe the priest as appropriating the offerings, *Plut.* 676-681; and in the *Pax* a χρησμολόγος (1047), who has been attracted by the smell of the sacrifice, begs for a share, 1105 ἔγχει δὴ κάμοι καὶ σπλάγχνων μοῖραν ὀρεξόν, 1111 οὐδεὶς προσδώσει μοι σπλάγχνων; and is reviled for a τένθης and ἀλάζων. There is a similar scene in *Av.* 959-984. Placed in the mouth of the νεωκόρος, therefore, this request completes the delineation of an existing type, and affords to my mind by far the most satisfactory conclusion.

'The palaeographical transition is easy from ΜΟΙ to ΛΩΙ' K. Cf. the writing of ΜΟΙ in vii. 102.

The meaning of πρόσδος is not 'add' but 'bestow,' *impertire*: as ὁ ἐπαυτῶν says 'ἐπίδος,' so ὁ προσαιτῶν says 'πρόσδος': Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 29 προσαιτεῖν ὥσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἱκετεύοντα καὶ δεόμενον προσδοῦναι. The word is very inadequately treated by the Lexicons.

³ This should be read in Hdt. viii. 38: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 1. 6, Soph. *O.T.* 740, Plat. *Legg.* 795 C.

¹ A phrase derived perhaps from Hom. *Α* 192=207 = P 453.

² It is well known that nothing is commoner in MSS. than confusion of tenses and omission of ἂν with δοκῶ: in Lucian ii. 205 read δοκεῖτε δέ μοι ἄριστ' ἂν βουλεύεσθαι as Isocr. xvii. 56 or δοκεῖτε δ' ἂν μοι as Dem. 342, 12.

For AMAPTINC Buecheler reads ἀμαρτεῦσ' 'accompanying': I conjecture AMÀPTIN, 'for at sacrifices the health-cake is a more serious thing to lose than one's portion,' the construction as Soph. *Ant.* 439, 637, *El.* 1015.

V. 4 Ἀμφυταίη [τῇ Μένωνος ἔγκεισαι; Γ. ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίη; τὴν λέγεις ὁρώρηκα γυναῖκα; is, I think, a certain correction by Dr. Jackson. This elliptical form of exclamation is common both in verse and prose.¹ An excellent illustration of this form of denial on the part of a detected slave is supplied by Galen ii. p. 66 Kuehn.

53 οὐ δ' ἐπεμνήσθην should perhaps be ὑπεμνήσθην: that at any rate is the meaning here, as *Erot. Script.* p. 623 Hirschig *bene mihi venit in mentem:—vade puer.* ἐπεμνήσθην is right in VI. 42 where the meaning is *memoravi*.

66 μῆ ὁδῶ *una opera* 'at one job' I know only in Eur. *Hel.* 764: τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ is common.

69 νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν...ἄφες, παραιτεῦμαί σε τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἀμαρτίην—'overlook,' I think she was going to say, but is interrupted, 'and punish him next time,' the same appeal that Pyrrhies has made before (26–28) and that is often made elsewhere, as Ter. *Eun.* 852, Plaut. *Mil.* 565, Ov. *Amor.* ii. 14. 43. Because you can say ἐν or τοῦτο παραιτοῦμαί σε, it does not follow that παραιτεῦμαί σε τὴν ἀμαρτίην is Greek.

77 οὐ τὴν τύραννον. *Hera*, I incline to think. She shares the rank of Zeus (*Ζῆνα τύραννον* Ar. *Nub.* 563); and as Pericles was called τύραννος, being another Zeus, so Aspasia was called Ἥρα and τύραννος (Cratin. 240, 241 Kock, cf. Eupol. 403). If Bitinna does mean Hera, she appeals to her as the powerful champion of women's rights: cf. Eur. *I.A.* 738, *Andr.* 912; where by τὴν ἀνασσαν the women mean, I doubt not, Ἥραν ζυγίαν, τελείαν.

80 ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰκὸς καὶ Γερήνι' ἐς πέμπτην. The 20th is already a holiday, and there is another coming on the 25th—a day of offerings to the dead, as is plain from v. 82. Since we know nothing of any such Γερήνια, I may suggest that it is an error for καὶ Ἀγρινί', an Ionicised form of Ἀγριάνια, which is recorded by Hesychius to have been νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις. There was a Coan month Ἀγριάνιος (Paton, *Inscriptions*

of Cos, pp. 326–334) in which we have record of two offerings to the dead: (1) *Inscript. of Cos*, 35, p. 64 to King Nico-medes; (2) to the great Hippocrates, who was born according to Soranus of Cos on the 27th or 26th of that month: Westermann *Biog.* p. 449 γεννηθεὶς...ὡς Σωρανὸς ὁ Κῶος ἐρευνήσας τὰ ἐν Κῷ γραμματοφυλακείᾳ προστίθῃσι, μοναρχοῦντος Ἀβριάδα, μηνὸς Ἀγριαν<ί>ου κζ' παρ' ὃ καὶ ἐναγίζεν ἐν αὐτῇ μέχρι νῦν Ἱπποκράτει φησὶ τοὺς Κῶους.

'For the present, then,' says Bitinna, 'I will let you off';

ἐπεὰν δὲ τοῖς καμοῦσιν ἐχτυλώσωμεν ἄξεις τότ' ἀμελιτῖτιν ἑορτὴν ἐξ ἑορτῆς.

'but when we have poured out our offerings to the dead, you shall keep then feast after feast of a very different kind,' ἀμελιτῖτιν i.e. πικράν, because in offerings to the dead honey was the most prominent item: might not such a ceremony be called μελιτῖτις¹ ἑορτή? Cf. Menand. 521 ἔκτεν ἐπὶ δέκα Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐνδελεχῶς ἄξεις αἰεὶ (a day when wine flowed), Ath. 99 e μὴ καὶ τινα Κυνοφόντιν ἑορτὴν ποιησώμεθα...Ar. *Nub.* 621 ἀπαστίαν ἄγειν, Plaut. *Capt.* 468 *esurialis ferias*—but I think my conjecture better than ἄξεις τότ' ἀμέλει νῆστιν or λιτὸν ἑορτὴν, though ἀμέλει would be good enough.

VI. 12 'The remains suit ΤΔΥΤΟΜΟΙ better than ΤΔΥΤΕΜΟΙ' K., but ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ is as necessary a correction as in Eur. *Bacch.* 182 ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ πάσχεις ἄρα· κἀγὼ γὰρ ... (L. Dindorf for ταῦτό μοι): *I.T.* 646, *Cycl.* 108, 630, Ar. *Eccl.* 339, *Vesp.* 10, Aesch. *Cho.* 541.

14 It is strange if ταῖς ἀνωνύμοις ταῖταις is governed by ἐπιβρύχουσα and not by ὑλακτέω: but with ὑλακτέω I require τὰς ἀνωνύμους ταῖτας.

19 βαυβῶνα: in the corrupted Orphic fragment (p. 241 Abel) I suggest παῖς δ' ἡ ὑτ', Ἰακχος χεῖρ ἱταμὴν ῥίπτασκε (this with Herwerden), or παῖς δ' οἶον, as Aleman 38 μαργὸς δ' Ἐρως οἶα παῖς παῖσδε.

63 κατ' οἰκίην δ' ἐργάζετ', ἐμπολέων λάθρη 'does business at home' and not in the market: κατ' ἀγόραν ἐργάζομαι says a cook in Poseidipp. Com. 23 iii. 342 Kock (Ath. 659 c), with which compare Plaut. *Pseud.* 790–809.

98 τὴν θύρην κλείσον
αὕτη σὺ, νεοσσοπῶλι, κάξαμίσθησαι

¹ In Aeschines *Ktesiph.* 167 p. 77. 30 read λέγεις, ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ὁμολογῶ Θεττάλους καὶ Περβαίβους ἀφιστάναι, σὺ Θεττάλους; σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσεις; where after σὺ Θεττάλους the MSS. have ἀφιστάναι or ἀποστήσεις or ἀφιστήσεις, all interpolations.

² I should be glad of any similar names for ceremonies besides Aleiphr. iii. 46 ἤγε τὴν Κουρεῶτιν ἡμέραν, ἀλῆτις ὡδή, ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπείαι, ἀγὼν στεφανίτης, ἀμφορίτης.

αἱ ἀλεκτορίδες εἰ σοαί εἰσὶ, τῶν τ' αἰρέων
αὐτῇσι ῥῖψον· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πορθεῖσι
ὀρνιθοκλῆται κῆν τρέφῃ τις ἐν κόλπῳ.

99 νεοσσοπῶλι Diels. 100 Crusius.

As in Opp. *Hal.* iv. 395 a shepherd πεμπαζεται οἶων πληθὺν εἰς διέπων εἰ οἱ σοα πάντα πέλονται, so the chickens are to be counted to see that none has been carried off, 'for the bird-stealers will plunder out of one's very lap'—a remark that hints bitterly at the loss of her other cherished property. Lucian i. 93 κίσσαν μου, λάλον ὄρειον, ἐκ μέσων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν κόλπων ἀρπάσας κίτταν ὀνόμασεν complains Σῆγμα of Ταῖ, birds like other pets being often kept by women ἐν κόλποις, *in sinu*. 'ΩΡΝΙΘΟΚΛΕΠΤΑΙ suits the MS. The space for the ΠΤ is 'rather wide, but not I think too much so.' K. I know at least half-a-dozen other compounds of κλέπτῃς.

VII. 3 οὐ μάτην, Μητροῖ, ἐγὼ φιλέω σε *merito te amo: bene facis* Ter. *Eun.* 186, *Adelph.* 945, *Heaut.* 360.

19 τὴν (σ)αμβαλούχην is a form to which I know no parallel. Substantives in -δόκη or -δόχη (Lobeck *Phryg.* 307, Cobet *V.L.* 579) are numerous; and we have ἡ οἰνοχόη, πλημοχόη, τυμβοχόη, δξύλαβη: but ὁ λυχνούχος, τρυπανούχος, κυν-, μῆλ-, πυργ-. In v. 53 τὰς σαμβαλουχίδας supports αἶγες κερουχίδες in Theoc. v. 145; I cannot say whether that form is required in v. 19.

25 οὕτως ἔμ[ιν ἡ τύχη] δοίη
καλῶν οἶον ἐσθλῶν ὄσων π[ερ] ἱχανᾶσθ'
ἐπαυρῆσθαι.

Here ἡ τύχη (cf. 88, 93) is a synonym of οἱ θεοί, who are the regular agents in such blessings: Hom. ζ 180, θ 413, ω 402, η 148, Eur. *Andr.* 740, *Hel.* 1407, Antiphan. 163, Alexis 95, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8. 75, Plaut. *Epidic.* 6, *Pers.* 483. Heliod. v. 11 σοὶ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τοσαῦτα δοῖεν ὅσα κατὰ γνώμην ὄντα τὴν σὴν (τυγχάνει;) εἰς κόρον τελεσθῆναι.

28 κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει...

Buecheler takes κηρός to be the hyperbole of whiteness; but ὑποδήματα so described would be distinct, I suspect, from λευκά: cf. Vopiscus *Aurelianus*. 49 *calceos nulleos et cer eos et albos et ederaeos viris omnibus* <abs>tulit, mulieribus reliquit. But a phrase of Manetho induces me to think the κηρός here meant is the medium in κηρογραφία—the painter's palette, as we should say: ἐν

γραφίοις μελιδέος ἄνθεσι κηροῦ δεικνύντας πάντων μορφὰς θηρῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν is Manetho's paraphrase of ζωγράφους p. 14 Koechly v. 324. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* i. 3 κηροχύτου γραφῆς ἄνθεσιν.

40-43 are difficult, but ought to be restorable; the shoemaker is growing querulous, and the nature of his complaints may be inferred from the following passages: Plat. *Acisoch.* 368 B τοὺς χειρωνακτικούς ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ βαναύσους πονουμένους ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα καὶ μόλις πορίζομένους τάπιτήδεα, κατοδυρομένους τε αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγρυπνίαν ἀναπιμπλάντων ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ δακρύων. Liban. ii. 75. 3 οἱ μὲν δὴ χειροτέχναι . . . ἄγρυπνοι. Lucian i. 642 οὐκέτι . . . ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν ἄσιτος διαμενῶ, οὐδὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἡμίγυμνος περινοστήσω τοὺς δδόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους συγκροτῶν, ii. 702 (where the shoemaker—type of the poor artisan—is waked from his dreams of wealth by the crowing cock) 'it is not yet midnight, to judge τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ ἔτι οὔση καὶ τῷ κρύει μηδέπω με τὸ ὀρθριον ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἀποπηγνύντι—γνώμων γὰρ οὗτος ἀψευδέστατός μοι προσελαυνούσης ἡμέρας.

I suggest therefore that the shape of the sentences was this:

INΔN...ΕΩN νύκτα κῆμεν θάλπω
(κ)οῦδέν τι]ς ἡμέων ἄχρις ἐσπέρης κάπτει
χῶσαι βο]αὶ πρὸς ὀρθρον· οὐ δοκίω τόσσον
τὰ Μικίωνος θηρί' εὐπ[ορεῖν φωνῆς.

The puzzle is to find an object for θάλπω: one expects the *sedentarius sutor* to protest 'I keep my seat warm night and day.' Here again help would be gratefully received.

46 οὐ κῆν ἔη Ζεὺς τοῦτο μοῦ[νον αδοῦσι
'φέρ' εἰ φέρεις τι' τᾶλλα δ' ἀ[ψόφως
ῆνται,
ὅκως νεοσσοὶ τὰς κοχῶνας θάλποντες.

τᾶλλα δὲ is necessary; and by ἀψόφως I understand that except when they are clamouring for food, they sit snug and silent: cf. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1083 as when Zeus hails upon the houses, the dwellers—if they have a sound roof—κόναβον τεγέων ὑπὲρ εἰσαίοντες ἦνται ἀκῆν, 'ἀψόφως is perhaps possible, but the tail of a long letter following α is rather far for the ψ and rather near for the φ' K. So that the true word may perhaps be ἀσφαλέως.

57 Perhaps Νοσσιδες, Χῆται (ΧΕΙΑΙ) for λῆται: see Schmidt *Hesych.* iv. p. 286.

79 I am not yet satisfied as to the meaning of the sums mentioned in *vv.* 79, 99, 102, 106, 122. The ordinary price of shoes was about 2 drachms, Lucian *iii.* 297, 319, 320. Liban. *ii.* 217. 21 'Did anyone ever expect those who teach εἰς τάχος γράφειν to see gold ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν τέχνης, ἣ βέλτιον πράξειν τῶν σκυτοτόμων καὶ τεκτόνων; οὐδεὶς.'

106 καὶ ταῦτ'] ἐ]πτά [δα]ρεικῶν.

The facsimile shows me ΠΤΔ 'I think I should print it as Ε]ΠΤΑΔΔΡΙΚΩΝ' K. Perhaps καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν λάβ'

107-112 are not yet solved by the ingenious conjectures of Crusius and Buecheler, though they are probably on the right track. In *v.* 107 the letter following ΤΗCΔ appears to have been Δ, and there are other remnants. In 108 I agree with Blass that there is not room for δυ]ναιτο, and Δ would have left traces. In 110 Buecheler's conjecture ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλᾶσσαν ἡδονῆς δ' ἡθμόν gives what must have been the form of the sentence, but I do not feel sure that ἡθμόν would convey 'unde liquida voluptas defluit.' ἐκ τετρημένης ἡθεῖ (which he compares) in *iii.* 33 means a slow, stammering utterance, cf. *cliquat* Pers. *i.* 34, Appul. *Flor.* *ii.* 5: Plaut. *Poen.* 513 *iste quidem gradus succretust cribro pollinario* (so slow it is).

The MS. has perhaps ΗΘΜΙΝ, but the penultimate letter was not O. I suggest therefore ἡθμην (Ebeling *Lex. Hom. s.v. εἰσίθμην*, Lob. *Parall.* 395), but I have not recorded any similar expression.

VIII. 1-10 cf. Auson. *Ephemeris* 1-20, p. 1216 Weber.

7 καὶ τὴν ἀναγνον χοῖρον for ἀναυλον which could only mean 'homeless' or 'shelterless.' I understand ἀναγνον here merely as a term of abuse, equivalent to μιαιρόν, ἐναγῇ, ἀκάθαρτον 'polluted with blood.' That is the proper meaning of these words, and it is always implied by ἀναγνος (a word corrupted in Soph. *O.C.* 945 and schol. Aesch. *Theb.* 843).

15 ἄκουσον, οὐ [γὰρ ἡλεὰς] φρένας βόσκεις
τράγον τιν' [ἐκ] φάραγγος ὥτισθην
μακρῆς ὁ[ροῦσαι σύ]ν τε κεύκερως [αἰγας].

CHOLIAMBIC FRAGMENTS.

A phrase describing the salamander is thrice quoted in Cramer's *Anecd.* *ii.* 371, 480, 483: Ζῶον ἐν πυρὶ σκαῖρον. I do not doubt it is from a choliambic writer, perhaps Aischrion.

Another phrase in *ii.* 480 Ἦν νύκτες χαρίζονται: νυκτεριναὶ σωμαίων συνουσίαι I take to be choliambic, probably from the same source; e.g. ἦν χ. νύκτες or νύκτες ἦ χ. The natural substantive would be τέρψιν, as ἐννυχίαν τέρψιν in Soph. *Aj.* 1203, Antimach. *A.P.* *ix.* 321 ἄ κατ' εὐνὰν τέρψις.

Collections of proverbs no doubt include many quotations originally choliambic; among which I reckon 'Αεὶ με τοιοῦτοι πολέμοι διώκοιεν (reading τοιοῖ), probably from a fable.

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NOTES ON LATIN ORTHOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 119.)

ASSIMILATION IN PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS.

The question of the assimilation of prepositions is touched upon but briefly in the Report, which points out the want of uniformity in the spelling of the same words even on the same inscription, as *conlegium* and *collegium*, *impensa* and *impensarum* on the Monumentum Ancyranum. But school text-books must inevitably give the precedence to one or the other spelling of a given word, and, even were the preponderance of the evidence for the one over that for the

other but slight, it would be worthy of consideration. And as a matter of fact the words for which there are not grounds for a decided preference of one spelling are not numerous. So the variation *conlegium*, *collegium* on the Mon. Ancyr. is only another example of the transitional character of its spelling. For, as pointed out by Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* *i.* p. 79, *collegium*, which occurs for the first time in the Augustan period beside the older *conlegium*, is the spelling of all the numerous examples of the word in the *Acta Arvalium* from Tiberius on, except for the revival of the older spelling under Claudius

and in one section of the acts under Nero (Jan. 3—March 4, A.D. 59), the writer of which affected the spelling of Claudius to the extent of using his invention, the inverted F for v. Certainly there can be no question that we should prefer *collegium*.

The difficulty begins when one attempts to state general laws for all compounds in which the combination of final and initial consonant is the same. For we must not fail to recognize what the grammarians did not suspect, namely that the presence or absence of assimilation in prepositional compounds is not merely a matter of phonetic law, but that the psychological element, the influence of the normal form of the preposition is a most important factor. If, for example, *conligo*, *conloco*, etc., remain unassimilated throughout the period of the republic, it is not because the assimilation of *nl* to *ll* as a phonetic process was not yet operative. For this change, as seen in *corolla* beside *corona*,¹ *suillus* beside *suinus*, far antedates our earliest historical records. It is rather that this phonetic process is held in check by the analogical influence of the *con-* which is the normal form in compounds. And again, if the *conlegium* of the republic is supplanted by *collegium* in the Augustan period, it need not surprise us to find that in other words such as *conloco*, *conloquium*, *inlustris* the change to the assimilated form was centuries later. The consciousness of composition and the association with the separate elements may be much stronger in one word than in another. This is a linguistic phenomenon too well known to need elaborate treatment; we may however recall an illustration from our own language in the matter of the vowel change seen in the first part of compounds. We say *husband* without thought of the connection with *house*, and once said *huswife*, but this, except in the degenerate *hussy*, has been replaced by *housewife*; similarly *shepherd* but *sheepfold*.

The lack of uniformity in the treatment of the same combination of consonants is evident enough in the case of words whose spelling is not a matter of doubt. For example the regular assimilation of *nl* to *ll* (*agellus* from **agerlos*, etc.) is followed in *polliceor*, *polluo* etc., the *por* not being used separately, and only in a few compounds. So *intellego* is the proper spelling from the earliest times, the connection with *inter* not being felt, but all other such compounds as *interlino*, *interloquor* etc., remain unassimi-

lated in all periods. In some compounds of *per-*, notably *perlego* (*perligo*), *pellego* (*pelligo*), both forms were in use. It is obvious then that in the investigation of contested spellings each word must be taken by itself, and a general rule set up only when it is warranted by the actual occurrences. And yet there is more uniformity than one would expect if the degree of consciousness of composition were the only factor involved, and we may wonder if there are not some other minor factors influencing the unconscious choice between the phonetic, assimilated forms on the one hand and the analogical, unassimilated forms on the other. So in the spelling of the republican period there is absolute uniformity among all compounds of *con-l* in favour of the unassimilated form, while among compounds of *ad-c-* the assimilated form is universally employed. May not this be due to the fact that *nl*, though subject to assimilation in the normal phonetic development, may be pronounced without the slightest difficulty while *dc* requires a distinct effort? It is conceivable that the accent should be of some influence, but in spite of the suggestion of Dorsch, *Assimilation in den compositis bei Plautus und Terentius* p. 47, the facts do not make this clear.

The following pages are devoted to the consideration of the spelling of compounds in *ad-f-*, *ad-s-*, *ad-n-*, *ad-l-*, *ad-r-*, *con-l-*, *con-r-*, *in-l-*, *in-r-*, in which we find the greatest variation both in the prescripts of the grammarians and in the actual practice of the present time. Some of our most recent schoolbooks prefer the unassimilated spelling, but commonly both here and abroad the assimilated forms are used. This latter procedure, so far as it is anything more than conservatism in the retention of our traditional spelling, is due to the conviction that, however common the unassimilated spelling may be, the consonants were assimilated in actual pronunciation. So Bennett, Appendix p. 78: "On the whole there seems very little to commend the employment of the etymological spelling. If we take it as intended to indicate pronunciation, we can hardly reject the express statement of the grammarians that such pronunciation was wrong. If, on the other hand, we regard the etymological spelling as purely graphical, there seems no advantage in writing *adl*, *adg*, *inr*, *inl*, etc., when *all*, *agg*, *irr*, *ill* were actually spoken, especially since the Romans themselves often indicated the assimilation." Similarly Seelmann, *Aussprache des Lateins* p. 61 f., states that assimilated

¹ It will be understood that quantity is not marked in this paper, which has to do mainly with questions of actual spelling.

forms are the older and that the unassimilated forms arose by recomposition in a later period and never came to represent the best pronunciation. He therefore ridicules the practice of introducing these latter as the "proper" forms in our modern texts. But Seelmann's whole discussion labours under the mistake of too much generalization. If, as is so often emphasized nowadays, the old idea that the assimilated forms are later than the unassimilated was a mistaken one, the opposite view if taken generally is equally incorrect. Seelmann's view is undoubtedly correct for a word like *accipio*. This is the only spelling known in the republican period, and certainly by far more common even later, so that the cases of *adcipio* are to be attributed to the craze for etymological writing, and not to any change in the actual pronunciation unless possibly in the speech of some would-be reformers. So in our English *cupboard* (in early English sometimes *cubbord*) the knowledge of the etymology has affected the spelling but not the pronunciation. This is especially true of words with a combination of surd mutes, though strictly each word must be studied by itself as there is great difference in the relative frequency of the two spellings. But in the combinations we are considering especially (*adf*, *ads*, *conl* etc.), the case is absolutely different. For the great majority of words of this sort the assimilated forms are wholly unknown in the republican period in which the spelling was more strictly phonetic than later (cf. *opservare*, etc.). Here then it is distinctly the case that the assimilated forms are the later. How much later? If they had supplanted others in the first century A.D. as *collegium* did *conlegium*, we should certainly employ them. And if they are found at this time with considerable frequency, even though less common than the unassimilated spelling, this would be enough to establish the assimilated pronunciation and so furnish some grounds for preferring the assimilated spelling. But what if the assimilated spelling is unknown in the first century A.D., or even almost or wholly unknown in the first six centuries (cf. *inlustris* below)? For such words there could hardly be any question as to the spelling to be adopted, nor as to the pronunciation, for the assimilated pronunciation would betray itself.

It is essential then to have before us as completely as possible the facts regarding the spelling of each word, and to obtain these requires considerable labour. The

statements in the grammars of Lindsay and Stolz are too vague to be of use. Lindsay for example gives *affero*, *illudo* and *inludo*, *colloco* and *conloco* without any indication as to the age of the assimilated forms (cf. *adfero* below; *affero* I have not met with on inscriptions, or, so far as I have looked, in MSS. of the first six centuries). Brambach, *Neugestaltung*, in general prefers the unassimilated forms, as the more frequent on inscriptions, but one is not sure from his casual citations just how strong the case is. The indices of the Latin Corpus faithfully register the unassimilated forms *adsigno*, etc., as they do *adcipio* etc., and an extensive collection of such examples may be found in Neue's *Formenlehre* under the various prepositions. But what proportion of the total number of occurrences do these unassimilated forms represent? Is *assigno* still more common than *adsigno*, as is the case with *accipio* beside *adcipio*, or is it simply less common, or is it wholly unknown in inscriptions of a good date? After one has met several dozen instances of *adsigno* one becomes more interested in a possible *assigno* and wishes the indices were better designed to aid in the search for such a form. Nothing can be concluded from the silence of the indices or of Neue's collections, since no account is taken of *accipio* beside *adcipio*. Our traditional orthography is taken as the normal, and only variations from it are noted, though in many cases it is really this traditional spelling which would be noteworthy. The only treatise in which both sides of the evidence are presented is Dorsch, *Assimilation in den Compositis bei Plautus und Terentius* (*Prager Philologische Studien* I), which is the best thing that has been written on the subject. But the author, being concerned with the proper spelling of the time of Plautus, uses the evidence of inscriptions only from the republican period. In order to gain any notion of the relative frequency and the dates of the spellings it seemed necessary to read over a considerable mass of inscriptions, and accordingly I have glanced through a large part of the *Corpus*, namely i, ii, iii_{1, 2}, iv, v_{1, 2}, vi_{1, 2, 3, 4}, viii_{1, 2}, ix, x_{1, 2}, xi, xii, xiv, and some other collections. It is altogether likely that in such a hasty examination not a few instances have been overlooked, but I doubt if a more exact count would materially change the result. For example I should not wish to assert absolutely that no example of *ill* for *inl* exists in the whole *Corpus*, but it is certainly significant enough that in noting

over sixty examples of *inl* no instance of *ill* has been noticed. In the case of words of frequent occurrence only the total results will be given, though I have the references on file. As there is no MS. evidence for the first century (except the Herculean papyri), I had not intended to consider the MSS., but finding that on inscriptions the spelling varies less than was anticipated in the first six centuries I have noted the practice of a few of the MSS. of this period which are easily accessible in printed texts, and add the results. These MSS. are (1) the older Vergil MSS. (Ribbeck's A, F, G, M, P, R, V), (2) the Vatican MS. of Cicero in *Verrem* (Cic. Verr. Vatic.), (3) the Vatican MS. of Cicero *de republica* (Cic. de rep. Vatic.), (4) the Paris MS. of Livy xxvi-xxx. (Liv. Putean.), (5) fragments of Pliny bks. i. and xi-xv. (Plin. Lavant.), further the Ambrosian MS. of Plautus (A) and the Bembinus of Terence (A) the readings of which are taken mainly from Dorsch's work.

ad before *f s, n, l, or r*

Priscian (Keil, *Gram. Lat.* ii. p. 57): 'Haec tamen ipsa consonans in *ad* praepositione mutatur sequente *c vel g vel p vel t*, ut *accumbo, accido, aggero, applico, appello, attingo, attinet*; *f* quoque sequente rationalibus: *affectus, l: allido, r: assideo, n: annuo, s: assiduus*. . . . Frequenter tamen invenimus *f vel l vel n vel s* sequentibus *d* scriptam, ut *adfatur, adludo, adrideo, adnitor, adisto, adsumo*. Errore tamen scriptorum hoc fieri puto quam ratione, nam quae sit differentia euphoniae, ut, cum eadem consonans sit sequens, in aliis transferatur *d*, in aliis non, scire non possum, ut, cum dicam *affectus, allido et assiduus*, bene sonet, cum autem *affatur, alludo, assisto*, male.'

ad f.

INSCRIPTIONS.

adfero. adferatur i. 1984₁ (123/2 B.C.), *adferre* x. 4872₂₇ (Augustus), *adferrent* vi. 1750 (4th cent. A.D.), *adferri* Orelli 2230. No example of *affero* noted.

adfui is frequent at all periods, e.g. *adfuerunt* in the whole series of the Acta Arvalium. No *affui* noted.

adfirmo. adfirm[ares vi. 1527 (Augustan period). No *affirmo* noted.

adfigo. adfixus v. 2781₁₀. No *affixus* noted.

adfigo. adflictus vi. 1750 (4th cent.),

15268, v. 2117, 7882, viii. 2722, Boissieu Insc. de Lyon, p. 777. No *afflictus* noted.

adfatus vi. 1789 (425/450 A.D.), v. 6723. No *affatus* noted.

adfinis. adfinis common, e.g. vi. 10234 (86 A.D.), 10229 (108 A.D.), v. 2117, 4352, viii. 8934, etc. cf. *atfinis*, e.g. vi. 10247 (252 A.D.). Only one example of *affinis* noted, namely vi. 8401 (577 A.D.).

adfinitas vi. 1730_{7, 10} (4th cent.), 1731, Eph. Ep. ii. p. 223 (Lex Col. Gen., 1st cent. A.D.). No *affinitas* noted.

adficio. adfecisse v. 532 (138/161); *adfectus* noted in sixteen examples, one from the end of the 5th century (xii. 1724). Only one example of *affectus* noted (vi. 11511 of uncertain date). Note also *adfectu* xii. 1724 (end of 5th cent.).

adfectio noted in thirty cases (note xiv. 2934 from end of 4th cent.). No *affectio* noted.

afluentia. Edict Diocl. (? Aegypt. version has *afluntiam*, Plataean *fluentiam*; the spelling is so careless that no absolute confidence can be placed in this).

Mss.

A fragment of Pap. Herc. shows¹ *adfini*. Cf. Lindsay, *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 442. Plaut. A (Ambrosianus) and Terence A (Bembinus) show *adf*- without exception; so Dorsch pp. 20, 21.²

The Vergil MSS. have *adfero, adficio, adfigo, adfligo, adflo, adfluo, adfor* (over 25 examples). In these words, except for three examples in M, *aff* is found only in the later MSS. In the case of two words Ribbeck puts *aff* in his text, namely *affatu* Aen. iv. 284 (with P and some minor MSS. against *adf* of M), and *affabilis* Aen. iii. 621, which replaces the *effabilis* of most of the MSS. after the reading of Macrobius, Priscian, etc. (MSS. of 9th-10th cent.).

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *adfero, adficio, adfirmo, adflictus, adfui*. No *aff* noted.

Cic. de rep. Vatic. has *adfero, adfirmo, adfigo, adfligo*. No *aff* noted.

Liv. Putean. has *adfatim, adfero, adfigo, adfinitas, adfirmo, adfligo, adflo, adfluo*,

¹ Lindsay's *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 110, reads *aflatu* in a fragment from the Herc. Papyri, but this must be a misprint. Bährens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* i. p. 218, reads *adlatu*, the first two letters being supplied, as they are not given in either the Oxford or the Neapolitan facsimiles.

² Studemund, *Apographum*, gives in the index twenty-eight cases of *adf*- and three of *aff*-, but of these two are indistinct, and in one the reading is *offert*. The words occurring are *adfatim, adfero, adficio, adfigo, adfinis, adfinitas, adflo, adflicter, adfui*.

adfui, *adfulgeo*. *aff* noted only in *affectus* and here usually *adfectus*.

Plin. Lavant. has *adfero*, *adflo*. No *aff* noted.

GRAMMARIANS.

The earlier grammarians prescribe *adf*. Cornutus (ap. Cassiodorus, Keil vii. p. 151) says that *d* is pronounced and written before *f*, as *adfluo*, *adfui*, *adfectus*. Similarly Caecilius Vindex (ap. Cass., K. vii. p. 207) of Hadrian's time, citing *adfluo*, *adfari*, *adfuturus*, *adfatus*, *adfero*. Velius Longus and Terentius Scaurus do not mention this combination when speaking of assimilation. Even Papirian and Agroecius of the 5th century still cite *adfert*, *adfui*, *adficit*.

The first mention of *aff*, unless one reads *affero* and not *suffero* in a passage of Donatus (K. iv. p. 391), is in Servius, Comm. in Don., K. iv. pp. 442, who cites *affero* and *afficio*, adding 'Nam *affero*, quod scribebatur per *a* et per *d*, incipit scribi per *a* et *f*.' Observe 'incipit scribi.' Priscian cites *affectus* but knows of *adfatur*.

The evidence for the spelling *adf* is so overwhelming, that school-books should not give *aff* even as variant, unless as a temporary concession to a practice still the most common. As for the pronunciation, the writer can see no ground whatever for assuming the assimilated pronunciation for the first century A.D. The spelling is always *adf* or, what is even more significant, *atf* occasionally, and we have, moreover, the express statement of Cornutus.

ad-s.

INSCRIPTIONS.

adsentio. *adsensus* xi. 5265₈₈ (4th cent.).
adsero. *adserit* xii. 4036, *adsereretis* Dessau, Insc. Lat. Select. 705, *adserere* vi. 1783 (5th cent.), *adseruisse* v. 5321₁₁ (138/161 A.D.), *adseruerunt* iii. 352₃₂.
adsertor. *adsertore*, name of a horse, vi. 10050, 10056.
adservio. *adservisse* v. 532 (138/161 A.D.).
adservo. *adservata* vi. 1783₂₄ (5th cent.),
adsequor. *adsequi* ix. 3895.
adsuesco. *adsuetus* xi. 3303 (13 A.D.), Dessau 212 (48 A.D.).
adsumo. *adsumendorum*, *adsumptis* iii. 781 (201 A.D.), *adsumpto* x. 6662.
adsisto. *adsistente* Orelli-Henzen 6753 (2nd—3rd cent.).
adsedeo. *adsedit* Orelli 3039, *adsedente* Orelli 2545.
adessor ii. 2129 (twice).
adsum frequent.

Of the words thus far cited no forms with *ss* have been noted.

adsido. *assidat* iv. 2887 (*assidat ad asinum*).

adsigno. *adsignatus* occurs twenty-five times on the Lex Agraria (i. 200) of 111 B.C., on the Acta Arvalium of 81 A.D., and on numerous other inscriptions of various dates—in all over forty examples have been noted. Cf. also *atsignavi* vi. 10247 (252 A.D.), and *atsignatus* eight times on the Lex Col. Genet. (Eph. Ep. ii. iii.) inscribed in the 1st century A.D. The only example of the assimilated form noted is *asignavit* v. 7783 (191 A.D.). The *assignato* quoted by Brambach, p. 298 is corrected by Brambach himself, p. x., to *adsignato*.

adsiduus noted in eighteen examples, including *atsiduus* ix. 729. The only example of the assimilated form noted is *perassiduus* xii. 944 (553 A.D.). The *assiduus* quoted by Brambach, p. 298, from Gruter I have not found.

Mss.

Pap. Herc. have *adsiduo*.

Plautus A has *adsero*, *adservo*, *adsimiliter*, *adsimulo*, *adsisto*, *adsoleo*, *adsum* with *ds* only, but *assiduus* (1) beside *adsiduus* (2), *assido* (1) beside *adsido* (4); cf. Studemund's Apographon, index. In Terence *ass* is found only in some of the later MSS.; cf. Dorsch, p. 24.

The Vergil MSS. have *adsentio*, *adsensus*, *adservo*, *adsimilis* (*ats-*), *adsimulo* (*ats-*), *adsisto*, *adsuesco*, *adsum* (frequent), *adsurgo*, and *adsiduus*. Outside of the late MSS. *ass* is found only once, namely *assiduus* in R.

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *adsentio*, *adservo*, *adsequor*, *adsigno*, *adsum*. No *ass* noted.

Cic. de rep. Vatic. has *adsentio*, *adsequor*, *adsido*, *adsiduus*, *adsigno*, *adsisto*, *adsum*, *adsumo*, *adsuesco*. Only one example of *ass* has been noted, namely *assimulo*.

Liv. Putean. has *adsentio*, *adsentatio*, *adsequor*, *adservo*, *adsideo*, *adsigno*, *adsimulo*, *adsuesco*, *adsuefacio*, *adsumo*, *adsurgo*. No example of *ass* noted.

Plin. Lavant. has *adservo*, *adsiduus*, *adsiduitas*, *adsimilatio*, *adsuesco*, *adsultim*, *adsum*. No example of *ass* noted.

GRAMMARIANS.

The grammarians prescribe *ass*, or rather they state that *assiduus* is to be so spelled. So Cornutus, Caper, Caecilius Vindex, Marius Victorinus, Charisius, Papirian, and Priscian. The latter mentions also *assideo* (*asside* Diomedes), but cites *adsumo*, *adsisto* as forms in which *d* is frequently written. It

is not unnatural that *adsiduus* should be one of the first words to yield to assimilation, but even here the spelling with *d* remained the usual one.

While it is clear, then, that the spelling *ads* is preferable for all words, the question of the pronunciation is more complicated. The oft-cited pun of Plautus on *adsum* and *assum* (Poen. 279) is sometimes regarded as a proof that the spelling of *adsum* and similar words is a snare and a delusion. But the pun proves nothing more than the existence of a vulgar pronunciation *assum*, and in view of the consistency of the spelling and the fact that in this word the force of the preposition was clearly felt, it does not seem reasonable to suppose that the pronunciation of cultivated Romans, or in other words in the High Latin as taught in the schools, was other than *adsum* at any period. The *assidat* scratched on the walls of Pompeii may be regarded in the same light. But doubtless the assimilated pronunciation gained ground among the educated in proportion to the weakness of the force of the preposition, and it is evident from the statements of the grammarians that in their time the pronunciation *assiduus* had become widely prevalent. It was even suggested that the word was not derived from *sedeo*, as those who wrote *adsiduus* supposed, but from *asses* (Charisius, K. i., p. 75; cf. also Stilo, quoted by Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 313). Note that *assiduus* and *assidat* are the only assimilated forms in Plautus A. It seems to the writer that we should pronounce as well as spell *ads*, and that it is not necessary to make an exception of *assiduus* since even here the pronunciation *adsiduus* probably lasted well into the first century and even later.

ad-n.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The only examples noted are *adnumerare* viii. 2554, *adnixis* xii. 944 (553 A.D.), and *adnitente* xii. 1524 (5th cent.).

Mss.

Plautus A has *adnuo* and Terence A *adnumero*. The other Plautus MSS. have also *adnitor*, *adnumero*, *adnuto*, *adnuo*: *annuo* in one passage. Cf. Dorsch p. 22.

The Vergil MSS. have *adnixus* (7 times, no var.), *adno* (3, no var.), *adnuo* (10, *annuo* sometimes in later MSS.).

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *adnumero*, but *annuo*.

Liv. Putean. has *adnitor*, *adnumero*.
Plin. Lavant. has *adnecto*.

GRAMMARIANS.

The grammarians, as far as they speak of this, prescribe assimilation, but always with the same example, namely *annuo*. So Cornutus, Caecilius Vindex, Papirian, and Priscian, but Priscian mentions *adnitor*. Cf. the passage quoted above. Notwithstanding the way in which the grammarians copied each other, this agreement in the example chosen is significant. In the sources we have examined *adnuo* is the only word for which there is any evidence of the assimilated spelling, and even here *adnuo* is more common. It is natural that in this word, in which the literal meaning *nod at* was not ordinarily felt, the assimilation took place earlier than in the others, and as Cornutus mentions *annuo* we may assume that the change in pronunciation took place in the first century. We should write and pronounce *adn-*, the only possible exception being *annuo*, and this not necessary or, in the writer's opinion, desirable.

ad-l.

INSCRIPTIONS.

adlevo. *adlevent* C.I.L. vi. 10230 (Augustan period), *adlevata* vi. 1527 d 13 (Augustan period), *adlevavit* xiv. 3608₂₆ (70 A.D.).

adluo. *adluerunt* ix. 4744, *adluentibus* x. 6811 (238 A.D.).

adlego, *-ere*. *adlegantibus* viii. 8813-4 (2nd cent.), viii. 10570 (180-3 A.D.), *adlegatei* v. 2845.

adlego, *-ere*. *adlegantur* vi. 10234 (153 A.D.), *adlegit* xiv. 431 (3rd cent.), *adlegerunt* x. 846, 1403, *adlectus* (fifty-five examples noted) is more common than *allectus* (twenty examples noted). Most of the examples of *allectus*, as far as the inscriptions are dated, are from the second and third centuries. But ix. 5553 is from the first century.

adlector vi. 355.

adlecto. *adlectavit* vi. 18086.

adlatus. *adlaturus* and *allatus* (twice) on the same inscription, x. 7852 (69 A.D.), *allatae* Act. Arval. of 43 A.D., *alatus* iv. 1239 (Pompeii), cf. *rellatus* i. 200₅₀.

alligo. *alligat* vi. 12649, 20905.

Mss.

Plautus A has *adlego* (*-ere*), *adlicio*, *adloquor*, *adluceo*, *adludio* with *dl* only, but *alatus* (4), besides *adlatus* (1), and *alligo*. In Terence we find *alligo*, but elsewhere *adl*.

The Vergil MSS. have *adlavor*, *adlacrimo*, *adloquor*, *adludo*, *adluo* (*alluo* once in P), but *alligo* (3, without variant).

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *adluo*.

Cic. de rep. Vatic. has *adluo*.

Liv. Putean. has *adluo*, *adloquor* usually, but also *alloquor*, and *allatus* regularly.

Plin. Lavant. has *adlino*.

GRAMMARIANS.

The grammarians prescribe assimilation, but the example is usually the same, namely *alligo*; so Cornutus, Caecilius Vindex, Diomedes, Papirian. But Terentius Scaurus (K. vii. p. 26) in citing *alligo* with *lego*, *colligo*, *pelligo* refers, of course, to the compound of *lego*, and Velius Longus (K. vi. p. 62) cites *alligere* (or *allegere*), adding 'nec semper tamen, quoniam dicimus *adluere* et *adloqui* et *adlabi*.' Priscian cites *allido*, but knows of *adludo*.

For most words we should spell *dl* and so pronounce (note the *dicimus* of Velius Longus). But *alligo* is the only proper form, as attested by the evidence of inser., MSS., grammarians, and further by Pliny's *ad-alligo* (Lindsay, Lat. Lang., p. 311). *Allatus* is more common than *ad-latus*. The existence of *allectus* in the first century is established, but as *adlectus* continues to be its more common spelling we may well retain it.

ad-r.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The only examples noted are *adrogaretur* v. 61 and *arripiebatur* viii. 10832 (probably of the 3rd cent.).

Mss.

Plautus A has *adrideo*, but *arripio*. Terence A has *adrideo*, but *arripio* and *arripio* (once *adripio*, but here other MSS. *arr.*). Cf. Dorsch p. 22.

The Vergil MSS. have *arripio* (no *adr.*) and *arrectus* (frequent). Other compounds of *ad-r.* do not occur.

Cic. de rep. Vatic. has *adrogo* and *adrogantia*.

Liv. Putean. has *adrodo*, *adrectus*, but *arripio*.

Plin. Lavant. has *adrepo*, *adrodo*.

GRAMMARIANS.

Cornutus and Priscian give *arrideo*, though the latter mentions also *adrideo*. Terentius Scaurus (K. vii. p. 25) says that *adripit* is wrong and Diomedes (K. i. p. 424) cites

arripe. Agroecius, however, says that *d* remains unchanged in *adripit* (K. vii. p. 123).

The inscriptional material is so meagre that we are forced to rely mainly on the spelling of MSS., and, though this furnishes no direct evidence, we observe in the case of other combinations how little the spelling of the early MSS. differs from the inscriptional spelling of the first century. As *arripio* is almost the universal spelling it is probable that the assimilation took place at a very early date, as in *corripio* and *surripio*. So, too, *arripio* seems preferable to *adripio*. But *adrideo*, notwithstanding the statement of Cornutus, is not only the spelling of the Plautus and Terence MSS. but is usual in the MSS. of the 9th-11th centuries, so that this spelling is preferred in most of our best critical editions. Note for example Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xvii. 15 (Sillig), Plin. *Epist.* i. 24 (Keil), *Lucr.* ii. 32 (Lachmann), Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 88 (Keller-Holder). For *adrado*, *adrepo*, *adrodo* there can be no question. In the case of *adrogo* all the early evidence that we have favours *adr.*, though most of our critical editions read *arrogio* with late MSS. We should write, then, *arripio* and *arripio* (probably), but elsewhere *adr.*

con and *in* before *l* and *r*.

in-l.

INSCRIPTIONS.

inlustris noted in twenty-six examples, extending into the fifth century or later (e.g. viii. 988). No example of *illustris* found.

inlustro, Notizie degli Scavi 1897, p. 363.

inlatus frequent at all periods, e.g. thirteen times in the Acta Arvalium from 80 A.D. to 213 A.D., xiv. 374 (4th cent. or later), eleven times in viii., etc. No example of *illatus* found.

inlatio. Acta Arvalium of 219, 220 and 224 A.D.

inlumino viii. 7006 (4th cent.), 7994, 6982 (three times), vi. 1779 (4th cent.).

inlibatus x. 5409.

inligo vi. 5302.

inlicitus vi. 1711 (488 A.D.), v. 5737 (6th cent.).

inhudo viii. 8567.

Mss.

Pap. Herc. has *inlita*.

Plautus A and Terence A have *inl-* without exception. Cf. Dorsch p. 36.

The Vergil MSS. have *inl-* without exception (*ill* only in the later MSS.), e.g. *inlabor*, *inlacrimo*, *inlaetabilis*, *inlaudo*, *inlautus*, *inlido*, *inluceo*, *inludo*, *inlustris*, *inluvies*.

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *inlustris*.

Cic. rep. Vatic. has *inlecebra*, *inliberaliter*, *inludo*, *inlustris*, *inlustro*.

Liv. Putean. has *inlatus*, *inlectus*, *inluceo*, *inlustro*.

Plin. Lavant. has *inliceo*, *inlino*, *inluo*, *inlustris*.

GRAMMARIANS.

The combination is usually treated in connection with *con-l*, but the first to cite *ill* seems to be Marius Victorinus (K. vi. p. 19) of the fourth century, who is an extremist in the matter of assimilation, demanding *suvertit* for *subvertit*, etc. Priscian, in the passage quoted above, cites *illido*, but knows of *inludo*. In two other passages (K. ii. p. 30, iii. p. 50) he cites *illido*, once adding that when *l* or *r* follow the *n* this assimilation is rarely observed in the writing, though in his opinion we ought to imitate the Greeks as in other matters.

The evidence is unusually decisive, not a single example of *ill* from the first six centuries having been observed in the material collated. That the pronunciation in the first century was other than *inl* is highly improbable.

in-r.

INSCRIPTIONS.

inreparabilis iii. 2756.

inriguus iii. 1894 (5th cent.).

inritus x. 1401 (44-56 A.D.).¹

inrogo i. 197₁₁, i. 198₁₃ (both of 2nd cent. B.C.).

inrumpo viii. 2615 (260 A.D.).

irrumo, *irrumator*, *irrumabiliter* iv. 2277, 1529, 1931.

Mss.

Pap. Herc. has *inridens*.

Plautus A and Terence A have *inr* without exception. Cf. Studemund, *Apogr. index*, and Dorsch, p. 36.

The Vergil MSS. have *inremeabilis*, *inreparabilis*, *inrideo*, *inrigo* (*irr*- once in M), *inriguus*, *inritus* (*irr*- once in F), *inroro*, *inrumpo*, *inruo*; altogether only two cases of *irr*- outside of the late MSS.

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *inrideo*, *inritus*.

Liv. Putean. has *inritus*, *inritamentum*, *inruo*, *inruptio*.

GRAMMARIANS.

Marius Victorinus (K. vi. p. 19) as usual gives assimilated forms, citing *irrepiit*, *irrogat*, *irruit*. Priscian gives *irrito* (K. ii. p. 31) and *irruo*, *irritus* (K. iii. p. 51). But in the former passage he gives *inrumpo* and *inruo* as examples of the preservation of *n*, adding 'in multis tamen invenio *r* sequente *n* in *r* converti, ut *corruo*, *corrumpo*, et paene ubicumque *con* prepositio ante dictionem ab *r* incipientem componitur, hoc idem patitur; *corruo*, *corrigo*, . . . ergo rationabilius esse videtur, *in* quoque, cum in quibusdam mutet *n* in *r*, ut *irrito*, *irriguus*, in reliquis quoque euphonia hoc exigente servare et *irruo*, *irrumperere* dicere, cum nec in simplicibus inveniatur dictionibus *n* ante *r*.'

This passage is interesting as disclosing certain facts which the grammarian, from failure to recognize the psychological factor in composition, was unable to understand. In his time assimilation was found in some compounds of *in-r*, while others still resisted it, and again there was a difference between the treatment of *in-r*- and *con-r*-. This difference, which seems to be due to the stronger local force of the *in*- in some words (or the negative force in *inritus*), is clearly seen in *corrumpo* : *inrumpo*, which existed side by side for centuries. For *corrumpo* is established for the first century, while it is evident that *inrumpo* was in use even in Priscian's time.

The inscriptional and MSS. evidence in favour of the spelling *inr* is so overwhelming that there is no room for doubt, and as regards the pronunciation of the first century there is no good reason for assuming that this was not in accordance with the spelling, notwithstanding the Pompeian *irrumo*. For the pronunciation of this obscene word cannot be taken as an indication of the general practice in cultivated speech.

con-l.

collegium. *conlegium*, the spelling of the republican period, begins to yield to *collegium* in the Augustan period, and from Tiberius on the latter spelling is well-nigh universal. Cf. above, p. 156.

collega. The history of the spelling is identical with that of *collegium*.

colligo. *conlegit* x. 6428, *conlectus* x. 1935, 5428; but *colligit* xiv. 396, 3857,

¹ This is the inscription from which Brambach quotes *irritus* beside *inritus*. The stone is lost and the text rests on three copies. The *Corpus* reads *inritus* in both places without noting any variant.

colligerent ix. 5420 (82 A.D.), *colligi* iii. 567 (end of 2nd cent.), xi. 3893, *collectus* v. 5050 (46 A.D.), viii. 2653 (2nd cent.), 4372-3.

collectarius iii. 405.

conloco. *conloco* noted in over thirty examples, extending from the second century B.C. (*Lex Agraria*) to the fifth century A.D. or later. *E.g.* xiv. 2934 (385 A.D.), vi. 1698 (377 A.D.), viii. 988 ('5th, 6th or 7th cent.'). The assimilated form has been noted only in vi. 1702 (after 366 A.D.), 1710 (5th cent.), 1712 (370 A.D.), 1769 (342 A.D.), x. 1256, viii. 1925 (*colocata*), Dessau Insc. Lat. Sel. 1252, iii. 19 (4th cent.).

conlabor. *conlapsus* (or *conlabsus*) noted in thirty-five examples, *collapsus* (or *colabsus*) in seven. No dated example of the latter earlier than Trajan's time (x. 6853, vi. 962) has been noted.

conlatus. *conlatus* noted in over seventy examples, *collatus* in thirteen. No dated example of the latter earlier than Hadrian's time has been noted.

conlatio. *conlatio* ii. 1971, x. 7495; *collatio* x. 1576 (2nd cent.). Edict Diocl. has *collatio* in the versions of Stratonice and Plataea, but *conlatio* in that of Egypt.

conlator ii. 637.

conlibertus. Both *conlibertus* and *colibertus* are so common that an exact record was not kept up, but I think it safe to say that *conl-* is decidedly more frequent than *coll-*.

conlacteus, Boissieu, Inscr. de Lyon, p. 484, no. 8.

collectaneus xii. 337, xiv. 2413.

collacterianus xi. 1147 (Trajan).

conlusor ii. 3853.

conlustris v. 5005 (201 A.D.).

conloquium v. 6464 (6th cent.), viii. 944 (553 A.D.).

Mss.

Plautus A has *conlabasco*, *conlaudo*, *conloquor*, *conlibitum*, *conlino*, *conloco*,¹ *conligere*, but *colligare*, *collibertus*. Terence A has *colligare*, and *conligere*, elsewhere always *conl-*. Cf. Dorsch, p. 31.

The Vergil MSS. have *conlapsus*, *conloquium*, *conlustris*, *conluceo* (6, *coll-* once in in M), *conludo* (R) and *colludo* (M), *conloco* (PR) and *colloco* (M), *conlatus* (PR) and *collatus* (M), but *colligare* nearly always (about twenty-four occurrences in which *conl-* is found only three times).

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *conloco* and *colloco*, *conlatus* and *collaturus*.

¹ Studemund, *Apogr. Index*, gives one case of *colloco*, but the *l* is marked as uncertain in the text.

Cic. rep. Vatic. has *conloquor*, *conligere*, *conloco* and *colloco*, *collatus*, *colligare*, *collega*, *collegium*.

Liv. Putean. has *conlacrimo*, *conlapsus*, *conlatus*, *conlatio*, *conloquium* (very frequent), but *colligo* (rarely *conlectus*), *collega* (usually, but *conlega* not infrequent), *collegium*.

Plin. Lavant. has *conloco* but *colligo*.

GRAMMARIANS.

Quintilian, xi. 3, 35, mentions the avoidance of a harsh combination in *collegit*. Terentius Scaurus (K. vii. p. 25-6) approves *colligo*, stating also that some wrongly use *conludit*. Marius Victorinus (K. vi. p. 19) cites *collectum*, *collatum*, *collinit*. Priscian's examples are *colligo*, *collega*, *collido* (K. ii. p. 30, iii. p. 50).

A decisive statement of the proper spelling and pronunciation of all words of this class is difficult. In contrast to the uniform spelling *inl* we find a different practice in the case of different words (cf. the remarks on *inr*:*corr*, above). It is perfectly clear from the evidence of inscriptions and MSS. and the statement of Quintilian that from the first century on the assimilated form is preferable for *colligo* and its derivatives. It is equally clear that in the case of some other words as *conloco*, *conloquium*, *conlustris* the unassimilated spelling was the usual one throughout the first six centuries, and altogether probable that the pronunciation of the first century at least was in accordance with this. But this shows that each word must be judged on specific evidence, and this is sometimes less decisive than one would wish. For example, *conlapsus* and *conlatus* are far more frequent than *collapsus* and *collatus* and are clearly the preferable spellings. It is the writer's opinion that these also represent the best pronunciation of the first century, but as the assimilated forms appear much earlier than in the case of *conloco*, one cannot feel as certain of this. We shall probably come as near as possible to the truth if we write and pronounce *colligo* and compounds, but *conl* in all other words.

con-r.

INSCRIPTIONS.

conrumpto. *conruptus* vi. 1258 (201 A.D.), iii. 3724 (3rd cent.), xiv. 66.

corrumpto x. 1194, 4842 (Augustus), vi. 15258; *corruptus* noted in over twenty examples, the earliest being ii. 1953 (53 A.D.).

conrigo i. 1438, *conrectus* i. 206₁₃ (45 B.C.).
corrigo x. 5398 (214 A.D.); *corrector* noted
 in some twenty odd examples as an official
 title belonging to the third and fourth
 centuries; *correctura* x. 5061 (4th cent.).

conruo xiv. 1808.

corrogo xi. 3614 (113 A.D.).

MSS.

Plautus A has *conrado*, *conruo*, *conrepo*
 and *correpo*, but *corrigo* and *corrumpo*,
 Terence A has *conrado*, but *corripio*, *cor-*
rumpo. Cf. Studemund, index; Dorsch,
 pp. 29-30.

The Vergil MSS. have *corripio* (no var.),
corrumpo (*conr-* once in P), *conruo*.

Cic. Verr. Vatic. has *corrigo*, *corripio*,
corrumpo, *corrogo*.

Liv. Putean. has *corrigo*, *corripio*, *cor-*
rumpo, *conruo* (rarely *conruo*).

Plin. Lavant. has *corripio*, *corrumpo*.

GRAMMARIANS.

Terentius Scaurus (K. vii. pp. 25-6)
 gives *corripio* and censures the use of
conripit. Marius Victorinus (K. vi. p. 19)
 cites *corradit*, *corripit*, *corrodit*, *corrumpit*.
 Priscian gives *corrigo*, *corrumpo* (K. ii. p.
 31) and *corripio* (K. iii. p. 51). Note his
 remarks quoted above under *inv-*.

For *corrumpo* we have the evidence of
 inscriptions, MSS. and grammarians. The
 first example of the word is from the time
 of Augustus, but it is not unlikely that the
 assimilated form was in use from the
 earliest period. The occasional occurrences
 of *conrumpo* are to be viewed in the same
 light as *adcipio*, the appearance of which
 does not alter the fact that *accipio* is the
 proper form for all periods. Though
 inscriptional evidence is lacking, the case of
corripio is almost certainly the same.
 Between the *conrigo* of the republic and
corrigo of the third century there is a gap
 in the evidence, but the uniform spelling of
 the MSS. makes it probable that *corrigo*
 was the usual form of the first century. So
 probably *corrogo*. For other words the
 evidence is meagre or conflicting. In
conrado, *conrepo*, *conruo* the assimilation
 seems to have been later than in *corrumpo*
 etc., but we cannot fix its date, and in the
 lack of decisive evidence may, for the sake
 of uniformity, incline to the assimilated
 forms. We should then write *corr-* every-
 where.

SUNDRY OTHER COMBINATIONS.

Before leaving the subject of assimilation
 in compounds, a few statements of a pro-

visional nature may be added, in reference
 to some combinations not considered in the
 preceding study, and for some of which a
 more complete collection of facts would be
 desirable.

sub-m-, ob-m-. If our traditional spelling,
 where it differs from that of the first
 century, usually errs on the side of showing
 assimilated forms which prove to be of late
 origin, the opposite is the case for some
 compounds of *sub* with verbs beginning with
m. Our grammars and school editions
 prefer *submoveo*, though this is clearly due to
 a late recomposition. *summotu* and *summotu*
 occur nine times in the *Acta Arvalium*, the
 dates running from 81 A.D. to 183 A.D., while
submotu is found only twice, if I mistake
 not, both examples from the second half of
 the second century A.D. Note further
summotu xiv. 3608₂₄, Orelli 3129, *summotu*
 Orelli 3166 (4th cent.), but *submoveri* v.
 2781₂₅ (4th cent. and a copy). The Vergil
 MSS. have *summoveo* (four times; *subm-*
 only in minor MSS.); so also Liv. Putean.
 regularly. It is also the best reading in
 many texts for which we have only late
 MSS., e.g. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 10, 15; ii. 16, 10
 (Keller-Holder), Plin. *Ep.* iii. 11 (Keil),
 Caes. *B.G.* iv. 25, vii. 50, viii. 10 (Nipperdei).
 Velius Longus, Papirian and Priscian give
summoveo. For *summitto* I have no in-
 scriptional material, but in early MSS.
summitto is the more common spelling, e.g.
 in the Vergil MSS., in Liv. Putean., Cic.
Verr. Vatic.; for other material see Neue,
Formenlehre, pp. 914-5. *summitto* is also
 given by Priscian. *summonuit* is the reading
 of all the MSS. in Ter. *Eun.* 570 (Dorsch
 p. 16). Cicero must have said *summutavit*,
 as is evident from *Orat.* 47, 158, 'adiuncti
 verbi prima littera praepositionem commu-
 tavit, ut *subegit*, *summutavit*, *sustulit*,' though
 the MSS. give *submutavit* and *tum mutavit*.
 Between *submergo* and *summergo* the MSS.
 vary (e.g. of the Vergil MSS., FR have
summersus, M *submersus*, but *submergere* in
 M and R); similarly between *subministro*
 and *sumministro*, the latter being given by
 Velius Longus and Papirian. The assimi-
 lated form is, then, unquestionable for *sum-*
moveo and almost certainly to be preferred
 for the other words mentioned; not, how-
 ever for adjectives like *submerus*, *submolestus*.
 For compounds of *ob* the existence of assimi-
 lation is proved by *omitto* which comes from
 **om-mitto* (Solmsen, *Studien zur lat. Laut-*
geschichte, p. 62), and by *ommentatus* quoted
 by Festus (ed. Thewrewk, p. 218) from
 Livius Andronicus. There is good MS.
 authority for *ommutesco* and *ommoveo*; and

the former is given by Velius Longus as well as by some of the Latin grammarians. But in other compounds, as *obmolior*, only the unassimilated form is found, and even for the two cited this is the more common spelling in MSS. Until some inscriptional evidence is adduced it is safer to retain *obm* everywhere. Except in *ob-mutesco* the local force is stronger in the compounds of *ob* than in those of *sub*.

con and *in* before labials. The variation seen between *impensa* and *impensarum* of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is of an entirely different nature from that between *collegium* and *conlegium* of the same monument. It is not a matter of chronology, one form being the older, the other the later spelling, but such variation is found at all periods and is in part connected with the uncertainty in the use of *n* and *m* before mutes in general, as in *senper* for *semper*, *sententiam* for *sententiam*, etc. That is, in the pronunciation of nasals before mutes the contact is less complete, and hence the difference between *m* and *n* less marked, than when they stood between vowels; so that the non-assimilated spelling, in which the normal forms of *in* and *con* were apparent, might be used freely without indicating a pronunciation different from that of the forms with *im* and *com*. In any given document there may be some difference as to the relative frequency of the unassimilated spelling among different words, but, so far as observed, there is no general agreement in this matter and for no words is the unassimilated spelling so consistent as to imply that the form was actually unassimilated in pronunciation. We should give unreserved preference to the assimilated spelling.

ad-q. *ad-quiesco* and *ad-qui-ro* are the only forms of inscriptions and MSS. of the first six centuries, the spelling *ac-q* being later, perhaps not earlier than the ninth or tenth century. From inscriptions note for example *adquiesco* v. 7386, 7392, viii. 9350, ix. 3895, 5331, xii. 855a; *adquiro* x. 1401, xiv. 2101, *atquiro* Eph. Ep. iii. Priscian also gives *adquiro*.

ad-g. The grammarians give *agg*, the example being *aggero*, Priscian adding *aggrego*. But *adgredior* seems to be the only form until very late, e.g. Orelli 39 (2nd century), in the Vergil MSS., in Liv. *Putean.*, Plin. *Lavant.*, Plaut. A. and Ter. A. Similarly *adgravo* C.I.L. ii. 1359, Liv. *Putean.*, *adgravesco* Ter. A., *adglomerio* Vergil MSS. On the other hand *aggero* is the form of the Vergil MSS. and Plautus A. So far

as we can judge, *aggero* is the only word in which there is any evidence for assimilated spelling in the first few centuries A.D., and without inscriptional evidence one cannot feel certain that even here the assimilated spelling was in vogue in the first century, though this seems likely. For *agger*, *agger-are* in which there was no consciousness of the preposition there is of course no doubt of the assimilation.

ad-c, ad-t, ad-p. The grammarians prescribe assimilation, and it is doubtful if we can do better than follow them. But it must be recognised that there is a vast difference in the relative frequency of the unassimilated spelling among different words. For example *accipio*, *appello* (-are) is the almost invariable spelling of inscriptions and MSS. of all periods. There are to be sure some MSS. occurrences of *adcipio*, *adpello*, but I should venture the assertion that these did not amount to more than one in a thousand of the total occurrences of the words. In these the influence of the preposition was not strong enough even to affect the spelling seriously, not to speak of the pronunciation. In other words, as for example *accurro*, *accendo*, *attineo*, *atingo* the unassimilated spelling is more common than in those just mentioned, but, still, less common than the assimilated, and that the influence of the preposition affected the spelling only is clear from remarks such as that of Lucilius about *accurro* ('Atque *accurrere* scribas *d* ne an *c*, non est quod quaeras atque labores') or of Velius Longus (K. vi. p. 62) that it made no difference whether one spelled *attineo* or *adtineo* since the sound was the same. Again, for still other words the unassimilated spelling seems to be decidedly the more common or even the only one among the quotable occurrences. This is notably true of compounds of *ad-p*, barring *appello* (-are), *appareo*, (*apparo appono*). So Liv. *Putean.*, has countless examples of *appello* never *adpello*, but *adplico*, *adpeto*, *adprobo*, *adpropinquo*, *adpono*, *adpuli*; Plin. *Lavant.* *appello*, *appareo*, but *adpeto*, *adprehendo*; Cic. *Verr.* *Vatic.* *appareo*, but *adprobo*, *adpono*; Cic. *rep.* *Vatic.* *appello*, but *adprehendo*, *adpeto*, *adprobo*; Plaut. A. and Ter. A. *appello*, *appareo*, *apparo* (usually *appono*), but *adplico*, *adprehendo*, *adprobo*, *adporto* (once *app-*), *adposco*. The remark of Agroeius '*apparet qui videtur, adparet qui obsequitur; non regulæ ratione, sed discernendi intellectus gratia est*' has been ridiculed by Brambach as a pure invention. But, though not for the purpose of distinguishing the meaning, such a variation in

spelling might very well be the *result* of the difference, the force of the preposition being more marked when the word meant 'attend upon.' It is clear that, certain words excepted, *adp-* is the almost uniform spelling of our earliest MSS., and it is doubtless for this reason that it is adopted in one of our most recent school editions.

Yet there are reasons why one may hesitate before accepting such a change without reservation. Is the spelling *adporto* etc. also that of republican times and of the first century A.D., in other words is its history like that of *adfero*? Unfortunately I have not always been on the watch for such words in my reading of the inscriptions; but for many of them there is, as far as I know, no actual occurrence of the assimilated form to contradict the supposition mentioned, and one might cite in its support the *adporto* x. 4842 (Augustan period) and *adprobo* beside *appello* on the inscription of Claudius at Lyons (Dessau no. 212), not to mention examples on later inscriptions. But there is on the other hand the possibility that *adporto* etc. rests merely on recomposition in the spelling (as *adcurro* beside *accurro*), replacing an earlier *apporto*, the lack of evidence of which would be merely accidental, due to the fact that the words do not happen to occur on republican inscriptions. In this case, we could not be certain whether the new spelling had become fully established in the first century A.D. or not. The *adporto* might be an isolated instance of it (note the collocation *advehere*, *adferre*, *adportare*) and in the inscription which has *adprobo* we find also *adensus*, though *accensus* is found in the *Acta Arvalium* and elsewhere. Suggestive of such a possibility is the statement of

Statius (*ad Aen.* I. 616) that *applicat* was the earlier spelling as against the *adplicat* of his own time. Moreover in the case of some words even the MS. spelling varies. So Plautus A. has *appono* five times to one of *adpono* and *appuli*, and the Terence A. varies in these words. But in Liv. *Putean.* we find (uniformly, I think) *adpono* and *adpuli*. Note also the Pompeian *apponitur* (*C.I.L.* iv. 1896). Finally, if one adopts *adporto* etc., one cannot consistently stop there. The compounds of *ad-c* and *ad-t* must be considered individually. I suspect for example that the evidence for *adresco* is as strong as for *adporto*. A more thorough examination of all the material bearing on the combinations *ad-c*, *ad-t* and *ad-p* might bring some new light and enable us to accept without reservation the unassimilated spelling for some words. But at present the matter is not sufficiently evident.

ad-sp-, *ad-sc-*, *ad-st-*, *ad-gn-*. There is little to add to what is already known. The assimilated spelling is clearly better for *aspicio*, *aspergo*, the unassimilated for *adstruo*, *adstringo*, *adstipulo*, while usage varies between *ascendo* and *adscendo*, *ascribo* and *adscribo*, *ascisco* and *adscisco*, *asto* and *adsto*, *agnatus* and *adgnatus*, *agnosco* and *adgnosco*. In the *Acta Arvalium* we find *ascendo* and *asto*, but oftener *adscendo* and *adsto*. Both *asto* and *adsto* may be cited from other inscriptions. In general the inscriptional material is too meagre to permit a definite conclusion as to the relation of the two spellings, but one may venture the opinion that *ascendo* etc. represent the older and phonetic spelling, *adscendo* etc. being due to recomposition.

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JURENKA'S *BACCHYLIDES*.

Die neugefundenen Lieder des Bakchylides.
Text, Uebersetzung und Commentar von
HUGO JURENKA. Wien. Alfred Hölder.
1898. Pp. xx., 162. Marks 7.

THIS book represents the fruits of rather more than six months' work on Bacchylides from the appearance of the *Editio Princeps*. Embodying as it does a larger mass of illustration than was provided by Mr. Kenyon, and professing to attend to metrical questions more fully than had hitherto been

done, Prof. Jurenka's book merits our consideration. To quote his own words: 'my edition, although my chief energies were devoted to criticism of the text, is not a critical one in a narrow sense' (p. xvi. of Introduction). Thus an accurate representation of the Papyrus, the statement of its errors and variants need not be looked for; but in the most important cases the reading of the Papyrus is stated with precision. Mr. Kenyon's work will thus have to be referred to in general; further study how-

ever has revealed sometimes traces in the MS. which were not visible even to his practised eye, and here Jurenka marks an advance. The literature of the subject (to May, 1898), pre-eminently, we notice, the *Classical Review*, he has used with praiseworthy diligence. Prof. Jurenka embarks on his task with a touch of the *furor biographicus* which leads him into extravagance when speaking of Bacchylides' importance. He holds that the poet is (Preface, p. xii.) 'ein meister in der Behandlung der Sprache,' and supports this by an illustration: 'wie neckisch ist im sechsten Liede das Wortspiel Λάχων Λάχε, wie prächtig der Ausdruck στεφάνοις θείρας νεανίαι βρυόντες, wie malerisch ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον, wie innig die Ansprache Ἀριστομένειον ὃ ποδάνεμον τέκος! Und all dieser Reiz auf engstem Raume!' One might suppose hastily that the last sentence was 'writ sarcastic,' for not one of the four 'beauties' here so fulsomely praised (certainly in the case of the first and third) is beyond the reach of the veriest Dichterling. The sobriety of Prof. Inama's judgment (as quoted on p. viii.) is in marked contrast with this: while the citation also with apparent approval of Desrousseaux (Preface, p. ix. note 25) in a contrary sense seems to show that Jurenka's admiration 'outstripped the pauser' consistency.

Before leaving the Preface attention must be drawn to a peculiar slip on the part of the editor. In discussing the respective claims of Bacchylides and Pindar to be the more creative (schöpferisch) he makes this statement: 'Uebrigens, Schule hat auch Bakchylides gemacht: Apoll. de synt. (fr. 52, Bgk.⁴) καθὼς ἔχει τὸ "ἀρίσταρχος Ζεὺς" παρὰ τοῖς περὶ Βακχυλίδην.' Now we should be glad of further evidence of our poet's influence than the transmittence of one epithet and that a poor one to others less fortunate in their powers of invention even than he: but Prof. Jurenka must be bold indeed if he has any confidence here that οἱ περὶ Βακχυλίδην means anything more than 'Bacchylides' himself, as usual in grammarians' Greek. The 'school' of Bacchylides then may be considered for the present as visionary as that of Homer.

In textual matters Prof. Jurenka is least good when most independent. One example must suffice: vv. 11-14, as he prints them of poem I. (I omit brackets):—

πολυκνδές κεν βαθυ-δέελλον ἤδη μὲν γένος
ἔπλετο, καρτερόχειρ Ἀργεῖος ἀγῶνα λένοντος
θυμολοοῖο ποτ' εἶγ' ἀχρεῖος οὐ μόλοι μάχας.

Here one does not know which to admire most: the construction κεν—ἔπλετο when to all appearance there is no place for an Irrealis, the position of μὲν, and of εἶγε, and again of οὐ after ἀχρεῖος (with which it is to be coupled), or finally the excellent chiasmus of ἀγῶνα with μόλοι, μάχας with ἀχρεῖος (to say nothing of θυμολοοῖο, and that from an editor who at ii. 3 assails a conjecture of Housman's with 'Kakophonisch'). I do not repent of my own reconstruction (*C.R.* vol. ii. p. 450) and observe that my ελαφρὸς v. 14 (Kenyon ελαφροῖς) is adopted tacitly by Jurenka usually most scrupulous in his acknowledgments. The editor's suggestion of ἐκ χθές (for the ἤδη of his text) in v. 11 will commend itself to no one. At ix. 8 (Kenyon, ix. 13) for the corrupt ἀσαγεύοντα he proposes (with an 'etwa') ἄσακτον γ' εἶντα. With what sense? I find in L. and S. sub. voc. only 'not trodden down: Xen. *Oec.* 19, 11.' We are entitled to ask in such a case for the meaning proposed to be expressly stated. In the allied department of the supplying the lost parts of lines I observe no special felicity in the editor's suggestions, e.g. <ἐντέροις> Ἴὼ φέρουσα παῖδα at xix. 28 (Kenyon, xix. 39).

The translation into German (with lines of unequal length) I am not competent to appraise: but it seems to represent but inadequately the simplicity of the original. In the metres a certain amount of help is given: our editor is (p. xviii.) 'in der Musik theoretisch und praktisch geschult.'

There are a few mechanical mistakes: p. 17, critical note on v. 29 for 13, 75 read 13, 76; at v. 90 (Kenyon, v. 188) omit the comma after φθόνον; at vii. 8 we have πρεβύτατον for πρεσβ.; p. 54, critical note on v. 6 read 'not the defensive <weapons>'; xvii. 55 for πορυφέαν, read πορφυρέαν.

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GIUSSANTI'S *LUCRETIVS*.

T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura: revisione del testo, commento e studi introduttivi, di CARLO GIUSSANTI. Torino: Ermanno Loescher: 1896-1898. 9 lire, 70 c.

DR. ADOLPH BRIEGER in the Prolegomena to his text of Lucretius (Teubner, 1894) announced that Professor Giussanti of Milan, 'vir imprimis doctus et acutus,' was preparing an Italian commentary on the *De Rerum Natura*. Giussanti's work is now published in four volumes of much the same size and appearance as Weidmann's classical books, e.g. Classen's *Thucydides* or Bücheler's *Juvenal*. The first volume begins with two essays on Lucretius and Epicurus (pp. i.-lxxxii.); these are followed by twelve monographs, some reprinted from Italian journals, on difficult or disputed points of the Epicurean system. Each of the other three volumes, of about 300 pages, gives the text of two books of Lucretius with notes at the foot of the page; some preliminary observations on the text are prefixed to the second volume.

Prof. Giussanti everywhere expresses a high appreciation of Brieger, and believes that Brieger's edition marks a new departure and an advance in Lucretian criticism. The main principles in which they agree, and of which, in their judgment, the previous editors did not take sufficient account, are these: (1) for the right interpretation of Lucretius, it is essential to ascertain the meaning of the extant portions of Epicurus' own writings; (2) Lucretius' poem was published after his death in a much less perfect state, in all its parts, than Lachmann supposed. Hence on the one hand, the new school of critics spend much pains on the interpretation of Epicurus' text; on the other, in dealing with the text of Lucretius, they differ widely from Lachmann, Bernays, and Munro: they are more chary of verbal emendation but much bolder in marking *lacunae* in the text, transposing paragraphs, and indicating by various typographical devices double recensions and other marks of incompleteness in the poem.

That Epicurus does throw light on Lucretius is true, though it is also true that the pure and perspicuous Latin of the disciple alone makes it possible to decipher much of the crabbed jargon of the master. Brieger and Giussanti have both done good service in this direction.

But they are somewhat apt to speak as if the study of Epicurus began with them. That this is not so, might easily be shown from Bernays' commentary which Giussanti knows but hardly appreciates highly enough, or from Munro's: one of the latter's most brilliant feats of interpretation, his explanation of the parts of the atom (i. 599-634), was based on the account of Epicurus. And the study of Epicurus has been made much easier since Munro's time by the publication of Usener's edition (1887).

The second principle rests on a fairly well attested fact; but it is a dangerous weapon in the hand of an injudicious critic, who forces his own logic on the poet. It has resulted, for one thing, in a remarkable increase of *lacunae*: Lachmann recognised 8 of these in the poem, Bernays 16, Munro 29, and Brieger not less than 70. When one considers the principles on which Brieger admitted a *lacuna*, e.g. after i. 840, one's only feeling is astonishment at his moderation: he might easily have found double the number. Giussanti shows more tact and discretion than Brieger in this and in other matters: thus, for Brieger's numeration, that *inextricabilis error* in which the very inventor of it was entangled, he substitutes that of Bernays whose text is chiefly used in Italy.¹

Giussanti's purpose is to explain the meaning of Lucretius as accurately and fully as possible, not specially for 'filologi' but for 'il pubblico colto e studioso in generale.' Whatever may be the case in Italy, such a book will hardly be read in England save by professed scholars. He often indulges in a little good-humoured satire at the expense of philologists: thus on *obit* (iii. 1042) he speaks of Lachmann's 'dotta e lunga nota confutata dal Munro in una nota dotta e lunga,' and gives no account of the controversy. Occasionally, the laugh is on the other side: in v. 989 he proposes and indeed inserts in the text *labantis* for *lamentis* of MSS., *labentis* of Lachmann and others; and the note below makes the hypothesis of a misprint impossible. Brieger's own hexameter endings, *exustae furentibus auris* (v. 410), and *speciesque ponendu* (vi. 83), do not reappear in this text. But such things should be reformed altogether: a new school of criticism should not make

¹ The numeration of Munro is followed in this notice.

false quantities a plank in its platform, or reactionaries will be reminded of Lachmann's account of Creech—'in philosophia explicanda sane diligens sed linguae Latinae imperitissimus.' Giussani is not *imperitissimus*, but he is not strong on the philological side: in questions of metre, grammar, and usage his contributions are not important, but in the other matters in which he is specially interested, his book is a solid and valuable contribution to the study of the poem.

His text (to leave *lacunae* and transpositions out of account for the present), has some unsightly errors like that mentioned above, but is in general sensible and satisfactory. He proposes very few emendations of his own and is often content to retain the MS. reading where others have abandoned it. He speaks of his edition as more conservative in this respect than Brieger's, which it certainly is; but when he adds that Brieger's is more conservative than Munro's, he seems to be quite wrong. In Books i. and v., Giussani retains the MS. reading in 21 places where Munro alters it, and alters it in 22 places where Munro retains it. In the same books, Brieger retains the MS. reading in 12 places where Munro abandons it, and alters it in at least 60 places where Munro keeps the text. If these two books are fairly representative, it appears that Giussani and Munro are about equally conservative, while Brieger, compared with either of them, is revolutionary. It will be observed that almost all the emendations in Brieger's text are politely declined by Giussani. In many cases where he defends the text, Giussani is, I think, right: e.g. *possint* (i. 566), *avidam* (v. 201), *quat* (v. 545), *lidebant* (v. 1001). When he tries his hand at emendation, he is not seen at his best: the change of *quae* to *quod* (i. 356) is a mere corruption caused by mistaking the meaning of *quod*; the same mistake occurs at l. 335. It may be noticed that the verses which Lachmann and others have expelled, here and there, from the text as the comments of a *lector philosophus*, e.g. i. 334 and 454, are restored by Giussani following Brieger. The former states the rule several times with the emphasis of italics: *nel testo lucreziano, quale c'è arrivato, non ci sono che versi di Lucrezio*. But the principle is not consistently maintained: iii. 475 is struck out as an interpolation. But if a reader could insert this verse in the archetype of all our MSS., how is it certain that Lucretius wrote i. 454 or v. 1344-1346, of which passages the first is doubtful Latin and the second undoubted nonsense?

The Commentary is probably the most voluminous ever written on Lucretius. It includes a full account of all disputed readings, there being no separate *apparatus criticus*; it has a good deal of illustrative matter taken generally from the stores of Munro; but it is chiefly taken up with a rigorous examination of the precise meaning and logical connexion of each paragraph of the poem. Here we find the reasons set forth at length for all the *lacunae* and transpositions marked in the text, and a full discussion of similar proposals made by other scholars. Giussani is remarkably well read in Lucretian criticism since Lachmann: no book, review article, or programme, in German, French, or English, seems to have escaped him. Now it is impossible for an editor of Lucretius to have read too much; but it certainly injures his own commentary, if he is unwilling to ignore what is not worth notice. No theory is too absurd for Giussani to mention: he does not accept the absurdities, but he takes up his own space and the time of the reader by refuting what needs no refutation:—for instance a Teutonic theory, based on the obsequious language of Lucretius to Memmius, that the poet was a freedman; or another proposal to begin a verse of Lucretius with the words *alte citi* (*et taciti* MSS.; *soliciti* Bentley and others). In such cases, the only proper treatment is that suggested by my uncle Toby for the early work of the great Lipsius. Giussani complains more than once of Munro's '*singolare noncuranza per gli studi lucreziani tedeschi a lui contemporanei*'; if he had a reasonable share of this indifference himself, his book would make less demands on the patience of his readers. Nor has he any power of putting a point briefly: thus on ii. 757-794 he states a view as to the connexion of the argument; Mr. Housman has put forward practically the same view in the *Journal of Philology* (xxv. p. 236) and explains his meaning clearly in 20 lines; Giussani needs 120 of much smaller print to say the same thing. A well-read, ingenious man might talk so about Lucretius, and his talk would be most interesting; but a book should be written with more terseness, more reserves, more revision of first thoughts. The proof sheets too should have had more revision: the text is not free from errors, and the notes are full of misprints, especially in Greek words. But the reader who perseveres will find much to reward him; for the writer is clearly a man of acute intellect, good taste, and good temper, and his commentary has

two supreme merits: it grapples honestly with real difficulties, and it shows everywhere a keen appreciation of poetry. The notes on i. 467 and v. 1186-1193 will give an idea of his power in both respects. It is interesting to note that he explains two obscure allusions (*papaveris haustus* ii. 453; *membris incussum cretam* iii. 382) by a reference to the games of Italian street-boys: such conservatism is there in that department of life.

But perhaps the best part of the book is the first volume. The study of Lucretius as a poet could not be better; and it is hard to refrain from quoting some of the true and beautiful things said there. The second Essay is good too. The writer professes no special sympathy with the views of Epicurus; but he believes that the historians of philosophy, especially Zeller, have not done justice to the consistency, at least, of the Epicurean system; and he defends this position with power and eloquence. The monographs which follow are really an essential part of the commentary, and deal with special points which required fuller treatment: e.g. the sources from which Lucretius drew; his ambiguous use of *inane*; the distinction between *συμβεβηκότα* and *συμπτόματα*; the constitution and properties of the atom; the kinetics of the atomic theory; the connexion between the *clīnamen* and free-will; the psychology of Epicurus with especial regard to the fourth element of the soul; the material constitution of the Epicurean gods; the origin of language. To state here the author's conclusions on any one of these points would take up too much space; but I believe that almost every difficulty in the system which puzzles the attentive student and of which he finds no solution in the commentaries, is clearly recognised and acutely discussed in this part of Giussani's work. He has a remarkable power of explaining difficult points by illustration; a good instance will be found in the study of the Epicurean gods.

Lastly, something must be said of the transpositions and *lacunae* marked in the text. There are a number of innovations of this kind, and Giussani himself attaches much importance to this part of his work. He finds 57 *lacunae* in the poem, of which 7 are in the first book, apart from the *lacuna* after l. 1093 which is established by MS. evidence and is due to a torn page in the archetype. Of the *lacunae* indicated by Munro, he retains those after ll. 599, 1013,

1114, and rejects those after ll. 188, 873, 1084; and he marks additional *lacunae* after ll. 79, 524, 547 and 634. In each case he gives his reasons at great length for the reader to judge of. That Lucretius wrote the paragraphs which prove the *simplicitas*, *soliditas*, and *aeternitas* of the atoms (i. 503-597), exactly as they stand in the MSS., is hard to believe; and the connexion Giussani gives by means of the double *lacuna* and some transposition might be a possible arrangement: but to my mind at least it does not carry conviction. Transposition is a thankless task: it seldom carries with it the *πειθανάγκη* of a really good emendation, and the transposer is generally the only person convinced of the obvious truth of his alteration, astonished though he may be at the blindness of the rest of the world. Munro was very proud of his transposition of i. 998-1001, and was convinced he was right; then Dr. Maguire wrote a paper in *Hermathena* to prove that the passage was exactly in place where it stands in the MSS.; now comes Giussani, who thinks Munro's arrangement 'poco felice' and transfers the verses to a quite different place. The facts suggest an obvious moral. There seems to be some reaction in Germany against this method of treating Lucretius: Heinze, in his recent edition of the 3rd book will have no *lacunae* and no transpositions. The introduction to the poem is transposed a good deal in Giussani's text: it runs 1-43, 62-79, *lacuna*, 136-145, 50-61, 80-135. This order is, I believe, more natural and more logical; if it stood in the MSS., it would be absurd to alter it; but is it certain that Lucretius adopted it? These are wise words which often recur in this commentary: 'non incombe alla critica di fare quello che non ha fatto Lucrezio'; and again, 'bisogna evitare il pericolo di correggere il poeta'; and they admit of a wider application than their author gives them.

In spite of prolixity and some philological deficiencies, this book is of value and importance to students of Lucretius. It is both acute, and original; it serves in many places to supplement, in a few to correct, Munro's edition, which remains, what it was called fifteen years ago by a competent judge, 'l'instrument le plus sûr et le plus complet pour pénétrer dans l'intelligence du texte de Lucrèce.'

J. D. DUFF.

PALMER'S *HEROIDES* OF OVID.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides, with the Greek Translation of Planudes. Edited by the late ARTHUR PALMER, Litt.D. pp. lx, 542. 21s. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1898.

THIS last book of Palmer's, which he left half written at his death, has been finished by his colleague and successor Mr Purser. Palmer himself had brought his work to the end of ep. xiv, written most of the commentary on xv-xvii, and thrown together several notes on xviii-xxi: Mr Purser has completed the commentary, prefixed an introduction of fifty pages, and added a transcript of Bentley's conjectures from the British Museum. It was against the grain and only at Palmer's urgent and repeated request that he undertook a labour somewhat foreign to his tastes: he withholds his own name from the title-page and says that indulgence may fairly be claimed for his attempt. No indulgence is needed: Mr Purser is more industrious than Palmer, and has finished the task sooner than Palmer would have finished it; his notes are more accurate than Palmer's, and in several places he has corrected Palmer's errors: we owe him nothing but gratitude for his modest and self-sacrificing diligence. One fault Mr Purser has, and he ingenuously confesses it: he is a conservative critic. Now conservative critics are impulsive folk, and apt to leap before they look; and two or three of Mr Purser's defensive operations may be said to do more honour to his heart than to his head. One note, on xix 115, he withdraws in the corrigenda, quite in Palmer's own style; another, his championship of xviii 76 'per mihi cedentes nocte ferebar aquas,' is a good instance of the way in which conservative critics, instead of letting a difficulty sink into their thoughts, endeavour to beat it away from the surface of their mind with words (a straw will show how the wind blows: he remarks on Bentley's conjecture *sponte* that it is 'surely a very mild word to express the feat of a daring and ardent lover,' evidently construing it with *ferebar*); and he upholds as genuine the couplet v 25 sq. containing 'littera scripta,' in order I suppose that Mr Ehwald's noble verse x 106 'strataque Cretaeam belua strauit humum' may not be left alone in its glory.

The novelty of this edition is that it makes public the Greek translation executed

by Planudes in the 13th century and preserved in two MSS of the 15th. Planudes translated a MS belonging to the same class as most MSS of the *heroides*, but standing above the average of that class. Mr Purser says on p. l that it agrees with P against the other MSS in many cases; but this is not so, and the examples which he cites are mostly cases where it does *not* agree with P against the other MSS but in company with some or even most of them. Its chief services to the text are these: at iii 44 'nec uenit inceptis mollior hora meis' it confirms Lehrs' conjecture *malis* (τοῖς ὑπὲρ γινόμενοις κακοῖς), at vii 136 'et nondum nati funeris auctor eris' Schlichtenhorst's *nato* (τῷ μήπω τεχθέντι), and at xvii 167 'fama quoque est oneri' Bentley's *forma* (τὸ κάλλος). At vi 47 it gives 'Dodonide pinu' for *Tritonide*: this to be sure is no improvement, but the corruption of *dodonide* through *donide* to *tritonide* was easier than the reverse. Further at iii 57 it presents the true reading *eos* which has rested hitherto on the slightest authority. Some false readings too it indicates, which seem to be found in no extant MS: Palmer and Mr Purser have detected most of these, but there are still a few to add, such as iii 55 *dotata* MSS, ἀποδομένη Plan. = *donata*, vi 49 *villo...aureo* MSS, χρυσῷ τινι Plan. = *ullo...auro*, xiv 125 *defunctaque uita corpora* MSS, καὶ τὸ χρεὼν λειτουργήσαν τὸ σῶμα Plan. = *fato*. What Planudes wrote has of course been sometimes corrupted by his copyists, and Palmer has removed a good many errors with the help of the Latin. Here is a striking example: xix 151 ἦνεγκε δὴ καὶ φῶς ἡ γηραιά μοι τροφός stands for *sternuit* (or *stertuit*) *et lumen*: Palmer points out that Planudes wrote merely ἔρεγκε δὴ καὶ φῶς, and ἡ γ. μ. τ. is an interpolation consequent on ἦνεγκε. There are also many blunders of Planudes' own: ii 143 *nec matura* he renders γηραιὸς πρέποντι θανάτῳ.

Among the critics who have emended Ovid's *heroides* since the time of Heinsius the first place belongs to Bentley, the second to Palmer, and the third to Madvig: van Lennep and Merkel may dispute for the fourth. The list of Palmer's emendations which I should call certain or nearly so, iv 86 *militia*, vi 55 *iuui* (to Palmer's examples add Val. Fl. i 376 *Amphitryoniaden Tegeaeo limine Cepheus | iuuit*), vii 152 *resque*, xiii 63 sq. deleted, xv 7 *Elegiae*, xvi 38 *vulnus*,

xvii 260 *cunctatas*, xviii 203 *uti*,—perhaps I ought to add iv 137 *peccemus*,—is not indeed a long one: it will not compare with what he effected in Propertius or even in Bacchylides. But in Propertius, where his achievement equalled Baehrens' and surpassed Lachmann's, there was much more to be done; and as for Bacchylides, skimming the first cream off a new-found author is only child's-play beside gleaning after Bentley over a stubble where Heinsius has reaped. There is much to censure in this edition, so I begin with this tribute: no critic of the century has purified the text so much, and no critic but Madvig so brilliantly. And since Palmer's death was not noticed in this *Review* I will say more. In width and in minuteness of learning, in stability of judgment, and even in what is now the rarest of the virtues, precision of thought, he had superiors among his countrymen and contemporaries: in some of these things many excelled him, some excelled him far, and Munro excelled him far in all. But that will not disguise from posterity and ought not to disguise from us that Palmer was a man more singularly and eminently gifted by nature than any English scholar since Badham and than any English Latinist since Markland.

Then why, both at home and abroad, was he less esteemed than many of his inferiors? Not only nor perhaps chiefly because the classical public in England has not even yet relinquished that false standard of merit which it adopted after 1825, nor because the great North-German school of the nineteenth century has begun to decline and has not begun to find out that it is declining, but through his own fault. His talent, like that of Heinsius, resided in felicity of instinct: it did not proceed, like Madvig's, from the perfection of the intellectual power. Now the class which includes Heinsius includes also Gilbert Wakefield; and Palmer's rank in the class is nearer to Wakefield than to Heinsius. His inspiration was fitful, and when it failed him he lacked the mental force and rightness which should have filled its place. His was a nimble but not a steady wit: it could ill sustain the labour of severe and continuous thinking; so he habitually shunned that labour. He had no ungovernable passion for knowing the truth about things: he kept a very blind eye for unwelcome facts and a very deaf ear for unwelcome argument, and often mistook a wish for a reason. No one could defend more stubbornly a plain corruption, or advocate more con-

fidently an incredible conjecture, than Palmer when the fancy took him. He had much natural elegance of taste, but it was often nullified by caprice and wilfulness, so that hardly Merkel himself has proposed uncouth emendations. Moreover Palmer was not, even for his own age and country, a learned man. He read too little, and he attended too little to what he read; and with all his genius he remained to the end of his days an amateur. And these defects he crowned with an amazing and calamitous propensity to reckless assertion.

Chapter and verse for all that I have said can be found in this edition. But first for its merits. It gives a text of the *heroides* which is on the whole the best in existence, unless the text which Palmer contributed to the new *Corpus Poetarum* is better. In his choice of MSS readings he shows more sense and tact than any modern editor, and he admits more freely than any modern editor the corrections of Heinsius. To Bentley on the other hand he is almost as deaf as the deafest: that firm and piercing intellect is not easily followed by light thinkers. I gather that Palmer was somewhat mortified because his own emendations were ignored in Germany; and truly it was something of a scandal: but the Germans only behaved to him as he behaved to Bentley. The best of his own conjectures I have cited already, but others too are probable: vi 131 *hanc hanc*, ix 20 *turpis*. At xii 170 '*nec teneram misero pectore somnus habet*' his '*et tener a misero pectore somnus abit*' may be right, though it is not better than Heinsius' '*nec tener, a, miserae pectora somnus habet*'; but then he adds '*si Propertium corrigerem nec non mutarem: nam apud Sextum nec tener somnus idem ualeret ac et non tener somnus: qua figura non utitur Ovidius quantum notaui*.' It is used in verse 33 of this very epistle, where *nec notis ignibus* is shown by the sequel to mean *et ignotis* and Palmer gets into difficulties through not perceiving the fact; but his mistake is lucky if it checked him from writing *nec tener somnus*, which is nonsense: *tener* cannot mean *mitis*. At ix 66 Palmer's *patet* is nearer than *putas* to the *pudet* of the MSS, but not such good sense; and the same is to be said at xxi 247 sqq., where Palmer's '*quid, nisi si cupio me iam coniungere tecum, | restat?*' well accounts for the variants *nisi cupio*, *nisi quod cupio*, but is not in itself so good as *quod*, and moreover the authorities which omit *quod* contain the errors *mihi* for *me* and *contingere* for *coniungere*.

vi 3 sq. hoc tamen ipsum | debueram scripto certior esse tuo. Palmer writes *debuerat... certius*, because he says *hoc certior esse* for *hoc scire* is not Latin. Not so fast: that no example of this construction has been adduced is true, and I will not appeal to Plaut. most. 100 'gnaruris uos uolo esse hanc rem'; but what is unique is not therefore wrong, and the next step is to look for examples of analogous constructions. These are forthcoming: just as the acc. of a neut. pron. stands here with *certior sum = scio*, so does it stand with *auctor sum = suadeo* in Cic. Att. xiii 40 2 'quid mihi auctor es?' and fam. vi 8 2 'quid sim tibi auctor.' Therefore I call it more likely that Ovid made *certior esse* govern *hoc* than that Ovid's scribes turned *debuerat certius* into *debueram certior*.

viii 47 sq. 'tu quoque habes proauum Pelopem Pelopisque parentem, | si melius numeres, a Ioue quintus eris.' P omits *habes*, so Palmer writes *per* and explains thus: 'you (Orestes), as well as he (Pyrrhus), will find you are fifth in descent from Jupiter, if you reckon carefully, through your great-grand sire Pelops and his father Tantalus. Pyrrhus, on the usual mode of reckoning, was fifth in descent from Jupiter. . . . Orestes, on the same principle of reckoning, was really sixth. . . . But he might, omitting Jupiter, be reckoned as fifth in descent: hence *si melius numeres*.' So *melius* means *omitting Jupiter*! And now what is the matter with *habes*? '(1) the solecistic position of *quoque*: for Pelops was not Pyrrhus' *proauus*.' No, nor was Pyrrhus a *Ioue quintus* according to the 'improved' method of numeration; so *quoque* and its position are just as 'solecistic' as before. But in point of fact *tu quoque* no more implies what Palmer fancies than *et illas* in met. i 2 implies that the gods have metamorphosed Ovid's literary enterprise. '(2) Tantalus could not be *proauus* to Orestes if Pelops was.' Look in the dictionary. '(3) It would be a very poor boast for Orestes that the perjured Pelops and the impious Tantalus were ancestors of his.' Then why does Hermione, in the new reading as in the old, draw attention to the fact that his ancestors they were? I am not defending the vulgate, in which *melius* is corrupt, nor even impugning Palmer's *per*: I am only stripping the pretence of argument from these improvised cavils.

Then come conjectures intrinsically bad. ii 99 sq. expectem, qui me numquam uisurus abisti? | expectem pelago uela negata meo? P has *negatata meo*, whence Palmer con-

jectures *negante data*. Of the pentameter as usually read he says 'hanc lectionem idoneum sensum praebere nego.' It gives the same sense as the hexameter. He says again 'I find nothing like *merum pelagus* in Ovid.' If he had merely taken the trouble to read this one epistle he would have found *nostra aequora* in verse 87. And what does his own *pelago negante* mean? It means 'when the sea denied the truth of your statement, which I mentioned without a hint of its falsehood four verses back, that the wind was favourable.' Tant de choses en deux mots? Oui, la langue turque est comme cela, elle dit beaucoup en peu de paroles. Allez vite où il souhaite.

xi 76 ut quatitur tepido fraxina uirga noto. P has *fraxincies* for *fraxina*: Palmer writes *fraxinus icta* and says 'hoc duo uitia habet: nam adiectiuum quod est *fraxinus* nusquam inuenitur: et tota arbor, non solum uirga una, uento quatitur.' This second cavil I throw back at *fraxinus icta*: tota silua, non solum arbor una, uento quatitur. As for the first, it is a characteristic specimen of levity assuming Rhadamanthine airs: similarly at Prop. iv 3 64 he wants to alter *carbasa lina* to *carbasa picta*, because he does not know that the phrase occurs elsewhere; and then ib. ii 31 4 he forgets to make any objection to *femina turba*.

xi 127 sq. tu, rogo, dilectae (al. proiectae) nimum mandata sororis | perfer: mandatum persequar ipsa patris. The first sentence is emended by one MS which gives *perferce* for *perfer*: compare Sen. Oed. 3 *luctifica* and *luctifera*. Palmer prefers to write 'tura rogo placitae nimum mandata sororis | tu fer,' though this is thrice as violent, and gives a frivolous sense, and makes *mandata* an adjective in the one line while *mandatum* is a substantive in the other. What is *φιλαντία* if this is not? xiii 110 cur uenit a uerbis multa querella *tuis*: *tens* P originally, *latens* Palmer: 'uerbis latens' is to mean 'dark-worded.' Who but its author can prefer this conjecture to Dr Jackson's 'a labris . . . tuis'? xvi 302 sqq. o mira calliditate uirum! | 'res, et ut Idaei, mando tibi,' dixit iturus | 'curam pro nobis hospitibus, uxor, agas' writes Madvig for the *esset ut* or *esset et* of the MSS: the correction is certain in itself and rendered doubly certain by Helen's answer xvii 159 sq. 'resque domusque | et tibi sit curae Troicus hospes' ait. Palmer

¹ Published in the *Athenaeum* of Aug. 15, 1874, in an unsigned review, and ascribed by name to its author in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 377 n. (1881).

calls the passage 'locus depositus' and puts in the text, not the MS reading, not Madvig's, but a little thing of his own beginning is '*sed et*,' in which neither *sed* nor *et* means anything at all. viii 19 sq. *sit socer* exemplo etc. The history of the text is convincingly explained by Madvig adu. crit. i. p. 46. But the idlest notion which enters Palmer's head must have the preference; and so we read 'I think this distich originally ran *sit socer . . . | cui pia . . .*: that *sit* became corrupted to *si*, and that a corrector wrote ver. 20 (*nupta foret* etc.) in the margin to supply an apodosis'—there is more, but this is enough. Think of it: the scribes, to oblige Palmer, corrupt *sit* into *si*, and then, in order that no one but Palmer may know what they have done, corrupt *si* back again into *sit* 'delentque pedum uestigia cauda.'

xiv 41 sq. *ipse iacebas, | quaeque tibi dederam uina soporis erant*. Certainly this is almost nonsense, but it is not pure unadulterated nonsense like Palmer's *plena*. The exact reverse of *plena soporis*, '*sopor plenus erat eorum quae tibi dederam*,' would have some sort of meaning.

xix 62 *pectora nunc iuncto nostra fouere sinu*. This is corrupt, since Hero is speaking and the 'pectora' are Leander's. Palmer with almost incredible absurdity writes *tosta*, as if that could stand for *frigore tosta* and as if even *frigore tosta* could be applied to Leander dripping from the Hellespont. If he had thought of *morsa* (Hor. serm. ii 6 45) he would have conjectured that, and it would have been a trifle less ridiculous. But Merkel has excellently emended *nostro iuncta*.

xx 13 sq. *nunc quoque idem timeo, sed idem tamen acrius illud | adsumpsit uires auctaque flamma mora est*. Since *timeo* makes no sense Palmer adopts Oudendorp's *teneo*: since that leaves the sequel meaningless he alters *sed idem* to *studium*. Palmer was wont to complain of the prejudice against conjectural emendation: that prejudice is partly just, and conjectures like this are the things which partly justify it. A critic who shuts his eyes and tramples doggedly across the indications afforded by *idem . . . sed idem tamen . . . illud* is not even trying to discover truth.

xx 177 sq. *quem si reppuleris, nec, quem dea damnat, amaris, | et tu continuo certa salutis eris*. So Palmer writes and so Planudes seems to read. And how, think you, is this to be construed? the apodosis, never mind the tense of the verbs, is to begin at *nec*: 'whom if you reject, you will

not have given your love to one whom the goddess condemns, and you yourself will at once be assured of health.'

ix 95 *redundabat: redulabat* P. 'The corruption in P clearly points to *rebellabat*.' Is it not amazing to read such a thing? xi 61 *fratri* nam *nupta futura es*. Palmer writes *fratris* and says '*fratri* edd. uett., Merkel: *sed parum Latine: si fratri legitur, nuptura es postulat*.' Then how will you emend met. xiii 25 '*Aeacus huic pater est*'? *huius* will not scan. xxi 55 *dicam: dic mihi* Bentley, *dic a!* Palmer. The interjection has no appropriateness.

The corrections of others do not fare so well: corruptions are often defended against them, and sometimes, when they cannot be defended, they are merely maintained without defence. The most astounding example is at ix 9 sq. *cui nox...una | non tanti, ut tantus conciperere, fuit*. This admits two renderings, both ridiculous: 'who did not think one night worth the trouble of getting so great a son as you,' or 'who was unwilling to undergo one night in order that so great a son as you might be got.' Palmer translates without comment 'in whose estimation a single night was not thought great enough, that a son so great as you should be gotten in it.' *Great enough* is a phrase never till now applied to a night, and only applied now for the sake of ambiguity. If it means *long enough* (and length is the only dimension which a night possesses) it has no relation to the Latin. If it means *important enough* it is jargon, and the words *in it* are a surreptitious interpolation. If it means any third thing, what is that third thing? Then he proceeds 'the correction *tanta* can scarcely stand for *satis longa*.' True; but if you swallow camels you must not strain at gnats.

ii 9 sq. '*tarde, quae credita laedunt, | credimus: inuito nunc et amore nocens*,' reads Palmer with G and most editors, and renders 'now you wrong me even in spite of my love (which is slow to believe that you could wrong me).' First he translates *inuito* correctly and finds that it makes nonsense: then he adds in brackets a translation, not of *inuito*, but of *credere nolente*, which is nowhere in the text. The true reading of course is Merkel's '*inuito nunc es amore nocens*' (*nocens* E: I should accept *inuita... amante* from the same source), 'even now I am sorry that you are guilty.'

ii 105 *utque tibi excidimus, nullam, puto, Phyllida nosti*. 'Ovid is fond of using *ut* in the sense of *since*.' Ovid is not fond of using any word in any sense which produces

such results as 'since you have forgotten me, you have forgotten me.'

iv 26 quae uenit exacto tempore, peius amat. 'uenire is a uox amatoria of a woman who is willing to grant her favour to a lover.' It is; and it is therefore singularly inapplicable to a woman who is entreating one who is not a lover to grant his favour to her. *quoi uenit* must be read with Faber and Heinsius and Bentley.

xiii 137 sq. Troasin inuideo, quae sic lacrimosa suorum | funera conspiciant, nec procul hostis erit. 'sic : οὐτως, αὐτως, just as they are, without any difficulty.' Laodamia envies the women of Troy, who, without any difficulty, will see their countrymen killed! Then in the critical note: 'quae si falso citatum est ex P ab Heinsio, et ita male ediderunt Burmann et Ehwald. *quamuis* Bentley, Lehrs, quod sententiam pessumdat.' So much the better, considering what a 'sententia' it is. *si* is right: 'Troasin inuideo, quae si...suorum funera conspiciant ..., ipsa suis manibus forti noua nupta marito imponet galeam' etc.: the women of Troy, *even though* they see their countrymen killed, will have their husbands' company.

xvi 277 sq. non mea sunt summa leuiter districta sagitta | pectora. 'Burmann quotes Sen. contr. vii 5 (20) 9 *ut destrieta leui uulnere est cutis*: it would be better to read *districta* there than *destrieta* here as he proposes.' I foresee that in process of time, as Ovid's modern editors extend their acquaintance with Ovid, they will come across met. viii 382 'summum *destrinxit* harundo | corpus,' where they will write *destrinxit*, and x 526 '*destrinxit* harundine pectus,' where they will do the same, and xii 101 'nec tertia cuspis...ualuit *destringere* Cycnum,' where they will write *destringere*: for all these purifications of the text they will have MS authority, and when they have finished them all they had better come back to this passage and adopt the reading of the best MS in the next verse 278, '*descendit* uulnus ad ossa meum.' *Dstringuntur* pectora cura, labore, officio: sagitta destringuntur.

xxi 205 '*si mihi lingua foret*, if I had a tongue to speak out. The reading is universally condemned, but it seems a proverbial expression.' If you ask a man what o'clock it is, and he replies that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, that is a proverbial expression; and yet there is something strange about it.

On the contrary at iii 39 sq. Palmer deserts the MSS when they are right and follows an error of Bentley's, whose true corrections he generally ignores. The text

is '*si* tibi ab Atride pretio redimenda fuissem, | quae dare debueras, accipere illa negas': Palmer reads *sic* because 'hypothesi locus nullus est.' This means that he does not understand the construction: it is 'negas accipere illa, quae, si redimenda fuissem, dare debueras.' For the arrangement of the clauses compare v 6 'ne tua permaneam, quod mihi crimen obest?' ex Pont. i 3 2 'qui miser est, ulli si suus esse potest,' Prop. iv 3 2 'cum totiens absis, si potes esse meus.'

I have said that Palmer's choice among the MS lections is generally judicious. His chief fault here is the fault which most editors now commit and plume themselves upon committing: he treats the best MS as if it were better than it is, and sometimes prefers its authority to the thing on which authority is founded, reason. One specimen is so monstrous that I will here display it to Ζεὺς καθάρσιος and Ἀπόλλων ἀποτρόπαιος and anyone else whom it may concern. xv 69 sq. et, tamquam *desint quae me sine fine fatigent*, | accumulatur curas filia parua meas: that is one reading, the other is this: *desit quae me hac sine cura fatiget*. Where is the raw recruit to criticism who cannot tell which begot which? He need not know that Ovid is fond of using *sine fine* at this place in the verse; he need not even notice the disgraceful *cura* . . . *curas*: it is as clear as day that *fine* absorbed *fine* and the gap was then filled up with putty. Yet Palmer, like Mr Riese before him, accepts *desit* . . . *hac sine cura fatiget* from the best MS. To settle this case by appeals to the relative worth of MSS is to stand upon one's head: cases like this are the things by which the relative worth of MSS is settled.

The commentary—for Palmer has tried to separate inseparable things and write one set of notes on the text and another on what the text means—is a useful but not a distinguished work. For the elucidation of Ovid there is not much to be done: both he and his imitators are very straightforward writers, and their words are seldom obscure unless they are corrupt. One passage Palmer has cleared up: he was the first to commend and explain (in Mr Sedlmayer's edition) the true reading of xx 101 sq. 'Calydonis aper sic saeuus, ut illo | sit magis in natum saeua reperta parens.' But there are few other novel interpretations, and these few are wrong. The explanation of i 27 which he proposed in 1894 in *Hermathena* is rightly withdrawn. At xx 219 he blunders strangely and is corrected by Mr Purser. About the meaning of i 90

'viscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes' there have been doubts but there ought to be none: *viscera* is in apposition with *opes* and the sense is 'your substance, which is my very life, is pillaged': see Cic. ad Q. fr. i 37 'cum de visceribus tuis et filii tui satisfactorius sis quibus debes,' Timocles Stob. flor. 91 15 *τὰ γυρίων ἐστὶν αἷμα καὶ ψυχὴ βροτοῖς*. It is hardly credible, but Palmer translates 'our son (Telemachus) is tortured, your wealth is pillaged.'

The Germans are wont to say of some elaborate English commentaries that they are elementary; and many of Palmer's notes are only fit for a school-book. One does not pay a guinea to read '*Aesonides*: Jason was son of Aeson king of Iolcos.' The edition which Mr Ehwald is preparing for Teubner will be a more business-like as well as a more erudite performance; and although in accuracy of thought it will be inferior to Palmer's it will at least be superior in accuracy of statement. For the worst of Palmer's work is this: it contains indeed much which is true, but no assertion of his can be believed until it is verified. When, as often happens, he knows nothing about a thing, he does not try to find out something about it, nor even hold his peace, but he says anything he pleases. v 73 '*Iden*: the only passage where Ovid uses the accusative of *Ida* or *Ide*.' Why a man should make this statement, even if it were true, I cannot tell; and by merely turning to the vocabulary of proper names he could have ascertained that it is false. vi 31 '*reddūt*: Ovid freely lengthens *-it* in the perfect of verbs forming otherwise a tribrach.' Ovid does not. 'He evidently admitted these lengthenings in accordance with the rule which permitted poets to alter the quantity of words which otherwise could not come into the verse.' What meaning does a writer attach to his language when he says that *reddūt* could not come into hexameters and pentameters? does not *tenūt* come into them? Then he goes on to contradict himself by saying, what is quite true, that Ovid did not regard these 'lengthenings' as a license. x 126: the best MS has 'cum steteris turbes celsus in aure tuae': the question is whether to read *turbæ* . . . *ore* or *urbis* . . . *arce*. Palmer prefers the latter and says 'in *ore* gives no sense here. in *ore populi esse* means to be talked about by the people, yet Loers, though reading in *ore*, understands it of Theseus relating his exploits.' Everyone else knows that the very best writers use in *ore* for *ante oculos*. x 142 sq. *debita sit factio gratia nulla meo*; | sed

nec poena quidem. So Palmer reads, and writes in the critical note '*ne PV*, Bentley, Ehwald. Sed hoc sensum prorsus evertit.' In the commentary he has learnt that this is false: 'Shuckburgh points out that *ne poena quidem* is also [*also*!] capable of defence;' and he quotes Mr Shuckburgh's two examples of this very common usage, not knowing any others. But still he has not lighted on the third excursus to Madvig's de finibus, nor discovered that *sed nec* . . . *quidem* is not Latin at all. xii 71 'Ovid would not elide *nescio*, which is a cretic save before enclitics as *nescioquis*.' Palmer has edited Catullus, and he, like every other editor, has printed *nesciō sed* in Catullus' most famous couplet. xvi 1 '*Hypermetra*: so always in the best MSS in Latin, and so *Clytemestra*. In Greek the form is always *-μνήστρα*.' Indeed it is not. xiv 73 '*Belide*: grandson of Belus. The Danaids are sometimes called *Belides* . . . Loers strangely confuses the two forms.' Loers does nothing of the sort: he is a better scholar than Palmer and knows, what Palmer does not know, that *Belide* from *Belus* is just as false a form as *Tantalides* from *Tantalus* or *Atrides* from *Atreus*; and he rightly defends this false form by quoting from Ibis 503 the equally false *Lycurgiden*: he might have added *Tyrrhidae* from Verg. Aen. vii 484 and *Λαγείδης* from inscriptions.

'*Ἀθήνησις* is a matter in which Palmer all his life long displayed extreme frivolity: read his note on Hor. serm. i 10 92, or the tissue of blunders and irrelevancies in which he has wrapped up one grain of truth ib. ii 2 89-93. Lines plainly spurious and condemned by thoughtful critics he often accepts without demur: he retains and explains the ridiculous distich ix 37 sq. ejected by Schrader lib. emend. pp. 201 sq.; and at i 40 he labours over *dolo* because he will not recognise with Bentley that 37-40 are a stupid interpolation. But lines which no one ever suspected before or will ever suspect again he attacks in a fashion modelled on Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb. At v 147 and 151 he objects to *open* and *opis* because they mean exactly what *opem* means in remed. 116. He chooses to fancy that epianalepsis is a sign of interpolation, and expels the couplet xiii 141 sq. for that and no other reason, though of course he calls it 'ineptum'; then at xii 33 he says that one form of epianalepsis is essentially Ovidian; and then the first passage he quotes to prove that statement is a passage which he and others have rightly ejected as spurious. He has justly accepted Lach-

mann's opinion that xvi-xxi are not Ovid's; though how little he understands Lachmann's arguments may be seen from the fact that when he finds Lachmann objecting to *Aethrā* (Αἶθρα) and *Ledā* (Λήδα) he is fired with emulation and objects to *Idā*, pp. 323 and 436, as if Ovid or anyone else ever used or could use *Idā* to represent Ἰδῆ: then, whereas Lachmann says that there is nothing in these epistles unlike the time of Augustus or Tiberius, Palmer thrusts them down to Nero; and having once persuaded himself that they are of the silver age he sees the silver age behind every bush. xxi 55 *solitoque tibi* 'seems to belong to the silver age': Mr Purser quotes an example from Virgil. xxi 151 *cum tamen haec dixi*: 'this use of *cum* when an unexpected result follows seems to belong to the silver age': there is hardly a better known verse in Tibullus than ii 6 14 '*cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit.*' That so inattentive a reader as Palmer should profess to know the difference between Augustan and Neronian Latin is absurd and even improper: he was not acquainted with the diction of Ovid himself. Only when half-way through this edition did he discover that Ovid employs such forms as *audibam*, xiv 36. At vii 123, where no note was wanted, he cannot refrain from writing this note: '*me coiere querentes*: even so slight a trajection as this strikes one as strange in Ovid, of whom it may in general be said as truly as of Ennius *non discedit a communi ordine uerbo-*

rum.' The truth is that there are two Latin authors who leave all their countrymen far behind them in the extravagant audacity of their trajections: Lucretius is one of them, and the other is Ovid.

After all these strictures I will end with a passage where Palmer has erred indeed but has erred through his acuteness. xx 187 sqq. run thus in the editions: *praeteritae ueniam dabit ignorantia culpae: | exciderant animo foedera lecta tuo. | admonita es modo uoce mea modo casibus istis, | quos, quotiens temptas fallere, ferre soles.* Palmer has observed, what the other editors have not observed, that *nunc* or the like is almost necessary with *admonita es* in 189; he finds in Planudes νῦν δέ σε τούτων ἀνέμνησαν οἱ τε ἐμοὶ λόγοι καὶ νόσημα τὸ παρόν, and he proposes *nunc monita*. But Planudes is translating the text, not of the editions, but of the MSS; and that text is right: '*admonita es modo uoce mea cum casibus istis,*' 'you have lately (modo) been warned by my words together with (cum) your own mishaps.'

One page of P, containing viii 30-57, is reproduced in facsimile, and reveals a fact which collators have disguised. Mr Sedlmayer's note on 50 is '*tu a m. 2 P,*' Palmer's is '*tu om. P₁.*' The truth is that the second hand has written *tu* in a space which originally held or was meant to hold a word of three or four letters; so my conjecture *tibi* (*C.R.* xi p. 204 a) is confirmed by the best MS.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

MERRILL'S FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN SATIRE.

Fragments of Roman Satire from Ennius to Apuleius, by E. T. MERRILL. New York, The American Book Co., 1897. Pp. 178.

It seems to me that this book should be called *Fragments of Roman Satire and Romance*. It is true that the work of Petronius bears the technical title of *Satirae*, but a perusal of the extant fragments and the opinion of Macrobius (*in Somn. Scip.* I. 2. 8), who probably had the complete work before him, show plainly that the book was a realistic novel. As for Apuleius, probably no one would regard his *Metamorphoses* as anything but a romance. The historic relation which these two pieces of fiction bear to Roman satire makes it desirable to read them in connection with one's study of the

satirists, but it is so difficult at the best for students to get a clear conception of the nature of Roman satire that needless confusion of their views is to be carefully avoided.

The editor has adopted without change Vahlen's text for Ennius, Müller's for Lucilius, Riese's for Varro, Bücheler's for Petronius, Seneca, and the *Testamentum Porcelli*, and Eyssenhardt's for Apuleius. If the book had appeared a few months later the editor would have had the benefit of van der Vliet's text for the *Metamorphoses*. Even under the circumstances, perhaps, it would have been wise for him to adopt some of the excellent emendations of van der Vliet, Rohde, Koch, and others published in the *Rhein. Mus.*, *Revue de Phil.*, and else-

where during the thirty years which have elapsed since the appearance of Eyssenhardt's edition.

Professor Merrill's edition does not contain notes, but prefixed to each fragment is a brief summary which presents in an admirable way the thought and spirit of the original.

The selections have been made with judgment, although naturally each reader is likely to regret the omission of some of his favourite passages. The present writer, for instance, is grieved not to find among the extracts from Petronius the naïve description of Trimalchio and Fortunata contained in chaps. 37-8, Trimalchio's discussion of Corinthian vases in chap. 50, the Homeric encounter between Bargates and Eumolpus in chaps. 95-6, and the story of the matron of Ephesus in chaps. 111-12. The last omission is the more to be regretted, not merely because of the celebrity of the story, but also because it is a typical Milesian tale and a study of it throws a deal of light upon the origin of the realistic romance. In the case of the *Metamorphoses* the editor has selected the portion which every student should read, viz., the story of Cupid and Psyche, but one cannot help wishing

that the prescribed limits of his book had allowed him to add the episode of Lucius's valiant encounter with the three inflated wine-skins (ii. 32-iii. 12), which illustrates remarkably well the skill of Apuleius in story telling, and gives one a more nearly correct idea of the nature of the whole romance than the Cupid and Psyche story does. I have noticed the following misprints: p. 47, fragm. 17 *caras* for *curas*, pp. 89-90 omission of section numbers, p. 141, line 5, *fagittis* for *sagittis*, line 7, *prorfus* for *prorsus*, p. 171, line 29, *asculatatu* for *auscultatu*, and p. 175, line 32, *conseo* for *censeo*. Professor Merrill by his work has put students of Latin under a two-fold obligation. They will for the first time have the fragments which are essential in studying the development of Roman satire collected in a single volume, and they will have convenient access to a number of the most interesting readable passages in Petronius. I for one feel that the book will accomplish a valuable purpose if it helps to rescue Petronius from the strange neglect into which he has fallen in these latter days.

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TOZER'S ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

A History of Ancient Geography, by H. F. TOZER: with Maps (pp. 1-387). Cambridge University Press. 1897. 10s. 6d.

MR. TOZER's volume covers the same ground as the late Sir E. Bunbury's well-known *History of Ancient Geography*, and the author does not seek to disguise his obligations to his predecessor. But the great size of Bunbury's *History* is its weakness as well as its strength, and it suffers the fate of most great works: everybody admires it, some people consult it, but few have the energy or the time to read it through. And its elaborateness carries with it the further disadvantage of obscuring the gradual process of development which it is the object of a history of geography to unfold. Mr. Tozer has, therefore, done a valuable service in giving us a shorter *résumé* of the subject adapted to the requirements not only of classical students (who have need of a connected view of it) but also of that growing class of general readers who, without being

special students, have an interest in the story of the gradual advances made by the ancients in knowledge of the earth's surface and of the successive attempts of geographical science to systematise the knowledge gained.

Few scholars are better qualified than Mr. Tozer, whether by actual travel in the lands of the Levant or by long devotion to the study, to undertake this task; and we may at once express our opinion that he has produced an eminently readable and serviceable book. The size of the volume is not formidable, and its low price puts it within the reach of everyone. The character of the book and the wide range of subjects treated will be best understood from a brief review of its contents, which will, we hope, have the effect of inducing many people to read it who have not yet done so.

In an introductory chapter the author deals with such topics as the advantages of the Mediterranean in early times for the speedy development of intercourse between the various peoples living on its shores or

in its neighbourhood, the earliest settlements and selfish protectionist policy of 'that wonderful race,' the Phoenicians (to whom we shall presently return), the special qualifications of the Greeks and the suggestive character of their country for the study of geography, and the great eras in the history of the science. The next four chapters go over the familiar ground of Homeric Geography (c. II., where there are some good remarks on primitive trade-routes and the amber and tin trade), the advance in knowledge caused by the spread of Greek colonies over the Mediterranean and the Euxine (c. III.), the beginnings of mathematical geography and early speculations about physical phenomena in Ionia, together with an account of the first treatise on Geography, the *Periodos* of Hecataeus of Miletus (c. IV.), and lastly, the contributions made to geography by Herodotus (c. V.). On such well-worn themes the classical student will not expect much fresh information; but the author handles his wealth of material with judgment and produces a lucid narrative.

In the following chapter (VI.) the reader will find much interesting reading about less familiar subjects such as the early fifth-century Carthaginian expeditions of Hanno down the west coast of Africa, by the island of Herne, Cape Cantin, the Wady Draa, the Senegal, the islands in the Bay of Bissagos (where the explorers were greatly alarmed by the 'torrents of fire' caused by the native custom of burning the dry grass to produce good crops the following year), and southwards to Sherboro Sound and Macauley Island with its Gorillas; and the following expedition of Himilco to the west coast of Europe, which resulted in the discovery of the huge masses of tangle called the Sargasso Sea, near the Azores. The chapter concludes with a detailed account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, which is illustrated by a good map and has a certain freshness of colouring derived from the author's own travels in these distant highlands.

Then follows a description of Alexander's Eastern expedition and its enormous effects on the development of geography (c. VII.); and an account of the progress made under his successors,—in regard to the countries near Egypt, through the public spirit of the Ptolemies: in respect of India, by the studies of Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Seleucus Nicator to the Prasian Court (ca. 290 B.C.), whose work (largely surviving in Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian) is full of wonderfully

accurate information about the administration of the country, the caste-system, the religion of the Brahmans, etc.: and in regard to Britain (and probably the shores of Friesland), by the voyage of Pytheas of Marseilles, about 330 B.C. (c. VIII.).

Chapter IX. deals with the attempts made in the third century to systematise the knowledge now gained and to put it on paper in the shape of a map of the world. No one can fail to be keenly interested in Mr. Tozer's clear account of the difficulties to be overcome (after the idea of the sphericity of the earth had been reached) in the construction of a scientific map,—the determination of parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude,—and of the great advance made towards a solution of them by Eratosthenes, the librarian of the Alexandrian Museum (240–196 B.C.). Physical and Historical Geography (c. X.) were later developments. The former begins to be cultivated about the middle of the second century before Christ, and continues to engage interest down to the Augustan age. Much interesting information about it is collected in this chapter,—the discovery of the causes regulating the movement of the tides, the elaboration of the older division of the Winds, observations on the courses of rivers and the formation of alluvium, the establishment of a connection between earthquakes and volcanic action, and so on. Historical Geography (defined as the study of the influence of natural conditions on the history of nations), first hinted at by Aristotle, is developed by Ephoros and more fully by Polybius, 'the historian of the Decline and Fall of Greece' (as Freeman happily calls him), who, writing as he did after the Roman conquest, could attain a wider outlook than was possible for those who knew only the petty politics of the several Greek states. It is noteworthy that Polybius, a traveller himself, reached the modern point of view that travel is an 'essential part of the equipment of the historian and geographer' (p. 210).

In discussing the gain which accrued to geography from the Roman conquests (c. XI.), Mr. Tozer is careful to point out the importance to science of the official measurements of distances along the roads and of Agrippa's wall-map exposed to view in the *Porticus Octaviae*, whence were derived the Itineraries. The other chapters deal with the life and work of Strabo (c. XII.); geography under the early Empire (c. XIII.), including Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, Bks. II. and III.—VI. (which, as he rightly remarks,

is mainly of a statistical nature, but valuable for us because based on official records), and the important *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; the system of Frontier Defence and military roads with an account of the *Itineraries* (c. XIV.); Estimates of mountains in ancient times and Mountain Telegraphy (c. XV.),—he might have included a reference to Byzantine telegraphy; and lastly, Ptolemy and later geographers.

It is beyond our scope to criticise the book in detail, nor is it necessary. We shall content ourselves with selecting a few points. The least satisfactory part of the book is that dealing with prehistoric times. We regret to find the author serving us up, with perfect confidence, the old story about that 'wonderful race,' the beneficent and adventurous Phoenicians, 'the first depositaries of geographical knowledge in the Mediterranean' who had 'long before the dawn of Greek history established their trading-stations at various points on the shore of that sea and even on the confines of the ocean' (p. 4), who had been to Tarshish or *Tartessus*¹ [mentioned in *Gen.* X., 4, and in Solomon's time (1000 B.C.) in connexion with the navy of the king of Tyre (pp. 7, 16)] long before any Samian mariner, 'the only sea-faring people of the Homeric age' (p. 33), and so forth. Surely Mr. Tozer cannot be unaware that the whole body of archaeological evidence discovered since the time of Curtius (*Preface*, p. vi.), proves (to unbiassed minds) the groundlessness of the traditional view about the Phoenicians. Further, if it be true that the transmarine trade of Phoenicia was established in the misty ages, before 1000 B.C., how comes it that all the best sites in the Mediterranean, the Aegæan, and the Euxine (mentioned in c. III.) are occupied by Greek colonies? Why did the Phoenicians pass by Cyrene to go to Carthage, why did they overlook the best parts of Sicily (within sight of Africa), and crowd into a corner on the north-west? Why did they neglect to occupy Massalia, the terminus of the overland route across Gaul? Why indeed! because they were all occupied already. And if Tarshish be (as we believe) not *Tartessus*, but *Tarsus*? But we need not labour the point. If we place the Phoenician colonizing activity about the 8th century we shall be nearer the truth.

Again, in dealing with the spread of the Greek colonies the author might have indicated that the traditional dates are not

trustworthy. They all depend on reckonings by generations, as Mahaffy and Beloch have shown. For our own part, we believe they are all too late. At least, the colonies were established before Phoenician activity begins.

The volume is supplied with ten maps: yet there is something to be desired in this respect. For instance, nearly two pages are devoted to a description of the course of the Royal Road; yet the reader will look through the maps in vain to find the situation of the various places mentioned. Where is Tavium or Melitene or Samosata? The important names on the road could easily have been inserted in the very inadequate map facing p. 299. And this leads us to another point. This map is meant to illustrate the roads of the Roman Empire, and therefore care should have been taken to insert, if possible, every name given in the text, as well as the modern equivalents. We have a strong objection to an ancient map which does not give the modern names of places: they are an enormous help to the reader in finding his bearings, and they supply a convenient test of the accuracy of the map. Had this method been followed, it would have prevented the mistake of placing Gordium where Pessinus ought to be (map facing p. 123). The incompleteness of this map is shown by the fact that in the whole interior of Asia Minor only *one* solitary town is indicated (Ancyra) and not even a single river. How can a reader understand the course of a road that wends its sinuous way over a blank space?

The description of the western roads is better than the eastern. Under the section 'Main Roads through Asia' (p. 305), no indication is given of the fact that the important roads of the early and the later Empire are quite different; and the only road described is one which was not of great importance until Nicomedeia became the capital of the East. After giving a detailed description of the defences of the Upper Euphrates, the author should surely have indicated on the map both the military posts and the roads connecting them, without which the description is unintelligible to the ordinary reader, for whom the book is intended.

In describing the *Itineraries* (pp. 306–312), it would have been well if some definite information had been given as to their value as geographical authorities, whether they have become much corrupted, whether the numbers are reliable or not, and so forth. We are aware that short views are necessary

¹ The italics are mine.

in a work of this size; but room might have been found for such information in the six-and-a-half pages devoted to this subject.

The discussion of Ptolemy's geographical treatise is lacking in one respect, that it does not consider the value of the work for 'descriptive and political' geography.¹ Is its value equal for all countries and provinces alike? Did Ptolemy probably use different authorities of different dates (as Pliny did, p. 264), and make serious errors in trying to combine their accounts? Its value is in reality very different for different parts, and the second question should apparently be answered in the affirmative. After all, this side of Ptolemy's work is the

¹ The account of the coast of Britain is examined, but there the majority of the localities mentioned are merely the mouths or estuaries of rivers (p. 348).

most important for the student of ancient life. We await with great expectation the publication of Ptolemy's Maps, recently discovered by Prof. Jelić. If the report communicated to the *Classical Review* for February be correct, the discovery may necessitate some alteration of current views about Eratosthenes and Ptolemy.

These criticisms are made in the hope that they may be considered in view of a second edition, not from any wish to detract from the general merits of the volume, which (as we have already said) is both very useful and very readable, and well worth perusal by any one who wishes to gain a connected view of the progress of geographical knowledge in ancient times.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

THE SCANSION OF BACCHYLIDES XVII.

STROPHE.

PAEONIC.

- I. (1) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (2) $\cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (3) $\cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (4) $\cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 II. (5) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup > |$
 (6) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (7) $\cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup > ||$
 (8) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (9) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (10) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (11) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (12) $\cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (13) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup > ||$
 (14) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (15) $\cup : \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$
 (16) $\cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup ||$

Period I. 3.5.3.5 = 16. Palinodic.

Period II. 3.4.5.2.2.2.2.4.5.3.4.4 = 40. Antithetic with epode. Distinguished by anacrusis except vv. 7, 12, 16 which end the three sections of the period.

EPODE.

PAEONIC.

- I. (1) $\cup : _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup _ ||$
 (2) $_ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup ||$
 (3) $_ \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup \cup ||$
 (4) $\cup : _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ ||$ or $\cup : _ \cup | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \wedge ||$
 (5) $_ \cup _ | _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ ||$
 (6) $_ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ > ||$
 (7) $_ \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ | _ \cup > ||$
 (8) $_ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \wedge ||]$
- II. (9) $\cup : _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ | _ \cup ||$
 (10) $_ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \wedge ||$
 (11) $> : _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup _ | _ \wedge ||$
 (12) $\cup : _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \wedge ||$
 (13) $_ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup ||$
 (14) $\cup : _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup > ||$
 (15) $_ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup _ \cup | _ \cup \cup \cup | _ \cup ||$
 (16) $\cup : _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ | _ \cup _ ||$

Period I. 4. 3. 3. 2 (or 3) 3. 3. 4. 3 = 25 (or 26). Inverted with mesode (anacrusis) and epode.

Period II. 4. 3. 3. 3. 3. 3. 4. 3 = 26. Antithetic with mesode and epode, anacrusis to the mesode and epode and the second verse of the pairs of tripodies.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

NOTES.

HYMN TO THE DIOSKUROI, LL. 15, 16.

15 κύματα δ' ἐσπόμεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι
 ναύταις σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφίσιν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
 γήθησαν παύσαντο δ' ἰδιυροῖο πόνου.

L. 16 cannot be satisfactorily explained, as it stands, by any arrangement of punctuation, and recent critics have generally agreed that σφίσιν is corrupt and have sought to replace it by an accusative such as κρίσιν (Baumeister), σχίσιν (Tyrrell)—to which one might add σχάσιν. Such conjectures, including his own σθέσιν, Mr. Allen (*J.H.S.* xviii. 32) designates as 'evidently useless stopgaps;' but, though none of them has palaeographic likelihood, they all proceed on a probable assumption as to the construction. The error is more deeply seated and extends beyond σφίσιν. I propose to read

σήματα καλὰ πόν<ων ἂπον>όσφισιν.

The recurrence of the four letters *απον* led to the accidental omission of the three syllables enclosed in brackets; *πον* was inevitably corrected to *πόνου*; and then *ναύταις* (unnecessary to the sense) was inserted to complete the metre.

J. B. BURY.

* * *

VELLE AS AN AUXILIARY.—Karl Sittl, in his *Lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, p. 128, cites from Corippus' *Johannis* 6. 89 a description of

captive women; 'miseræ modo matribus Afris | iam servire uolunt.' The poem was written about 550 A.D. In the pseudo-Cyprianic *Exhortatio de Paenitentia*, p. 12, ed. Wunderer, the lxx. ἀνδριοῦμαι in Jeremiah ii. 25 is rendered by *confortabor uolo*, apparently a conflation of *confortabor* with *confortari uolo*. This was written about 400 A.D., and probably in Spain. Cyprian *Ep.* 6. 3 (250 A.D.), speaking of the Jewish *Tres Pueri* in the furnace, has 'addiderunt ...se...non in hoc fidere ut liberari in praesentia uellent, sed illam libertatis et securitatis aeternae gloriam cogitarent' (484. 1 Hartel). It is obvious that their trust must have been in a prospect of liberty, not in the wish for it. The use of *uelle* is in this passage a convenient substitute for a peculiarly awkward future passive of ordinary Latin; and it must have been extended, by a process of analogy, to occasions where such a circumlocution was needless, first in the passive, as in the Spanish instance, and then in the active, as in that from Corippus, where *seruire uolunt* is simply equivalent to *seruiunt*. There is no reason to regard this use of *uelle* as peculiarly African; the Wallachian is the only Romance language in which it exists. Further enquiry would no doubt discover more examples.¹

E. W. WATSON.

¹ E.g. Juv. x. 282 'uellet descendere' = 'descensurus esset.'—ED. C.R.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ISHAM'S HOMERIC PALACE.

The Homeric Palace. By NORMAN MORRISON ISHAM, A.M., architect. Providence: The Preston and Rounds Company. 1898. 8vo. Pp. viii. 64. Price \$1 net.

IN this slender, broad-margined booklet Mr. Isham has attempted, he tells us, 'to gather together the main facts about the palace of the Homeric time, and to explain them by illustrations.' He hopes that his work 'will be of use to all students of the great poems, as well as to those who like to follow the progress of domestic architecture and the history of fortification.' As might be inferred from the closing words of the second quotation, the title of the book is misleading: 'The Homeric Castle' would have represented better the contents of the book as a whole. The author himself perceives this (p. 4); but he is too much under the spell of Joseph's *Paläste des Homerischen Epos*, on which a good part of his own work is quite frankly based, to be independent in the matter of title. This fact will at once suggest that Mr. Isham's work lacks originality and that he has not perfectly assimilated his materials. This is true; yet not improbably there are readers whom his rapid sketch of a most fascinating subject will stimulate, as he hopes, to consult the authorities he names—among which, by the way, M. de Ridder's article in *Bulletin de corr. hellénique* 1894, pp. 271–310, should figure side by side with Noack's. (Mr. Isham, it may be noted, does not follow Noack's spelling 'Gla.') Even the rather unclear bird's-eye views—the bird at an elevation of about a thousand feet (p. 58)—of prehistoric Greek fortifications and palaces may be found of value by some; but the book can hardly 'be of use to all students of the great poems.'

To note a few details, the author's loose use of the term 'Aryan' (e.g. at p. 22) is open to grave objections. The reference to 'freezing snows' (p. 28) seems hardly to square with the climatic conditions. Such transliterations of Greek terms as 'megaron andron,' 'dourodoke,' 'huperoon,' and the like, are not only most ugly, to say the least, but they are also needless—unless, indeed, the Greek which they represent be deemed needless or unintelligible to the reader. Mr. Isham gives no grounds for the notion

about the 'proto-Ionic shaft and capital with the upward diminution' in Mycenaean architecture (p. 38). The attempt made at pp. 31 and 58–62 to bring clearly before the mind's eye the archaic palace and castle in their original form and local setting is commendable in spirit. The author writes with true Philhellenic fervour. But it does not certainly appear that he has seen Greece.

Among other slips it is unfortunate that the translator of Schuchhardt should appear in the Bibliography as *Eugene Sellers*.

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EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

I.

THE excavations which have been going on in the Forum since November last have yielded a considerable number of interesting discoveries. As they are still in progress, the following short account of what has been done so far must be regarded as liable to a certain amount of modification in the future.

I.—*Temple of Vesta.*

The excavations have shown the existence—already suspected by Middleton (see 'The Temple and Atrium of Vesta,' extract from *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., plate opposite p. 12)—of a chamber within the podium. It was inaccessible except from above; the apertures in the concrete podium, by which the chamber is now entered, one of which Middleton (*op. cit.* p. 6) wrongly connects with the structure of the temple, were broken through in the Middle Ages, probably in order to extract building materials or to search for treasure (see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 224). The W. wall has in fact been entirely removed, though its foundations are traceable. The chamber is perfectly oriented upon the points of the compass, and it may therefore be regarded as certain that the entrance of the temple faced due E, as Jordan thought (*Tempel der Vesta*, p. ix, p. 23). It measures just over eight feet square, and its walls were originally constructed of blocks of

tufa, which still remain at the corners; the space between them has been filled in with brickwork—a restoration which probably dates from the rebuilding of the temple by Julia Domna after the fire of Commodus. At the level of the upper surface of the construction in blocks of tufa, a layer of chips of white marble about two inches thick runs horizontally through the podium. This was taken by Jordan (*op. cit.* p. 11) and Auer (*Tempel der Vesta*, p. 17) to mark the line of the floor of the temple itself.

Above it the material of the concrete of the podium changes from dark brown to yellow tufa. Jordan thought that the latter was an addition of later date, and that the level of the floor of the temple never lay much above the layer of marble chips. But the brick work of the newly discovered chamber is preserved to a height of about four feet above this layer; it appears, therefore, that in the restoration of Julia Domna the podium of the temple was made just so much higher.

It seems probable that the chamber contained the 'stercus Vestæ,' which was once a year removed from the temple (Kal. Maff. 15 Jun. *C.I.L.* i.² p. 224 Festus, p. 344 Müll.: 'Stereus ex aede Vestæ xvii. Kal. Iul. defertur in angiportum medium fere Clivi Capitolini qui locus clauditur porta stercoraria,' cf. p. 258. Varro *L.L.* vi, 32. Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 713 'Haec (i.e. xvii Kal. Iul.) est illa dies, qua tu purgamina Vestæ, Tibri, per Etruscas in mare mittis aquas.') The 'stercus' probably (as Jordan, *op. cit.* p. 70, supposes) included the small portions of ashes, which were daily removed from the sacred hearth.

On the S.S.W. side of the temple some further remains of early tufa structures buried below the later ground level have been discovered (for those found in previous excavations, see Jordan, *Tempel der Vesta*, p. 23, and Tafel II). Among them in a stratum of burnt material was found a considerable quantity of fine pottery, ranging in date from the seventh to the third century, B.C.,—Aretine and Campanian ware, with fragments of black and red figured Italo-Greek vases. It is noticeable that all this pottery is here found in household use. The stratum of burnt material is traceable, very likely, to the fire of 241 B.C., for which cf. Liv. *Epit.* 19; Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 437; Plin. *N.H.* vii, 141.

The walls on this side are, like the chamber in the podium oriented on the points of the compass, and are probably, like the similar wall discovered in 1886 on the north side of

the temple (*Mittheilungen des Arch. Instituts, Röm. Abt.* 1886, p. 100, tav. V, E, F), parts of the Republican enceinte.

Upon the north side a brick drain was discovered in 1886, running W.N.W. At the W. end of the wall EF it is joined by two others, one coming from the direction of the temple of Romulus, the other from under the steps of the temple of Vesta. It passes close under the N. side of the temple, and here is formed of thin slabs of tufa set up vertically on end.

Upon the N.W. side of the temple a piece of rough road paving of late date has come to light; it would appear—if that were not impossible—to run straight under the temple itself, and it does not seem to belong to a pavement surrounding the podium. Is it possible that it is an approach to one of the apertures broken through the concrete of the podium, which in the case must be supposed to have been made before the burial of the Forum after 1084 (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 245.)?

II.—Temple of Divus Iulius.

The semicircular niche in the façade of this temple has been cleared out, with the result that, behind the later wall which stands in front of it, a concrete base about two feet high, in three tiers, has been discovered. The existence of something of the kind was suspected by Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. i. p. 286); Jordan too (*Topographie*, vol. i. 2, 409, note 116) queries 'Hatte in der Nische die Ara gestanden?' This base stands upon travertine paving slabs about six inches thick, well laid, belonging to the earlier pavement of the Forum, and lying below the level of the later. The slabs have actually been cut away to allow of the construction of the semicircular wall, and are quite independent of, and previous to, the building of the temple. There can therefore be no doubt that the concrete base stands upon a spot so sacred that it was necessary to enclose it within the façade of the temple without disturbing it. And this must have been the spot where the body of Caesar was burnt. Dio Cassius xlvii. 18 says: ἡρώδης οἱ ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκρευτο προκατεβάλλοντο, cf. Appian i. 4 νεῶν ἐπωκοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ, cf. ii. 147, iii. 2. There remains the question what the base supported.

Prof. Norton, in a letter to the *Times* of Jan. 9th, held that it was the column of

Numidian marble mentioned by Suetonius (*I. Caesar* 85). Signor Borsari (*Athenaeum*, Jan. 7th, p. 25) inclines to believe that the statue of Caesar erected in the Forum by Augustus (Plin. *N.H.* ii. 93, cf. Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 2, 407, note 125), stood here: and this seems the more probable view, for it is nowhere positively stated that either the column or the altar erected on the spot, both of which we know to have been removed,¹ were ever re-erected. Nor does the base, resting as it does on slabs of travertine only six inches thick, which themselves appear to rest on the earth, seem capable of bearing the weight of a column twenty feet high. On the other hand, it is remarkable that in the niche were found many chips of Numidian marble, the material of which the column was, according to Suetonius, composed. It is in any case clear, however, that the base, whatever it supported, is, as we see it, a later construction. It is built of tufa concrete—not as we should expect in a work of the Augustan period, of solid blocks of stone or marble—and its three tiers are all in shape irregular polygons.

The wall which blocked up the niche is not of very late date. Richter, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 1889, p. 146, who considered that the niche was intended to receive the body of an emperor at the laudatio, would attribute this wall to a period at which this temple was no longer used for this purpose—at the funeral of Pertinax (Dio Cassius, lxxiv. 4) there is no mention of the Rostra Julia—all the action takes place at the Rostra Vetera. It was not only a single block in thickness, but went further back into the niche, as the construction shows: but whether the niche was entirely filled with masonry is quite uncertain—the more so as a hole has been broken into it from the back by the spoilers of the Middle Ages.

Outside this wall is a travertine paving slab about one foot thick, lying below the level of the later pavement of the Forum area, which is not rectangular, but has its S.W. side parallel to the front of the temple of Castor and Pollux. This fact is a consequence of the difference in the orientation of the temple of Iulius from that of the adjacent buildings. It may be

¹ For the column see Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 15, 'Dolabellam columnam tollere, locum sternendum locare'; for the altar, Cic. *ad Fam.* xi. 2, 'veteranos de reponenda ara cogitare.' Gilbert (*Topographie*, iii. 117) identifies the 'ara' with the βωμὸς mentioned by Dio and Appian and the 'bustum' mentioned by Cicero, *Phil.* i. 2, 5; while Jordan, *loc. cit.*, takes the bustum to be a cenotaph, in front of which the ara stood.

noted that at the E. corner of the temple, in the embankment which supports the modern road, many more fragments of the cornice of this temple have been discovered similar to those previously known, which belong to a restoration, probably of the 4th century A.D., of which nothing is known to us from literary sources. It is this deposit of architectural fragments which gave the final impulse which has led to the determination to excavate the presumed site of the Basilica Aemilia.

III.—*Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.*

The excavations in front of this temple have revealed the existence of two more steps, taking up the whole front of the temple. These steps are of brick, and large enough to take two each of the marble steps. This level, four feet lower than that previously laid bare, was reached from the Regia by three steps of travertine, each nine inches high, of unequal width. The paving stones of the road had been taken up and relaid at the higher level at the time when the level of the ground had risen. Under the road a fine cloaca in opus quadratum of tufa with large voussiors has been discovered. On the south-east side of the steps of the temple are traces of the entrance to a chamber under them.

Between the Regia and Atrium Vestae a small system of hypocausts has been found: its connection with any of the surrounding buildings has not yet been traced out.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

(*To be continued.*)

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—An inscription dating from the time of Sulla has been found in the floor of the Comitium, at the foot of the arch of Septimius Severus. It is cut on slabs of travertine, and appears to have been fixed to the official residence of the Censors. The stones were used by Diocletian or Maxentius for repairing the damages done by the fire of A.D. 283 in the pavement of the Comitium. The inscription refers to contracts made for certain public works in Rome, the exact nature of which cannot be ascertained. These works were to be executed along certain streets, and must have been very cheap, costing 100 to 119 sesterterii per foot (20 to 25s.). Most probably they were drains; Livy (xxxix. 44) mentions the work done by M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius in draining the Aventine in 183 B.C. Two columns of twenty-four lines each remain from the inscription.¹

¹ *Athenaeum*, 11 March.

Pompeii.—An inscription has come to light with the name of M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, which also occurs in *C.I.L.* x. 788, 789, 851, where he is described as *duumvir ter*, and also as *pontifex*. But in this inscription he is only *duumvir iterum*, and not *pontifex* at all; so that this inscription is evidently of an earlier date than those in the *Corpus*. Other recent finds at Pompeii are an ideal head in glazed porcelain, of the Alexandrine period, and a finely-executed mosaic pavement. The head is of a greenish colour, the eyes having been of a vitreous paste, inserted separately; the hair is parted and gathered in a knot at the neck. The mosaic is set in a pavement of *rosso antico* and other marbles, with a travertine slab in the centre enclosing it. It represents the bust of a young matron with wavy black hair gathered under a black band; she wears pearl earrings and a necklace with a gold and emerald clasp. The face is probably a portrait; the background is yellow.²

Conca.—A tumulus which was recently excavated here contained a set of artificial teeth, apparently belonging to a woman. Five teeth remained, mounted on a thin strip of gold-leaf; the place of the middle one (an incisor) had been taken by a small capsule of gold-leaf modelled in the form of the tooth, which had apparently decayed and been stopped with gold. The teeth consisted of one molar, one canine, and three incisors, from the left side of the lower jaw. In the tumulus was a fragmentary Corinthian oinochoe with a narrow frieze of figures, winged Gryphons, lions, and horsemen.²

Pozzuoli.—Three sculptures of some merit have been here, all of Luna marble and belonging to the Roman period. The first is a youthful Dionysos between Pan and a panther; Pan has goat's feet, and is of diminutive stature; little of the panther is left. The second is a similar group, slightly varied; the third, a Fortune with cornucopia.³

S. Maria di Capua.—A curious vase has recently been discovered. It is of poor clay, painted in the local style on a yellow slip with lotos-flowers and palmettes in black and purple. The vase had been used as a *cinerarium*, and was found full of burnt bones. The peculiarity is in the cover, which is composed of three conventionally-modelled ducks, their heads resting on the rim of the vase, their tails uniting above in a loop-shaped handle.³

Tiriolo, Calabria.—A hoard of coins of Bruttium has come to light, 731 in all. They consist chiefly of drachmae and triobols inscribed *BPETTIQN* or coins of Carthage without inscription, of a date subsequent to the first Punic War; all belong to the end of the third century B.C. The chief interest of the Bruttium coins is the remarkable diversity of the symbols which they bear; the Carthaginian coins are mostly of the type with a head of Persephone and a horse.²

Pitigliano, Tuscany.—An interesting find has been recently made in the shape of a gold stater of Philip II., with a head of Apollo laureate to right,

and a biga moving to right on the reverse. It is inscribed *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ*, and in the exergue is a trident (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 196, fig. 137). This discovery shows that coins of Philip were not only current in Italy but constituted the standard of value of gold in the third and second centuries B.C. A similar coin has been found at Arezzo.²

Vetulonia.—Discoveries of the early Italian period continue to be made. The latest find includes among other objects five gold fibulae of great interest. The type is that with a thick bulging bow (*a navicella*) and a long foot with a sheath formed of two plates joined at right angles along their length. Two of these were identical, and these were found, with a third, in a chest of lead. These three have bands of figures along the foot, in the third example in the reverse direction to the other two; these figures are in the form of winged quadrupeds with human faces. The bows of the fibulae are decorated in a similar fashion, also with figures of dogs and patterns of volutes. The fourth example has the bow moulded in the form of a sphinx with recurved wings and long tail; on the foot of the fifth are niello designs, five greyhounds running, and diaper patterns, while on the bow are figures of dogs heraldically grouped, and various ornamental patterns. This last specimen resembles one published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1894, p. 358. Among other finds from these tombs are: parts of chariots in bronze; two gold bracelets with elaborate clasps and two gold spirals; a hair-pin with globular top on which are figures of winged quadrupeds, birds, etc., in niello; two plain gold fibulae, one like those described above, the other of the 'snake' type; a necklace of 130 gold beads; a bronze incense-burner; and Roman *fusces* in iron, formed of eight rods with a double-headed axe in the centre.²

Bologna.—A mosaic pavement which has recently come to light in the courtyard of the Palazzo Comunale is noteworthy for its decoration. It consists of sixteen squares in four rows, divided by cable borders, each of the rows having a different pattern; in one case of small squares forming a diagonal cross, in another, quatrefoils, and in the other two, crescents with double cusps placed back to back. The mosaic is nearly ten feet square, and belonged to a private house; it dates from the second century after Christ.²

Gualtieri, near Modena. A bronze bust of good workmanship of the Hellenistic period has been found; it had been attached to a couch or chest. It represents a Satyr wearing an ivy-wreath, his face twisted to one side with an expression of pain.²

Verucchio, near Rimini. Extensive discoveries have lately been made of objects of the Villanova type. They include fibulae of the 'snake' type and others with a flat plate at the foot; bronze plates with punctured geometrical patterns (as *Conestabile*, *Due Dischi*, pl. 1); a curved iron dagger with patterns in bronze on the handle, a very fine specimen of the Novilara type; a palstave with circles incised all over; and numerous *ossuaria* of a primitive type.⁴

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² *Notizie degli Scavi*, April 1898.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, July 1898.

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Sept. 1898.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvi., No. 52. 1899.

On the Composition of some Greek Manuscripts. T. W. Allen. III. The Venetian Homer. *Tibulliana*, J. P. Postgate. *Some Notes on the Text of Lucan*, J. P. Postgate. *On the Octavius of Minucius Felix and Firmicus De Error Profanarum Religionum*, Robinson Ellis. *The Battle of Lake Trasimene*, II. B. W. Henderson. *Orphica*, II.-IV. A. Platt. *Notes on Euripides*, W. Headlam. *Fragment of a Latin-German Glossary in the Library of University College, Sheffield*, G. C. Moore Smith. *Emendationes Homericae* (Od. vi.-ix.), T. L. Agar. *Some Plautine Emendations*, W. M. Lindsay. *The Articles of Dress in Dan.* iii. 21, S. A. Cook. *Operatus and operari*, J. P. Postgate.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 22. Part 4. Oct. 1898.

Note sur un passage de l'Électre de Sophocle, L. Parmentier. On ll. 86-91. Takes ἀῖπ in the philosophical sense and as the complement of φῶς ἀγνόν, hence the verb in the singular. *Le règne et la mort de Poppée*, Ph. Fabia. Concluded from previous vol. [*Cl. Rev.* xii. 284]. Nero killed Poppaea without intending it and regretted it afterwards. The best testimony to her charm is the fact that Otho set up again her statues. *Utrum e Cerycum gente fuerit Andocides necne*, M. Niedermann. That Andoc. was of this family comes to us on the authority of Pseudo-Plutarch and we have no solid reason to doubt it in spite of the objections of Wilamowitz and others. *Plaute*, G. Ramain. In *Anulularia* 536-540 a lacuna should be marked after 538. In 539 we should probably read *quanto* for *aliquanto*. *Notes épigraphiques*, B. Haussoullier. (1) metrical inser. at Constantinople. (2) An inser. of Delphi. (3) An inser. of Thespieae.

Vol. 23. Part I. Jan., 1899. *Le Temple d'Apollon Didyméen—Questions chronologiques*, III. B. Haussoullier. Gives the text of an inser. as yet unpublished, which contains an account of the years 158/157 and 157/156 and lets us know the state of the works at the temple at this period. There are two appendices (1) on the door of the Tholos at Epidaurus, (2) on Vitruvius iv. 6. *Valérius Flaccus et les Barbares*, R. Harmand. Shows by exx. the originality and picturesqueness of V. F., especially in his descriptions of barbarous countries, and how he has given a new aspect to the Argonautics differing much from Apoll. Rhod. *Ad inser. gr. insul. maris Aegaei*, III. No. 331, Ch. Michel. This inser. belongs to Thera. The marble is in the National Library at Paris. M. confirms the hypothesis of Hiller von Gaertringen that it is contemporary with Ptolemy Philometor. *Cicero*, Fin. II. §15, L. Havet. Restores the poetical form to the quotation (probably from Lucilius) by substituting *ille* for *qui*. We thus have three Aristophanic hemistiches. *Notes critiques sur l'Évangile de S. Matthieu et de S. Marc*, J. Viteau. In S. Matt. xxvii. 53 the words μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ are denounced as a gloss. Considers that vv. 8-20 of S. Mark xvi were added to replace the lost ending. But they are very old, of the second half or perhaps the middle of the first century. *Le vers saturnien*, H. Bornecque. In view of the fact that no one view of the structure of the Saturnian verse is generally accepted, the writer examines the extant lines afresh and lays down three metrical rules to which he considers that they all conform. *Une liste de mêtèques*

miletéiens, R. Haussoullier. The name of Miletus has hitherto been wanting on the list of cities where the existence of resident-alien is proved. Evidence is here given of their existence at Miletus.

Mnemosyne. Vol. xxvii. Part 1. 1899.

Adnotationes ad Bacchylidem (Ed. Blass), H. van Herwerden. *Studia Lucretiana*, J. Woltjer. The writer discusses Lucr. iii. 402-415, 434-444, 463-471, and makes a digression on the use of *enim*, *nam*, and *namque* in Lucretius and other didactic and epic poets. In Lucr. the second syllable of *enim* is not found in thesis. The only exception is iii. 339 where we should read *non ut enim umor aquae* etc. Lucr. uses *enim* much more frequently than the other poets here named. *KPHNAI KAI AHPOI?* J. v. L. Dindorf wrongly supposes there is a reference to some proverb in these words (Dem. Ol. iii. § 29). *Ad Apuleium*, A. V. Desertine. In Apul. Florid. 17 pag. 26, 10 (Kr.) for *aures spiritu obseratae* we must read *aures spurcitie* obs. ARA-ARX, I. C. Vollgraff. Points out that many well known passages still require a *manus emendatrix* and as an example quotes Cic. N. D. iii. § 24 sqq. where for *tamquam in aram confugitis ad deum* we should read *arcem*. *Ad Horatii Carmina*, iii. 21 et 26, P. H. Damsté. That *lene tormentum admovere* in iii. 21, 13=*risum provocare* is shown by some verses of Diphilus ap. Athen. ii. 2. In iii. 26, 1 the frigid conjecture of C. Franke *vixi duellis nuper idoneus* is rightly rejected, though it was approved by Meineke and admitted into the text by L. Mueller. *Hierosolyma capta*, I. M. J. Valetton. Discusses the question of the responsibility for the destruction of the temple, whether it was due to human design or fortune, and in the former case to whose design. Josephus, who wished to exculpate Titus, is subjected to minute examination. The paper is not concluded.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899. 11 Jan.

J. Wachtler, *De Alcmæone Crotoniata* (Sander.) favourable. *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques Grecques*, par R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, Th. Reinach ii. 1. (B. Kübler), very favourable. H. Willenbücher, *Cæsars Ermordung* (A. Höck). 'Too partial to Caesar.' *Firmici Materni Matheseos libri viii.*, ed. W. Kroll et F. Skutsch, i. (libri i.-iv.) (G. Némethy), 'shows most careful use of MSS.'

18 Jan. *Festgaben zu Ehren M. Büdingers* von seinen Freunden und Schülern (V. Prášek). 'J. Krall has a contribution to the history of Bokchoris the only king of the 24th Egyptian dynasty mentioned by Manetho, T. Friedrich treats of the catastrophe of Ninive, H. Swoboda offers some valuable remarks on Greek public law, A. Bauer subjects to a detailed examination the letter of Alexander the Great on the battle against Porus, H. Wirz examines the well known letter against Cicero going under the name of C. Sallustius Crispus and probably apocryphal, lastly we owe to the pen of R. von Scala a treatise on dioxigraphic and Stoical remains in Ammianus Marcellinus.' G. Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses im griechisch-römischen Altertum* (B. Kübler), very favourable. *Sallusti Bellum Catilinae, bellum Jugurthinum, orationes et epistolulae*, erkl. von Th. Opitz. iii. *Die Reden und Briefe* (Ed. Wolff), 'thorough and careful.' K. Willing, *Die Thaten des Kaisers Augustus*, von ihm selbst erzählt, and *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ed. by W. Fairley (O. Güthling), favourable notice of both.

P. Cauer, *Grammatica militans* (O. Weissenfels), unfavourable.

25 Jan. G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale* (F. Hiller von Gaertringen), very favourable. Gsell-Fels, *Oberitalien und die Riviera*, 6th edition (E. Ziegeler), 'belongs to the standard works on Italy.' O. Schwab, *Das Schlachtfeld von Cannä* (H. Stürenburg), favourable. P. Rasi, *Della così detta Patavinità di Tito Livio* (ed. Wolff), favourable. H. Schenkl, *zur Kritik und Überlieferung des Grutius* (R. Helm), 'a careful examination of the text.'

1 Feb. W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*. II. *Die attischen Inschriften*. I. Hälfte (E. Drerup), very favourable. Th. Hasper, *De compositione Militis gloriosi commentatio* (Fr. Hüffner), unfavourable. W. Soltau, *Livius' Geschichtswerk, seine Komposition und seine Quellen* (A. Schmidt), very favourable. J. Führer, *Forschungen zur Sicilia solteranea* (V. Schultze), 'one of the most prominent publications of recent times on Christian archaeology.'

8. Feb. Fr. Devantier, *Die Spuren des antlautenden Digamma bei Hesiod*. III. (R. Peppmüller), favourable. A. Romizzi, *Antologica Omérica e Virgiliana nelle migliori versione italiane* (H.), favourable. Galeni *de victu attenuante liber*, primum Graece ed. C. Kalbfleisch (R. Fuchs), favourable. K. Rück, *Die Naturalis Historia des Plinius im Mittelalter* (J. Müller), favourable. *Egypti vita Severini*, denuo rec. Th. Mommsen (G. Pfeilschifter), 'we need not praise the excellence of this edition of the text.'

15. Feb. *Bacchylidis Carmina*, ed. Fr. Blass. *Die neugefundenen Lieder des Bakchylides*. Text, Uebersetzung und Commentar von H. Jurenka. *Anthologie aus den Lyrikern der Griechen*, von E. Buchholz II. 4. A. von J. Sitzler (C. Haeblerlin), Blass has too many innovations. Jurenka's ed. is for a wider public. Sitzler gives four of the poems, viz. 2, 5, 18, 17. *Xenophontis de republica Atheniensium liber*, rec. E. Kalinka. Ed. min. (B. Büchsenhützel), good as far as it goes. C. Vitelli, *Note e appunti sull'autobiografia di Sulla* (A. Höck), 'diligent and careful.' A. Furtwängler und L. Urlichs, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (-r), 'to be warmly recommended.'

22 Feb. M. Paulcke, *De tabula Iliaca quaestiones Stesichorae* (P. Weizsäcker), 'makes a real advance.'

J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (K. Wernicke), favourable. *Terenti Comodiae*, iterum rec. A. Fleckeisen (J. Lozius), 'we must be thankful for this beautiful gift.' M. Sundén, *De tribunicia potestate a L. Sulla imminuta quaestiones* (W. Soltau), 'deserves attention even if the conclusions are not accepted.' P. Jahn, *Die Art der Abhängigkeit Vergils von Theokrit*. Fortsetzung (H. Morsch), deals with Ecl. 2 and part of 3, favourable. E. Kornemann, *Zur Stadtentstehung in den ehemals keltischen und germanischen Gebieten des Römerreiches* (M. I.), favourable.

1 Mar. *Antike Denkmäler*, von O. Müller, und F. Wieseler, 4. A. von K. Wernicke. Lief. 1 (-r-), favourable. K. Helbing, *Über den Gebrauch des echten und sozialiven Dativs bei Herodot* (H. Kallenberg), 'excellent.' A. Sanders, *Die Quellenkontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius* (W. Soltau), favourable. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. I. 2. A. (Fr. Harder), 'the newest literature carefully estimated.' R. v. Scala, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*. I. (W. Larfeld), favourable.

8 Mar. A. Müller, *Untersuchungen zu den Bühnenallertümern* (M. Maas), favourable. K. Thiemann, *Wörterbuch zu Xenophons Hellenika*, 4. A. (E. Althaus), 'not suited for schools.' *Demosthenes' Rede vom Kranze*, herausg. von A. Stitz (P. Uhle), 'excellent.' G. Reinhold, *Das Geschichtswerk des Livius als Quelle späterer Historiker* (W. Soltau), 'very carefully done.' *Ciceros Reden für Ligarius und für Dejotarus*, herausg. von K. Rossberg. K. Rossberg, *Kommentar zu Ciceros Reden für Ligarius und für Dejotarus* (W. Hirschfelder), favourable.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. No. 1. Jan. 1899.

The only notice of a purely classical work is H. Blümner's review of Frazer's *Pausanias*, 'Frazer's Pausanias ist im Grossen und Ganzen eine vortreffliche Leistung die unsere vollste Anerkennung verdient.' There are notices of other English books, of Butler's *Lausiac History of Palladius* (together with Preuschen's *Palladius und Rufinus*) by C. Schmidt, Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* by R. Pietschmann, and Conder's *The Hittites and their Language* (with Jensen's *Hittite and Armenier*); and Schäfer's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* is reviewed by Holtzmann.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Aeschylus. Prométhée enchaîné, traduit en vers français par A. Ragognéy. 8vo. 56 pp. Paris, Revue bibliographique.

Aristotelis ars rhetorica. Iterum ed. A. Roemer. 12mo. iii, 245 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 Mk. 60.

— πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων. Tertium ed. F. Blass. 12mo. xxxi, 245 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 80.

Bargelzi (K. F.). Dido in der Geschichte und in der Dichtung. 8vo. 18 pp. Wien.

Benndorf. Festschrift für Otto Benndorf, zu seinem 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern.

Freunden und Fachgenossen, redigiert von K. Masner. 4to. xiii, 320 pp., engravings, 12 plates, Vienna, Holder. 22 Mk.

Bock (F.). *Aristoteles Theophrastus Seneca de matrimonio. Accedit scriptoris christiani liber nuptialis*. 8vo. 70 pp. Leipzig.

Boissier (G.). *Roman Africa; Archaeological Walks in Algeria and Tunis*. Translated by A. Ward. 12mo. 13; 344 pp. New York, Putnam. \$1. 75.

Bréhier (L.). *De graecorum iudiciorum origine*. 8vo. 116 pp. Paris, Leroux.

Brown (R.). *Researches into the Origin of the Primitive Constellations of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Babylonians*. Vol. I. 8vo. 378 pp. Williams & N. 10s. 6d.

Burckhardt (Jac.). *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen*. 3rd Edition. 8vo. ix, 484 pp. Leipzig, Seemann. 6 Mk.

Cesar de bello gallico, liber 3. Text, notes, vocabulary by E. S. Shackburgh. 12mo. 78 pp. Liber 4. 12mo. 88 pp. (Cambridge Series for Schools.) Clay. Each 1s. 6d.

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- Cagnat* (R.) L'Année épigraphique, revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine (1898). 8vo. 60 pp., double columns. Paris, Leroux.
- Church* (A. J.) Latin Exercises. 3rd Part. 18mo. 64 pp. Seeley. 1s.
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- *Selections from the Correspondence of Cicero*. Ed. for sight reading by J. C. Kirtland, jr. 12mo. 103 pp. New York, American Book Co. 50 cts.
- Conway* (R. S.) *Dialectorum Italicarum exempla selecta in usum Academicum edita*. 8vo. Clay. 2s. 6d.
- Corpus glossariorum latinorum a G. Loewe inchoatum, compositum, rec.*, ed. Geo. Goetz. Vol. VI. P. 1. Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum conf. Geo. Goetz. 8vo. x, 368 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 18 Mk.
- Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. Vol. XIII. Partis I. fasc. I.: Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld et C. Zange-meister. Pars I. fasc. I.: Inscriptiones Aquitaniae et Lugudunensis. folio. 38, 519 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 58 Mk.
- Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. Vol. XVI. II. Fasc. I.: Dressel (H.) Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. Folio. pp. 491-996, 2 plates. Berlin, Reimer. 56 Mk.
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- Ephemeris epigraphica, corporis inscriptionum latinorum supplementum*, cura Th. Mommsen, I. B. Ross, O. Hirschfeld. Vol. VIII. fasc. 3. 8vo. pp. 351-620. Berlin, Reimer. 12 Mk.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

WE are glad to note that in the December issue of the *American Journal of Philology* its learned editor recognizes the significance of the movement to revive Latin as a spoken language, to which we have more than once called attention. In the same number for the first time there are contributions to 'Brief Mention,' perhaps the most characteristic feature of the *Journal*, from other pens than the editorial.

Apropos of the *American Journal of Philology*, we are glad to see that Mr. L. Horton-Smith has republished his papers on Latin etymology in collected form with important additions.

All of our readers who can should take the opportunity to inspect a large terra-cotta *lebes* from Thebes, now on view in the First Vase Room of the British Museum, of which Mr. A. B. Cook furnishes the following description: 'One side depicts a couple of chariots followed by a man on horseback. This must be one of the oldest European representations of a horse-rider, for the ware on which it occurs may be dated about 700 B.C.; the artist has shown the man riding sideways like a modern peasant. The other side of the bowl has by far the most perfect picture of a 'Dipylon' galley yet discovered. High stem and stern, the former furnished with a projecting spur and an ibis figure-head, are connected by a bridge or deck, on which sit an upper tier of

rowers; their oars, to avoid complication of lines, do not descend into the water, but stop short on reaching those of the lower tier. There are the usual big paddles for the steersman, and a shield is slung on the poop. Gunwales, thole-pins, etc., are clearly seen; and between the two sets of rowers, who number nineteen and twenty respectively, the vessel's side is open. No mast or sail is visible, the deck having apparently been cleared for action. Astern of the galley, a man about to step on board clasps the hand of a woman, who holds up a wreath. Both designs seemingly allude to warlike expeditions, by land and sea, probably those of the great man whose grave they adorned."

Mr. Winstedt's discovery of a new manuscript, and nearly forty hitherto unknown lines of Juvenal, in the Bodleian, is yet another reminder that for finds it is not necessary to go to the Fayûm. Both in style and, we are obliged to add, in matter, these additions to the notorious sixth satire are thoroughly worthy of Juvenal; and it cannot be urged against their genuineness that the codex in which they appear belongs to the class of inferior authority. For do we not owe the thirtieth poem of Theocritus to a manuscript of no particular merit in other respects? And are not four gaps in the text of Claudian filled solely by the aid of one whose general character is made only too clear by the corruptions recorded in the Isengrinian edition?

HOMERICA (IV.) OD. 1. 261-4, AND 5. 543.

φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
 ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐ οἱ
 δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας,
 ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἑμός· φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

The general import of this passage is clear enough. The difficulty lies in the causal sentence, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας. We are obliged to render νεμεσίζετο he *reverenced* or he *dreaded*, although really such a meaning is altogether at odds with the regular sense of νεμεσίζομαι and its cognate νεμεσάω. First as to the usage of νεμεσίζομαι; it means, *I am righteously indignant, I am angry*.

(1) Absolutely

β 138 ὑμέτερος δ' εἰ μὲν θυμὸς νεμεσίζεται
 αὐτῶν,

E 872 Ζεὺ πάτερ, οὐ νεμεσίζε' ὄρων τάδε
 καρτερὰ ἔργα;

(2) With the cause of the feeling expressed by an acc. and infin.

P 254 ἀλλὰ τις αὐτὸς ἴτω, νεμεσιζέσθω δ'
 ἐνὶ θυμῷ

Πάτροκλον Ἴρῳ κυσὶν μέλπηθρα
 γενέσθαι.

B 296 τῷ οὐ νεμεσίζομ' Ἀχαιοὺς
 ἀσχαλάαν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν.

(3) With the object of the indignation, the person or persons, against whom it is entertained, expressed by the dative.

B 239 νῦν δ' ἄλλω δήμῳ νεμεσίζομαι, οἷον
 ἅπαντες
 ἦσθ' ἀνεῷ.

Θ 407 Ἥρῃ δ' οὐ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ
 χολοῦμαι. So also 421.

E 757 Ζεὺ πάτερ, οὐ νεμεσίζῃ Ἀρῇ τάδε
 καρτερὰ ἔργα,
 ὁσσάτιόν τε καὶ οἷον ἀπώλεσε λαὸν
 Ἀχαιῶν.

These are all the passages which exhibit any form of νεμεσίζεσθαι in the Homeric poems. In no instance is there any room for doubt as to the sense, though the last example, E 757-8, has probably been damaged in transmission. However, this need not detain us, as the meaning of the verb is not affected.

Now compare with the above passages the expression under discussion:—

ἐπεὶ ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας.

'Since he revered the gods, who live for ever' is undoubtedly the meaning intended. The sequence of thought will allow no other. Otherwise, especially in view of E 757, who would hesitate to accept as the most natural version of the words 'since he was indignant that the gods should exist for ever,' implying, of course—an unpardonable levity—some regret at not possessing a φάρμακον to curtail this prolonged existence? Compare also N 352.

We are often told that Homer sometimes nods: but such a startling incongruity as this, such a glaring misuse of words would seem to indicate a deeper slumber, than has ever been laid to his charge.

Whatever he really said here, I think we may at least feel pretty sure he did not say:—

ἐπεὶ ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας.

It is not as if there did not exist in the Homeric vocabulary any verb that would fit the line and convey the sense, 'he revered,' 'regarded,' 'had respect for.' ὀπίζετο and ἐποπίζετο were at command besides verbs of *fearing* in abundance, *τρέειν*, *δίειν*, etc., which might readily be associated with convenient adverbs, *λίην*, *αἰνῶς*, *μεγάλα*, etc.

From the facility, with which a suitable substitute for νεμεσίζετο could be found, we may infer that νεμεσίζετο is not really very far wrong and that the error—for error there must be—lies wholly or mainly in the accompanying words. Accordingly I suggest as a likely original:—

ἐπεὶ κε θεοὶ νεμεσίζοντ' αἰὲν ἔόντες,

'since the gods, who live for ever, would have been indignant.' The imperfect of course implies the persistency of the feeling. Their anger would have been lasting, cf. v. 307, v. Monro, H.G. §324.

So and so only can νεμεσίζεσθαι preserve its legitimate meaning, while the general sense remains unimpaired. The only difference is that the displeasure of the gods is explicitly affirmed instead of being merely implied as in the anomalous vulgate. The changes, though numerous, are but slight in character; θεοὺς—ἔοντας becomes θεοὶ—ἔόντες, ῥα becomes κε and νεμεσίζετο becomes νεμεσίζοντ'. The corruption would, I believe, begin with νεμεσίζοντ'. The spondee in the fourth place seems less rhythmical than the dactyl. There is however no difficulty in

defending the rhythm given by this conjecture. Parallels are abundant, e.g.

Η 30 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὐτε μαχήσονται, εἰς ὃ
κε τέκνω

λ 356 εἰ με καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνάγοιτ', αὐτόθι
μῦνεν.

ρ 479 μή σε νέοι διὰ δῶμα ἐρύσσωσ', οἱ
ἀγορεύεις.

After the appearance of νεμεσίζετο the other changes necessary to produce the tradition are easy and inevitable. The nom. plur. becomes the acc. and κε is displaced by ῥα.

The case then stands thus: the vulgate passes beyond all reasonable license of language: the emendation is after all not such as to leave the origin of the traditional text an absolute mystery. It gives the required sense and sacrifices no word of the tradition entirely save ῥα. The most serious loss is that of the hiatus licitus, a loss, if it be a loss, that the judicious may condone; I shall not myself pretend to regret the removal of that notable and popular scholastic bulwark.

In l. 259 where the digamma is neglected in Ἴλου, there seems to have been a slight transposition. The original reading was doubtless:—

εἰ ἀνιόντ' Ἐφύρης παρὰ Ἴλοο Μερμερίδαο.

Od. 5, 343

εἶματα ταῦτ' ἀποδὺς σχεδὴν ἀνέμοισι φέρεσθαι
κάλλιπ', ἀτὰρ χεῖρεσσι νέων ἐπιμαίεο νόστου
γαίης Φαιήκων, ὅθι τοι μοῖρ' ἔστιν ἀλύξαι.

It matters little whether we take γαίης as dependent on νόστου with Curtius and Ameis-Hentze, or as an apposition to it with Nitzsch and Giseke. Whichever construction be adopted, the difficulty of νόστου here remains unexplained and inexplicable. Νόστος can only mean 'return-home,' 'reditus in patriam.' Now the land of the Phaeacians was certainly not the home of Odysseus, nor can

he be said to return to a place, which he was just about to visit for the first time. Hence Kammer is moved to delete l. 345 altogether. This step necessarily involves the removal of ll. 358-9 also, and the result is that Ino sets our hero the impossible task of swimming all the way home. Even as it is, he swims two days and two nights to reach Phaeacia (l. 388), surely a sufficient effort. van Herwerden, who agrees with Kammer's excisions meets the difficulty by boldly displacing νόστου in favour of γαίης.

The necessity for all this textual disturbance may, I think be obviated by merely changing the terminal letters of the one word which is the source of all the trouble. I would read:—

ἀτὰρ χεῖρεσσι νέων ἐπιμαίεο νόσφι.

Ino's instructions are simply that he is to swim 'away,' 'right away,' λιπὼν τὴν σχεδὴν, cf. δ 289 τόφρα δ' ἔχ', ὅφρα σε νόσφιν ἀπήγαγε Πάλλας Ἀθήνη, where νόσφιν is virtually equivalent to λιποῖσαν τὸν ἵππον, also N. 4. But the adverbial use of νόσφι, 'away,' needs no lengthy illustration for readers of Homer.

The loss or abandonment of νόσφι here may be traced to its position immediately before γαίης producing the possibility of a misunderstanding: but if I judge rightly of my author, he did not compose his sentences with any intention of forestalling perverse misapprehension. Clearly νόσφι at the end of a line could hardly be a preposition governing a noun in the next: moreover ἐπιμαίεο has prepared us to look for a genitive, and so γαίης is sufficiently safeguarded.

It would of course be possible to take νόσφι with γαίης not as a prep. but as an adverb, equivalent to τῆς νόσφι γαίης, 'the distant land.' The objection to this is that Ino would not be likely to add this discouraging detail. Odysseus would see that for himself, as indeed he does ll. 358-9.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTE ON SOPHOCLES, O.T. 223-235.

ἡμῖν προφωνῶ πᾶσι Καδμείοις τάδε·
ὅστις ποθ' ἡμῶν Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου
κάτοιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο, 225
τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί·
κεῖ μὲν φοβεῖται, τοῦπ' κλημ' ὑπεξέλυν

αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ· πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
ἀστεργές οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἀβλαβής· 230
εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν ἐξ ἄλλης χθονὸς
τὸν αὐτόχειρα, μὴ σιωπάτω· τὸ γὰρ
κέρδος τελὼν γῶ χη χάρις προσκίσεται.

εἰ δ' αὖ σιωπήσεσθε, καὶ τις ἢ φίλον
 δείσας ἀπώσσει τοῦπος ἢ χαυτοῦ τόδε,
 ἄκ τῶνδε δράσω, ταῦτα χρή κλύειν ἐμοῦ. 235

There seems to be a considerable amount of difficulty about the connexion of thought in this whole passage. The outline of the sentence is:—‘Give information; if you do not, I shall, etc.’ εἰ δ' αὖ σιωπήσεσθε 233 resumes from κεύω σημαίνειν 226. But we have a considerable expansion of (A.) ‘Give information’ 223–232, and (B.) ‘if you do not give information’ 233–4; and we shall naturally compare these two parts of the sentence, to note the correspondence or non-correspondence of one with the other.

(A.) is perhaps rather complex. The clauses themselves give three distinct cases, and—by their explicit mention of motives, both against denouncing (κεῖ μὲν φοβεῖται) and for denouncing (πίσεται...ἀβλαβής, and τὸ γὰρ...προσκέσεται)—suggest an examination of motives expressed and implied.

The primary distinction is between a Theban and an alien murderer: on the hypothesis of a Theban murderer a secondary distinction is made between self-denunciation and denunciation by another.

Thus we have three cases:—

(1) A Theban murder is denounced by a Theban, other—as may naturally be assumed where nothing is said to the contrary—than himself.

(2) A Theban murderer is denounced, even—as a special case—by himself.

(3) An alien murderer is denounced—presumably by a Theban. [εἴ τις 230 may be assumed to be equivalent to ὅστις ὑμῶν 224.]

And the motives in each case are as follows:—

(1) No motives especially appropriate to this case are expressed or implied. Of course the general motives for denouncing are obedience to the command of Oedipus, and the desire to save Thebes. [We shall expect more particular cases to be accompanied by a special motive against denouncing, and an additional motive for.]

(2) Against: φοβεῖται 227.

For: πίσεται...ἀβλαβής 228.

(3) Against: none is expressed. [It is hard to understand why a Theban should be particularly anxious to abstain from denouncing an alien.]

For: τὸ γὰρ κέρδος...προσκέσεται 231. [τὸ κέρδος will presumably mean the usual or the expected reward. But why is this motive especially potent in this case? We can hardly assume that κέρδος and χάρις

would be absent or less in quantity in case (1).]

The second part of the whole sentence, which I have called (B.), may be more simply analysed on the same lines.

Case (1) The murderer is denounced by another man, his friend.

Case (2) The murderer is denounced by himself.

Motives, in both cases alike:—

Against: δείσας 234.

For: (in addition to the general motive) a double curse, on the murderer, and on the man who refuses to denounce him.

We are now in a position to perceive three main difficulties:—

(i.) It is hard to account satisfactorily for the distinction of cases in part (A.) of the sentence: the connexion between (2) and (1) is a not unnatural specialization; but the value of (3) as distinguished from (1) and (2) is very obscure; the distinction is not suggested by any preceding words, and the clauses dealing with the case do not themselves provide a justification.

(ii.) The motives for action in case (3) are very unintelligible.

(iii.) There is a distressing irrelevance between the cases distinguished in (A.) and those distinguished in (B.). In (A.) we have case (3) emphatically distinguished from (1) and (2), and as this distinction has not been accounted for previously we cannot help expecting that it will turn out to be of some value in the second part of the sentence; when we hear the second part we find that the distinction is completely disregarded, and—as Professor Jebb phrased it, *O.T.*, p. 214, l. 36,—a certain degree of discomfort attends the mental process.

These difficulties are certainly serious; and no explanation of the passage appears to avoid them. It seems indeed that we must consent to the alteration in 230 of ἄλλον to ἄλλος, explained—as ἄλλον is taken to be—by ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός. [The supposed substitution of ἄλλον for ἄλλος needs no particular explanation as an accident; or it may well be the work of some critic or actor, careless of logic but obsessed by the notion of verbal ‘irony.’ See 451.]

We may note how the three difficulties, as stated above, are thus modified.

(i.) The cases in part (A.) are now:—(1) The murderer is denounced by a Theban, (2) even though it may be by himself. (3) The murderer is denounced by an alien. Thus the distinction, made by ἄλλον, between a Theban and an alien murderer, which to a great extent obscured the value

of case (3) as opposed to the others, has now disappeared. On the other hand, the distinction made by ἄλλος between a Theban and an alien denouncer is already implicit in the passage. In 223-4 Oedipus has strongly emphasized ἡμῖν προφωνῶ πασι Καδμείοις τάδε· ὅστις ποθ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. : it then occurs to him that his utterance may reach the ears of some who are not Thebans, and to such men also he speaks a word: so that ἄλλος now following this emphatic ἡμεῖς is more than intelligible—almost inevitable. ἄλλον either makes an antithesis which is unmotivated, or fails to make an antithesis where one is expected.

(ii.) The motives in (A. 3) are now perfectly clear:—

Against denouncing: Absence of the general motive *for*, appropriate to cases (1) and (2). Why should an alien be interested in saving Thebes, or anxious to oblige the Thebans' king?

For: He (no less than an ἀστός) will be rewarded [τὸ κέρδος = the same κέρδος as in the case of an ἀστός.] by me (though I am not his ruler), and will have in addition a standing balance of gratitude to his credit.

The word προσκίσεται gains a peculiar appropriateness by the change to ἄλλος. In the case of an ἀστός, always on the spot, the χάρις could be realised at once: in the case of a ξένος it is allowed to remain on deposit till an opportunity for drawing on it occurs.

(iii.) If we now consider the cases distinguished in (B.) as compared with those of (A.), we find not an irrelevance nor a merely mechanical parallelism, but a more artistic and rational modification. In (A.) we distinguish a Theban denouncing the murderer, even if it is himself, from an alien denouncing the murderer. As the sentence passes into its second part, we notice in the first place—looking backwards—that this distinction has done its work; the previous emphasis on ἡμεῖς required it, and the requirement has been satisfied: in the second place—looking forwards—further reference to this distinction would be inconvenient; the already mentioned motive, which is to be mentioned again (φόβος), is irrelevant to the nationality of the denouncer; and the additional motive, which is to be mentioned now (the double curse), so far as it owes its validity to religious fear is similarly irrelevant, while so far as

it owes its validity to respect for Oedipus it is positively inapplicable to the case of an alien denouncer. [Oedipus himself refers explicitly to this limitation of his authority in the words γῆς τῇσδε 236, which should be taken not with ἄνδρα, nor with ἀπαυδῶ, nor with ἐσδέχσθαι, nor with τυά, but with the verbal notion of the whole clause, in the sense of, 'wherever my authority is recognized.'] Thus we have εἴ τις 233, with no specification of nationality, as opposed to ὅστις ἡμῶν 224 and εἴ τις ἄλλος 230.

As to the other distinction, (B. 2) is obviously equivalent to (A. 2); (B. 1) also is probably equivalent to (A. 1), for we may either take φίλον as not literally emphatic, thus understanding that no definite distinction is intended of the case in which a Theban might abstain from denouncing a murderer who was neither αὐτός nor strictly speaking φίλος, or we may assume implicitly that in the case of a murderer who was neither φίλος nor αὐτός no Theban would hesitate about denouncing. The repetition of the distinction—itself not very essential to the argument, but remaining present in the mind—between φίλου and αὐτοῦ has a value, as marking for us that the two parts of the sentence, in spite of modifications, are rhetorically treated as corresponding one to the other.

M. FURNESS.

[Mr. Furness's paper is an argumentation in favour of a somewhat neglected emendation of L. Purgold *Observationes criticae in Sophoclem*, etc. (Jena and Leipzig, 1802). The author's defence of it is as follows 'mirari subit, nulli Criticorum levem mendam observatam fuisse, quae semel cognita, statim sic corrigi poterat et debebat

εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός.

Nam satis perspicue opponitur hic versus versui 228 supra ἡμῖν προφανῶ πασι Καδμείοις τάδε. Deinde, quae nostrum versum sequuntur verba τὸ γὰρ κέρδος τελῶ' γω, χ' ἡ χάρις προσκίσεται rem certe evincunt. Thebanis enim, quippe subditis, rex, sicut facit, imperare debebat, ceteros hosce externos nisi lucro atque praemio proposito Oedipus in sententiam suam perducere non poterat.' —Ed. C.R.]

NICOBULUS'S WALKING-STICK.

WE find in Demosthenes *adv. Pantaen.* (§ 52) a statement which seems to defy explanation as it stands. 'What will Pantaenetus have to say against me when he comes to speak?' asks Nicobulus. 'Only that I am an odious person, that I walk quickly and talk loudly, and carry a walking-stick.' 'Now we know that the first and second of these habits were regarded as unseemly and vulgar: we read in the *Characters* of Theophrastus that the Boor is accustomed *μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λαλεῖν*, while to walk fast is one of those undignified actions which Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος* is careful to avoid. But what is the point of the concluding sneer? The mere statement that a man carried a walking-stick was as empty an objection then, as to say that he wore a coat would be now (see Becker-Göll *Charikles*, i. 140 ff.). The commentators have ignored this, and regarded the present passage as proving that to carry a stick was a sign either of youthful dandyism, or of vulgarity, or of Laconising tendencies. The first view is a startling absurdity, perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the *Charikles* combined with the hatred of the gods, and the second merely begs the question. In favour of the third Plut. *Nic.* 19 has been quoted: *ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ τρίβωνι τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης καθορῶντες*. But the required inference does not follow. It makes perfectly good sense to say, 'you can tell

that she is a Salvationist by her bonnet,' but to infer from this that all ladies who wear bonnets are Salvationists would be an overhasty metaphysics. The bonnet is tell-tale because it is of a certain shape, and similarly the stick of Plut. *Nic.* 19 was of a certain shape, for which see Theophr. *Char.* 4. In fine, there is no evidence whatever that the statement *βακτηρίαν φορεῖ* could at any time have been used by way of stigma, as is here assumed. We are thus driven to regard the text as corrupt, and to ask what word should stand in the place of *βακτηρίαν*, remembering in our search that it has to fulfil two conditions: (1) it must be the name of something that was a mark of a man who, far from being a dandy, was the very reverse, and (2) it must explain the corruption. I think that both these conditions are satisfied by *καμπύλην*. We learn from Aristophanes *Frag.* 128 and the passage in the *Etym. M.* there quoted by Koch that the *καμπύλη* was carried by those who had no pretensions to elegance—by those very *ἄγροικοι*, in fact, whom Theophrastus describes as talking loudly, like Nicobulus here. The coincidence of these passages and the ease with which the gloss *βακτηρίαν* would expel the rare *καμπύλην* seem to me well-nigh irresistible arguments in favour of the proposed change.

W. A. GOLIGHER.

THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Continued from Vol. XII. p. 390.)

BEFORE passing on to general considerations about the authenticity of the disputed treatises I should like to add some details as to certain other portions of the Xn. corpus. The authorship of the *Symposium* and *Hiero* has been questioned much less than that of the other works we have examined, but, as doubts have been sometimes expressed, it seems worth while to deal with them. I propose therefore to state in a short and summary way the results of one reading devoted entirely to the study of the vocabulary. Further research would no

doubt yield more material. I note nothing in the vocabulary of either which seems to me to tell against the ordinary view that they were written by X., and I find a long list of things that are distinctly Xn. By Xn. I mean partly such as we have already seen to be peculiar or almost peculiar to X., partly such as are noticeably common in him, and in a few cases such as, though they do not actually occur in his other writings, belong to the class of words that we have repeatedly noticed as a mark of his style. Readers who have followed me so far will have no

difficulty in recognising most of the following points and may easily satisfy themselves as to the others.

1. *Symposium*. Classifying roughly for practical purposes by the parts of speech, we may notice among substantives φέγγος, ὄμμα, ὄψεις (eyes), ὁδὸν, μόχθος, τέρψις, θάκος, ἔπος, εὐφροσύνη, χώρος, ἀνδραγαθία, εὐνή; and among adjectives γοργός, ἔνθεος, φιλόφρων with φιλοφροσύνη, καλοκάγαθός with καλοκάγαθία, παιγνιώδης, ἀναφιλόλογος, εὐχάριστος = εὐχαρίς, προσεμφερής (?), ἀειγενής, ισήλιξ, ῥαδιουργός with ῥαδιουργία, ἀπόκρυφος, ἐθελούσιος, ἀκόρεστος, ἐπαφρόδιτος and ἀνεπαφρόδιτος, αἰδήμων, λαμυρός, ἄλκιμος, ἐράσμιος, εὐδήςλος, ἱεροπρεπής, ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀρεστός, with the adverbs θαρρόντως, πυκνά, ἐχθίνως, ἰσχυρῶς = σφόδρα (4. 23, 52), ἀναμίξ. Notable verbs are λήγω, συνέπομαι, ἀναστενάζω, ἵμαι, κοιμίζω, αὔξω, τέρπω, καθίζω (3. 11 : cf. *Cyr.* 2. 2. 14), φωνῶ, ἀγάλλομαι, ἔλεξεν instead of the εἶπεν of common Attic prose, συμπαρομαρτῶ, μαστεύω, περιτεύω, ἡδυνπαθῶ, συνδιημερεύω, λήθω, σπουδασιολογῶ, προστατῶ, κυνοδρομῶ, καταδυναστεύω, κατάρχω, χλιδαίνομαι, θάλλω, μειῶ, προσορῶ, νέμω, ἀπεμπολῶ, κεντρίζω, ἀφροντιστῶ, περιέπω, καταθεῶμαι, ἐρευνῶ (ἐρευνητέον 8. 39,) ἀναπτέρω, the aorist ὠρέχθην, and the participle σεσαγμένος with genitive. There are further to be noticed the prepositions ἀμφί (1. 3 twice and 7), ἀνά (3. 6), σύν (2. 5, 15, 22 : 5. 10 : 8. 40 : 9. 7), ἐκ like ὑπό with a passive verb (1. 10) : ὡς in its characteristic Xn. uses, (1) final (5. 9), and (2) = ὥστε with infinitive (2. 8 : 4. 39) or indicative (4. 37 : 8. 35 : 9. 3) : temporal ἐπεὶ (2. 2 and often) : πολύ with comparatives (1. 4 and often) : πρόσθεν (1. 6 and 15) : the Ionic ἤπερ, if right (1. 15) : καί...δέ (1. 11 : 2. 9). Roquette's table (*De X. Vita*, p. 39) gives the single connecting τε as occurring 6 times, τε...τε once and X's favourite μὲν in not less than 33 places. The Xn. *anaphora* is also abundant. No attempt is made to avoid hiatus.

2. *Hiero*. Observe the substantives εὐφροσύνη (repeatedly), ληλασία, ἔρυμα, θαλία, δῶρα, κτήνος, ἀλκή, ἐμπόρευμα, τέκνα and τεκνοποιός, ἐπικράτεια, φόρημα, and the adjectives μέϊων (with μειονεκτῶ repeatedly and μειῶ), ἐχυρός, ἐκπλεως, ἀγλευκής, ἀκήρατος, ἀλληλοφόνος, μαιφόνος, ἄλκιμος, εὖοπλος, ἀργαλέος, λυσιτελής, ἐξαπίναιος, ἐκπαγλος, ἀγχιτέρμων, εὐμενής, ἐθελούσιος, with the adverbs ἰσχυρῶς = σφόδρα (1. 33), μέγας, ἐντόνως. Xn. verbs are εὐφραίνω (passim), ἀνιῶ, ὑπουργῶ with ὑπουργία, ὀνίνημι, γαιρουῖμαι, αὔξω, μεγαλύνομαι, βιοτεύω, κοιμῶμαι, κατακτείνω, δεσμεύω, φέρομαι, γεραίρω, δωροῦμαι, λυσιτελεῖν, συμπάρεπομαι, ἀγάλλομαι, ῥαδιουργῶ, συμπαρομαρτῶ,

ἀργεῖσθαι, ἐξορῶ, ἐξάγομαι, προστατεύω, πλουτίζω. Finally we notice ἀμφί (τι) ἔχω (1. 12), ἀνά (7. 9 : 10. 5), σύν (9. 8), ὡς with infinitive (10. 1), temporal ἐπεὶ (7. 1 and 11), πῇ and ὅπῃ (1. 2 and 4. 9), ἐνθα and ἐνθαπερ (1. 11 : 2. 4), πολύ with comparatives (1. 8, etc.), πρόσθεν (2. 18), ἔμπαλιν (4. 5), ὡσαύτως (7. 6). According to Roquette μὲν is found 11 times, τε...τε 3 times, and the single τε once, but I notice this τε twice in 2. 17 and once again in 7. 2. *Anaphora* is frequent. Hiatus is admitted freely.

3. *Cyropaedia* 8. 8. It is well-known that in the last chapter of the *Cyropaedia* the writer suddenly changes his point of view and passes from enthusiastic admiration of Cyrus and the system of the Persian empire to a most unfavourable and gloomy picture of its present condition. The difference is so striking that many critics have thought the chapter can be nothing but an addition by a later hand. They hold that X. could never have appended to his own book a chapter which may be almost said to refute his pleading, sometimes direct, sometimes implied, for the monarchical principle and in particular to stultify his glorification of Persia. The chapter does indeed curiously resemble one in the *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* (Ch. 14, which should no doubt change places with Ch. 15) where the writer also turns round on himself to a certain extent and shows the degeneracy of the people he has been praising; but apart from the general question of the authorship of the *R.L.* it has been especially doubted whether Ch. 14 is a genuine part of it. To me there seems nothing in the matter of either chapter which is really inconsistent with Xn. authorship, especially if we suppose, as we quite well may, that they were added by X. at a later time. The more fond his faith in Lycurgus and Cyrus, the sharper his condemnation of any departure from the spirit of their institutions. But it is certainly worth while to extend our view for a few minutes from the *opera minora* to the *Cyropaedia* and apply to this doubtful chapter the same method which we have followed so far. Unless it is valid in all instances, it is not valid in any.

Taking, first, words already noticed as in various degrees characteristic of X., we find ὡς with infinitive = ὥστε (11); σύν (3, 12 twice, 27, or four times altogether); ἐπεὶ of time (2, 3, 12, 26); ἔστε (9); τε...τε (1, 16); πρόσθεν 11 times and ἔμπροσθεν the more common Attic form not once: πολύ, not πολλῶ, with comparatives (4, 15): τῷ παντί with comparatives (7, 20): τέκνα (4): ἐκ-

πονεῖν (8) and κοιμᾶσθαι (9): δικαιοῦς (13): σαφηνίζω, εὐνή, ὡσαύτως (16, εὐνή again in 19). Ἄλλὰ μὲν, καὶ μὲν and the still more characteristically Xn. γέ μὲν occur three or four times apiece.

The metaphorical use of κυβερνᾶν (1) belongs to X. and Plato. It will not easily be found in any orator except Antiphon (1. 13), and many uses in Antiphon are just the exception which proves the rule. So σέβομαι (1) and σέβω will be found in X. and Plato, very seldom in any other Attic prose. The anaphora in 2 (εὐθὺς μέν...εὐθὺς δέ...) is quite Xn. Ἐμπεδοῦν ὄρκους, etc., and δεξιὰς δίδοναι give pledges (2) occur in X., hardly at all elsewhere in prose. The use of πρό in the sense of *on behalf of* (4, 20) is mainly poetical, though it may now and then be found in prose, e.g. Demosth. 14. 4: 21, 179: in X. there are not a few examples. ὑποχείριος (4), used occasionally by Herodotus and Thucydides but hardly ever by an orator, occurs over and over again in X. γεραίρω (4) is used once by Herodotus, a few times by X., otherwise in poetry only. The sentence ὅποιοί τινες γὰρ ἂν κ.τ.λ. (5) occurs *verbatim* in *Vect.* 1. 1, including the peculiar position of ἂν, which I noticed in *Cyn.* 6. 20. The accusative in ὑπ' αὐτοῦς (5) of persons under the authority of others is not cited from any author but X., who has it several times. The poetical ἀθέμιτος (5) occurs *Cyr.* 1. 6. 6: *Mem.* 1. 1. 9. The use of εἰς *in respect of* (6 εἰς χρήματα ἀδικώτεροι) I find cited only from Thucydides, Plato, X. among prose writers (Kühner §432), but it may occur elsewhere. ἀναστρέφεισθαι (7) *versari* is a frequent Xn. word, apparently not much in use with the orators. The adverbial τὸ παλαιόν (7) is also used by him. For the rare στερεοῦν (8) cf. *de Re Eq.* 4. 3 and 5, and for the rare διάγω (*ibid.*) with a participle several other passages of *Cyr.* If in the same section οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτηδεύεται equals, as I think it does, οὐδαμῶς or οὐδέποτε ἐπιτηδεύεται, cf. *Mem.* 1. 7. 2 ἔργον γε οὐδαμῶς ληπτέον. I count five examples of ὅπως as a final conjunction in the chapter (9, 14 twice, 16, 20), and no instance of ἵνα. Be it remembered that in the Xn. *corpus* taken together ἵνα and ὅπως are just evenly balanced, and that in some works ὅπως is the commoner, e.g. in the *Cyr.* as a whole, whereas in the orators as a whole ἵνα occurs about fourteen times as often as ὅπως. θαμά (12) must be extremely rare in

ordinary prose (*Isocr.* 12. 102?) but it occurs in *Mem.* 2. 1. 22, and we have noticed that X. sometimes has θαμνά. The uncommon figurative use of ἀποσβέννυσθαι (13 and 15) occurs *Cyr.* 5. 4. 30: *Oec.* 5. 17. The verb κακοποιῶ (14) occurs in no good prose-writer but X., who has it a few times: Isocrates, however, has κακοποιία once. X. is also the only good prose-writer from whom θρυπτικός (15) is cited: he and Plato also use θρύπτομαι; cf. θρύψις in 16. στολή = ἔσθῃς (15) is poetical and quite uncommon in Attic prose. The illogical expression οὐ μόνον...ἀρκεῖ (16 and again 17) is paralleled by the editors from *Mem.* and *Hell.* The secondary use of καλλωπίζομαι (18) occurs a few times in both X. and Plato: it seems probable that no orator has it. With the adverbial ἐξ ἀδίκου (18) cf. ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου *Hell.* 6. 5. 16. The poetical ἱππότης (20) occurs *Cyr.* 1. 4. 18: *de Re Eq.* 8. 10. ῥυθμίζω (20), does not occur elsewhere in X., but μεταρρυθμίζω does. δυνάστης (20), not at all a common word, is used by him three or four times. ἀποπαύω (22) seems to belong to the poets, Plato, and X. With ὁμόθεν (22) *from near* cf. ὁμοῦ in *Cyr.* 3. 1. 2, etc.: ἐγγύς, ἐγγύθεν are of course the ordinary Attic words. ὁμόθεν is found also *Cyn.* 7. 8. We find in 24 and 26 two instances of that use of the oblique cases of σφεῖς, which gets rarer and rarer as Attic prose goes on and for which the orators as a rule employ cases of αὐτοί: there are very many such in X. ὑφίστασθαι (26) will not easily be found in any Attic prose writer but X., not even in Plato. πολεμιστήριος (26) is used by him three or four times and ὑποτίθεμαι (27) is used in the same sense in *de Re Eq.* 3. 7. Finally let us remark that, as in the works of X., no sort of care is taken to avoid hiatus. Observe, for instance, 3 ἐπεὶ ἐγνωστοί ἢ ἀσέβεια αὐτῶν, or 13 τὸ μὴ ἰέναι ὅπου ἂν ἀποφαινόμενοι εὐδοκμοῖεν.

Of the points I have now stated, forty to fifty in number, and some of course very small, about a dozen were indicated by Eichler in his *Dissertatio de Cyrupædiae capite extremo* (1880). These included several of the more important, e.g. σύν, ἔστε, γε μὲν, and such words as ἱππότης and γεραίρω. Probably others still remain to be noticed.

As far as I can see, nothing occurs in the language of the chapter which can be called un-Xn. The use of a few words not found in him elsewhere is of no importance.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON PROPERTIUS III. XV. 31-34.

Ac ueluti magnos cum ponunt aequora motus
 Euris ubi aduerso desinit ire Noto,
 litore sic tacito sonitus rarescit harenae,
 sic cadit inflexo lapsa puella genu.

These lines describe Antiope, driven from Thebes by her rival Dirce. In v. 33 *sic* has been taken in two ways:

(1) As introducing the *secundum comparationis* to v. 31-2. So Lachmann, who refers the *sonitus* to v. 27 above:

Saepe uago Asopi sonitu permota fluentis ;

Sic in v. 34 he refers to that usage which he illustrates on I. xxiii, 6, in the sense of 'in hac rerum conditione; cum aliud quid sit aut esset.'

Objections to this view are among others: (a) that, as Lachmann himself remarks of another interpretation, 'nullum quod logici dicunt tertium (habet):' the dying away of the storm is naturally compared to the gradual loss of consciousness by Antiope, an aspect of nature and a mental state being thus contrasted: the virtue of 31-2 is in great measure lost if they are to be compared to another aspect of nature.

(b) *litore* in 33 is unpleasantly ambiguous after *aequora*, *Euris*, *Noto*: we immediately think of the sea-shore.

(c) *sonitus...harenae* is pointless and unnatural when used of the action of a river: it is only suitable for what Tennyson describes in more forcible metaphor as 'The shriek of a dying beach dragged down by the waves.'

(2) The second way in which *sic*, v. 33, has been taken is in the sense above referred to 'in hac rerum conditione.' Keil in his *Program* (Bonn, 1843) p. 10 well states the difficulty which then confronts us. '*Sic* si scribis [in 33] ut ratio significetur qua fiat ut sonitus rareseat . . . magnopere id languet post positam in priore enuntiatione cum particulam, nec intelligi a quoquam poterat.' And to the trouble occasioned by the first *sic* ample testimony is borne by the proposal to punctuate v. 34 thus:

sic (cadit inflexo lapsa puella genu)

35. sera tamen pietas eqs. : so Müller in his text.

But this course, awkward as it is, does not relieve us, for to my ear at least v. 34 naturally ends the simile, and anything further is intolerable.

Now in v. 33 A F D V have not *sic* but *si*. I venture to think that the true reading is to be regained by a slight change:

Litore sollicito sonitus rarescit harenae.

Sollicitus is exactly the word needed to describe the disturbance caused by a storm, on e.g. the sea (Verg. *Georg.* IV. 262): cf. Lucretius' application of it to *motus*. At Lucr. V, 1214, O and Q have *et taciti* for the true reading *solliciti*.

We thus get rid of the *ignis fatuus* in v. 33, and the application of the simile of 31-33 to Antiope is naturally introduced by the emphatic position of *sic* in v. 34.

J. A. NAIRN.

A BODLEIAN MS. OF JUVENAL.

WHILE glancing at some of the disputed readings of Juvenal in a Bodleian MS. (Canonicianus 41, a Lombardic MS. of the eleventh century), I was surprised to find that Mercier's emendation of *Sat.* xv. 75 (ex veteri scriptura 'praestant instantibus omnes'), which is adopted by Friedländer and by Mayor (4th ed.)

terga fuge (Mayor fuga) praestant instantibus ombis

at last receives manuscript authority; as also does O. Jahn's emendation hic asianorum (iii, 218). Other interesting readings

are signator. falso (i. 67) and those at i. 169 and vii. 15.

After *Sat.* vi. 365 are inserted the following 34 lines:

In quacumque domo uiuit luditque professus
 Obscenum. et tremula promittit omnia
 dextra.

Inuenies omnis turpes similesque cinedis
 His uiolare cibos sacraeque adsistere mensae
 Promittunt. et uasa iubent frangenda
 lauari

Cum colocintha bibit uel cum barbata
 chelidon.

Purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,

In cuius numero longe migrare
iubetur cf. xi. 6-8.

Psillus et eupholio. quid quod
nec retia turpi

Iunguntur tunicae. nec cella
ponit eadem

Munimenta humeri pulsataque
arma tridentem. cf. viii.
200-210.

Qui nudus pugnare solet pars
ultima ludi

Accipit as animas. aliosque in
carcere nervos.

Sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor. et
illis

Cum quibus albanum surrentinumque re-
cusat

Flaua ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri.

Horum consiliis nubunt subitaeque rece-
dunt.

His languentem animum seruant et seria
uitae.

His clunem atque latus discunt uibrare
magistris.

Quicquid preterea scit qui docet haud tamen
illi

Semper habenda fides. oculos fuligine pascit.
Distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter

Suspectus tibi sit. quanto uox mollior. et
quo

Sepius in teneris herebit dextera lumbis.

Hic erit intecto fortissimus. exuit illic

Personam, docili^s thais saltata tripallo
(s erased).

Quem rides aliis hunc mimum sponsio fiat

Purum te contendo uirum contendo fateris

An uocat ancillas tortoris pegula. noui

Consilia. et ueteris quaecumque monetis
amici cf. vi. 346-347.

Pone seram cohibes. sed quis custodiat
ipsos

Custodes. qui nunc lasciuae furta puellae

Hac mercede silent. crimen comune tacetur.

Prospicit hoc prudens. et ab illis incipit
uxor (cf. vi. 348).

In my collation I have usually omitted mistakes in spelling; such as a confusion of b and v (this is very common; in the text alone I have noticed 31 instances of b=v, and 5 of v=b); of j and g (always in iugera (iuiera); of c or ch for g, and of g for c; of N for H or H for N (e.g. heading of x. de uotis nominum); of c or s for t; of qu for c (quoquere xv. 167) and d for t (adlas). Mihi and nihil are consistently spelt michi and nichil, except when mihi

appears in the contracted form m, and the uncontracted form diis and Antonii is

always used as is contempnere. It is noticeable that, though the Greek is generally misspelt, several words, notably *κακοητης* (vii. 52) and *ψηκας* (vi. 491), are spelt in Greek characters, which are usually found in Roman. In the scholia on the contrary the Greek words *ἀπο τοῦ πρινοῦ* iii. 210 appear as *apo tu prinu*; and mediaeval forms sometimes occur e.g. *iusta* (= *iuxta*).

(The text with which I have collated it is Friedländer's).

Incipit iuuenalis liber primus

[I]

1 codri. 24, 25 omitted. 49 ac. 50 ac. 53 herculeias. 67 signator. falso. Between 77 and 78 is introduced 88 (a later hand adds h† in the margin, which is taken up by another † after 87). 98 et. 102 et adsum. 114 habitat. 126 quiescit. 150 dices mihi forsitan. 152 liberet by a later hand over an erasure possibly of libertas. 157 deduci(s) altered by later hand to t. 161 uerum. 168 ira. 169 anim(e) ante tuba(s) (the letters in brackets are erased and i. sonante written over by a later hand; but I think there is no doubt that the first of them was e).

[II]

de philosophis obscenis. et fictis

6 horum est. 24 grecos. 30 reuocarat. 34 omnia uitia fictos (in the margin by a later hand ultima). 38 ad quem (over an erasure). 45 nam plura. 46 omits que.

49 Tedia. 64 fug(ere) the letters in brackets later. 68 pollincas...labulla. 77 omitted and written along both margins, one by a Lombardic hand, one later. 92 bapte laxare cotillon, altered by a later hand to lassare cociton. 93 tectum. 94 pingetque. 106 bebriaci campo s(ese) affectare palatii (the three letters in brackets are written over an erasure, and by a later hand studium is added in the margin). 107 faciem. 115

qui (i crossed out and od added by a later hand)...qd (d later). 138 nequeat (un later). 139 qd (d later). 146 catulis paulisque. 159 istinc. 160 iuuercae.

[III]

de incommodis urbis et de egressu umbricii.

18 praestantius. 19 aquae. 29 arcturius. 34 hi omitted. 36 uulgi with an erasure? of -us. 37 quemlibet. 46 mandant. 61 acheae. 63 summit richidimpna. 68 feruet (fert in margin by later hand). 79 ad summam. 82 recumbit. 94 dona. 105

alienum. 109 nichil aut ab. 120 herimarchus. 131 serni. 133 cacilenae. 134 atque iterum. 148 lacerna est (est added in margin). 156 in. 158 iuuenemque. 167 cenacula. 168 negauit. 177-quaes hic (e added by later hand in margin). 188 prestant. 212 asturi. 215 occurrit. 217 polideti. 218 hic asianorum (in the margin by a later hand phecasianorum). 224 paratur. 237 uicorum flexu. 240 liburno. 245 qui sequitur ferit. hic cubito ferit. 254 sartae modo. 259 e. between 280 and 281 is inserted 290. 285 atque. 305 crassator. 321 conuelle.

[IV]

Haec satira de crispino aut rombo.

4 delicias uiduae...aspernatur. 9 uictata. 13 serio. 18 artificis in munere. 22 emit sibi multa. 25 pretium. 31 ructaret. 43 torpentis. 46 praeponere. 59 huc. 60

suberat. 63 at. 67 saginis. 75 primus. 76 iamque sedet. 96 destinata. 98 inde fit. 125 magna. 126 britannos. 146 duxerat. 147 getis...sigambris.

[V]

De cenis contumeliosis et de parasito.

4 galba. 10 possis. 15 raro. 24 qualis cena tamen uinum. quo. 38 berullos. 63

and 64 are transposed. 69 agitant. 70 factus. 71 artocopi...fingis amente. 74 uix. 80 distendat. 84 confractus (in margin by later hand constrictus) gamarus. 88 dabitur. 90 and 91 are transposed. 108

mittebatur. 116 fumat...raduntur. 121 spectas. 138 tunc...paruulus. 142 simul. 144 minasque (nim later).

[VI]

de incomodis meretricum. Liber secundus.

18 ac...et. 46 mediam. 48 in iunoni. 52 postibus exedens. 65 et omitted. 68 thimeles. thimele. 75 exspectes. 77

glapius. 81 milionemque. 109 saepe. 120 sic. 126 omitted. 137 quingenta. 153 cum iam. 156 beronicis. 159 nudo. 172 deponere. 193 ΖΩΗ. ΚΑΥ. ΨCKLH. 210 added by later hand at bottom of page. 213 hac hortante nichil haec si non nolit emetur. 222 feceris. 224 uiris. 245 loco(s) (s erased). 247 aut quis. 248 que

cauat. 264 ridet. 274 atque exspectantibus. 273 "amare (m later). 276 tu tibi tu curuca. 280 dic quintiliane. 282 quod tu. 295 istros. 307 nonae conlactia. 308

maura pudicitiae. 316 ululante priapo. 320 laufeia. 321 et. 322 frictum. 323 palmam...aequat. 328 et toto pariter. 329 dormitat. 332 ueniet. 340 figura est. 344 added by later hand in margin. 347 cobibe. 357 domi est. 364 semper tollatur. 365 repetunt quanti sua, and after this line comes the insertion quoted above. 373 tantum damno; and after this verse

magonum pueros uera ac miserabilis urit debilitas. follisque pudet cicerisque relictis.

385 lamiarum nominis alti. 386 cum farre. 395 ut uideo. 399 quae possit. 404 decipiatur. 408 famamque. 413 quod. 416 hic. 429 terram lotio. 430 aut lota. 479 flagellis. 486 praefectura domo. 490 componit. 491 ΨΗΚΛC. 497 matrona. 498 cesset. 501 tanti. 505 est omitted. 527 calidasque. 528 edem. 537 caduceo. 539

lacrimae (ae erased and is added later). 550

tracto (ta later), 551 rimatur et. 561 longe. 563 ciclade. 565 hic tetricae longo. 569 haec tamen ignorat. 571 qui. 575 petenti. 585 feret frux. 587 aliis. 603 delata. 606 omnes. 635 scilicet egressi et finem. 643 magicis. 647 nocentem. 648 et rabie. 660 praegustaret.

Decimici iunii iuuenalis satirarum liber ii. explicit.

Incipit eiusdem liber iii. de sterilitate studiorum.

[VII]

8 in arca. 13 equitesque bithini (the last word is written over an erasure by a later hand, which has also added bichini in the margin. The traces of the first letter of the word erased look like a, so possibly it was asiani). 20 nos. 22 alicunde...expectanda. 25 conscribis. 27 calamos. 39 aut. 40 maculonus. 50 ambitiosos. 52 ΚΛΚΟΗΤΗC. 73 albiolos. 80 et serano. 91 bareas. 99 petit. 101 damnata. 105 tecto. 118 fingantur. 120 afrorum...bubbi. 123 in federe. 124 petet. 135 est tamen. 136 illis. 142 posita. 144 cossus. 149 imponere. 150 uecti. after 153 a line perferret inductis turbata et sobria ceris inserted by a later hand. 154 cambrae. 156 diuersa parte. 159 leua in. 160 non. 165 quod. 166 ast alii. 167 et...conclament. 176 chrisochonus. 177 seindens. 185 condat. 193 ioculator. 198 fies. 201 triumphos. 204 tresimachi. 214 qui. 215. enceladi. 218 aceneteus. 219 franget. 235 archemori. 236 sculus. 238 exigit. 242 curas et.

[VIII]

De nobilitate insipientium.

4 nasumque. 5 coruini. 7 omitted. 8 famosos. 11 ortus. 13 maga. 17 squallentes producit. 33 paruum. 38 sis. 49 gente. 62 corithae. 67 nepotis. 68 primum. 88 accipiet. 89 et omitted. 90 regum exu(c)ta (the c is erased). 93 tutor. 117 istis. 124 iacula. 125 uerum without est. 131 tum. 133 ping(u)as (u erased).

135 ambitus. 139 clarumque (a later). 147 damasippus (also 151 and 167). 148 multo sufflamine consul. 152 nusquam. 155 toruumque. 159 udus. 163 dicit. 174 aut...aut. 191 quis. 195 hinc atque hinc pulpita pone. 198 princeps natus. 201 aut pugnans. 202 et damnat. 203 frontem. 207 credamus tunicae. 223 quid. 224 atque illae generosi. 225 saltu. 226 gragrae. 229 antigones. tu personam menalippes. 233 parastis. 239 gente. 241 non. 256 plebe. 258 seru(a)n(tur) (n deleted). 264 codice. 266 eduxit. 274 prim(is) altered later to ys.

[IX]

Querella naeuoli. de rege impudico. ad crepe re ium.

14 prestabat calidi circumlita fascia uisci.

25 celebrare. 37 $\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$. $\rho\lambda\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$.
mores ciuitatis (by later hand)

$\lambda\eta\delta\rho\alpha$. $\kappa\upsilon\eta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$. 40 atque cauet. 46 tener. et. 53 tractas. 68 seruorum mense decembri. 76 omits ego. 84 aut totum (in margin by later hand actorum). 96 added later in margin. 100 careas. 106 clament omnes. 109 librarius. 117 laufeia. 118 recte cum...tunc his. 119 placed after 123. 120 causis. 121 nam. 132 conueniunt. 146 pingat. 148 regatur with top of e erased.

[X]

de uotis nominum.

2 discernere. 5 concupis. 9 et torrens. 21 et nocte...umbras. 24 crescunt. 29 a. 30 alter. 31 cuius. 35 praetexta et trambeae. 40 quantum. 46 oculis. 64 patellae. 68 quicquid. 73 tremens. 74 nursia. 78 effugit. 87 huius. 88 astricta...trahit. 91 sellas. 96 cupies. 97 tantum. 102 uacuisque. 103 quod. 114 ac. 116 partam. 122 ratam. 131 parans. 141 ulla. 145 ficus. 146 facta [150 alios]. 155 acti. 160 abit. 162 in margin by a later hand iugulare. 163 quaeres humana(que) (que later). 171 munita [175 constratum]. 184 crederet. 189 hoc alius coelumque tuens, hoc pallidus optas. 197 omits ille. 211 situe. 246 si

quiquam. 254 socio. 263 quo iam. 272 quod. 274 iusti quem uox. 295 rutillae est. 299 sabinas. 300 modestum. 302 tribuit. 303 quod. 304 uiris. 308 lori-pedem uel. 310 nunc igitur. 311 crimina. 318 exigere irati debent. 326 erubuit certe ceu fastidita. 331 hinc. 344 melius leuiusque. 345 praebenda gladio pulchra est. 351 capti. 354 attamen ut. 359 queat omitted. 365 sed te.

[XI]

de comparatione uictus.

6 ardens. 16 emuntur. 24 quantum. 27 $\kappa\eta\omega\theta\iota$ $\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\gamma\theta\omicron\eta\eta$. 52 patria. 55 et omitted. 57 uita nec. 58 sed. 62 ille... contingit. 67 uirgum. 73 que omitted.

85 daret...carnem. 89 ferens (re later). 91 fabricios rigidique seueros. 93 ducit habendum. 94 oceani. 96 tectis. 106 clipeo fulgentis in asta omitting in before clipeo. 107 que omitted. 113 occeno. 118 in usus. 121 damna. 134 his umquam ulla. 139 phoenix opterus. 148 magno erit cum poscis. 156 pugillares. 161 after this line the order is 166, 165, 162. 166 narras. 168 ipsa. 169 magis written above the line. 188 numida (in margin later h.).

[XII]

de reditu Catulli amici sui.

1 carior. 3 cedimus. 17 fulgoris ictum. 18 euasi. 23 tamque grauis (in margin by later hand tam grauiter. 47 olimpi (h later). 48 nunc quis. 59 teda. 63 uectores. 65 almi. 71 edis. 73 mirabile. 81 tunc stagnante sinu...ubi. 88 certa. 93 neu. 95 licet. 114 sacra.

Explicit liber quartus. Incipit quintus.

[XIII]

4 urnam. 13 laborum. 18 proficis usu. 19 equidem. 26 numero. 28 nona. 35 mouerat. 44 etiam. 50 aut omitted. 55 assurrexerit. 57 farra et maioris. 65 ut monstrum...et miranti. 73 ille. 86 sunt qui in fortune iam. 97 ne dubitet. 102 et omitted. 107 confirant cunctae later altered to tunc. 119 bacilli. 126 detestabile fatum. 131 dolores. 139 sardonicus. 140 te nunc delicias. 150 que omitted. 158 occidit. 168 paruus. 171 et illic. 172

assidue quamquis spectetur. 178 bene sospes. 179 minim(is) altered to ys. 188 errores exiit omnes. 193 putas. 195 quatiens. 206 pariter tota. 208 uoluptas. 210 contra. 212 et. 213 misellis. 242 fictum...pudorem. 248 numinis.

[XIV]

de institutionibus ad fuscinum, quod institutio in natura.

After 1 et quod maiorum uitia sequiturque minores. 5 ritillo (in margin fritillo). 7 concedit. 11 puero nondum, over an erasure, by a later hand. 16 a of atque over an erasure by a later hand...animos. 25-6 carcer rusticus. 29 nunc ac caeras. 20 mechos. 33 subeant. 39 uestra. 43 usquam. 45 ac procul. 49 obsistat. 50 quam. 52 et cum. 61 descendit. 62 lauēt. 63 infantis or insantis altered by erasure of half the n and the s or f to irantis. 66 omits sit. 70 populo ciuem patriaeque. 73 artibus huncque quibusque. 79 magni omitted. 82 tunc. 83 leuabit. 85 gustauerit. 86 cetronius. 89 grecis a longe. 104 solitos with it erased. 110 mente. 111 laudatur. 115 atque uerendi. 117 malo. 120 mirantur opes hi nulla. 121 putant inuenes hortantur ut illam. 122 uiam. 124 nimias. 130 cenae omitted. 131 concam...lacernae. 132 putridoque. 139 crescit. 147 huius omitted...mittuntur. 149 habeant. 150 quod altered to quot. 152 fedae. 153 hoc. 158 post haec. 164 ea. 173 uenenum. 176 indomiti. 182 raris. 188 adque. 199 trepido. 206 poetae. 208 pueris uetulae poscentibus asse. 209 A et B. 210 quaecumque. 211 possim. 217 longi. 218 falsus testis erit. 219 et omitted. 220 flatam. 223 confer. 229 omitted. 232 mequisque. 239 pectore quanto. 241 sulcis ionēs. 243 surrexerat. 250 sed. 255 aut pater aut rex. 263 licet cibeles. 267 quantu coricia. 269 a (si)culis sacci(s) (the bracketed si and s are erased). 270 pingui. 273 merce. 285 torretur. 286 agamemnonia. 295 an forsitan. 301 exiguusque cibus. 316 sed. 322 claudere.

[XV]

de religionibus aegipti ad uolusium bythinicum.

5 corde. 7 illic ceruleos. 9 cepe ac. 18^{go} lestrinas et ciclopas. 20 cyanes. 22 aut. 24 nimium. 25 deduxerat. 27 hos..uino. 35 compos. 51 ienuinum. 64 seditione. 65 quale(muel) muel, over erasure, by later hand. 75 terga fuge celeri praestant instantibus ombis. 76 umbrosa et tentyra palmae. 77 hinc. 78 praecipitant...sectrum. 79 frustra. 89 tantum. 104 uiribus. 106 uescebant et. 114 saguntos. 117 carmine. 120 hos aut quae. 124 bistones (written over it by Lombardic hand britones). 129 poenas. 135 squaloremque. 151 uetustos. 168 nescirent...excudere.

[XVI]

de caustrensi militia.

1 galle. 2 subeantur. 3 excipiet. 4 secundi. 8 aut. 12 oculos...relictos. 21 curabit. 22 et omitted. 23 mutinensi. 24 caligatos. 29 quam. 30 pugnos uidit. qui. 38 aut...sacro de limite. 39 plus. 40 uacua...tyrografa. 47 que omitted. 48 illi. 56 labor. 60 lati.

Explicit iuuenalis liber.

alme pater rerum. lumen de lumine uerum. qui dator es lucis passus amara crucis. principium gratum finem concede beatum.

The codex is a small folio 9½ inches high and 5½ broad, marking the quaternions by a q or R (qr) at the bottom of the page; and ending at the 7th quaternion. On the first page of the 6th quaternion is the symbol

; and on the first of the 7th ,

probably both standing for prima (pagina). Some of the initial letters show the Irish crosshatching. In the margin there are scholia of the Cornutus class on a few satires, but they are often very illegible. In two cases (*Satires* x. and xv.) the scholia of the first few lines are placed at the head of the *Satires*; in the xvth with a heading de comtu (? commentu = commentario).

There are also interlinear glosses by the original and later hand, sometimes representing different traditions (e.g. i. 33, original hand eliodorus, later p. celer (and at end of line barec sorani)). One of the later hands (about the beginning of the thirteenth century) glosses buccae (iii. 35) by the interesting Plautine word nugigeruli; and the same hand gives on iii. 54 opaci the scholium i.e. obsoni, propter, pinguedinem quia pingues reddit uicinas terras, which seems to favour the suggestion opimi.

The original hand in 23 places marked passages by the word ironice (or ironicos or spelt with an initial y) in coloured Greek or Latin capitals. Similar signs are antipophora (= ἀντιποφωρα) 7 times (e.g. iii. 208-211); ipallage (vi. 454-8); Zeuma twice; silemsis (= σὺλληψις) (iii. 257-9 and once in a gloss); poeta, poeta loquitur, or uox iuuenalis (e.g. iii. 297), not in capitals but coloured, and by later hands (not coloured nor in capitals) apostropha once and pleonasmus once.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to Prof. R. Ellis, Mr. F. Madan, and the Rev. W. D. Macray for the kindness they have taken in assisting me.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

ON THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF JUVENAL.

THE Bodleian MS. brought to light by Mr. Winstedt's fortunate discovery, belongs to the class represented in the apparatus criticus by the corrections in the Pithoeanus and by all the other known MSS. which are indicated by the symbol ω . It will not therefore dethrone the first-named codex from its position of unique authority for the text of Juvenal. This, however, constitutes no reason why it should not have occasionally preserved the truth where this has been corrupted both in P and in p ω . To the lections cited by Mr. Winstedt may be added from his collation the following, where the tradition of the Bodleianus appears to deserve consideration, as either preserving the truth or giving in its corruption indications from which the truth may be restored.

II. 45 nam plura, P hi plura but *hi* over an erasure. IV. 4 aspernatur, 'as *supra* aspernatur *add.* p' Buech. VI. 561 longe (coni. Buecheler). VII. 22 alicunde (as *aliquis*, etc. are not rarely used in the sense of *alius quis*, etc.). VII. 193 ioculator (Cic. *Att.* 4, 16 a. 3; iaculator has no special appropriateness in the time of Juvenal; cf. Mr. Duff's note ad loc). At II. 34 its 'omnia uitia fictis,' where P has 'uitia ultima (this over an erasure) fictos' appears to indicate a deeper sore.

The importance of the codex does not however reside in its variations from the traditional text, but in its additions thereto. Of these, there are two, both in the sixth satire. The shorter one, consisting of two lines after 373, calls for little remark. It appears to fill a lacuna in our ordinary texts. The 'mangonum (so of course we should read) pueri' who feel their piteous mutilation (debilitas) are contrasted with the shameless 'a domina factus spado.'

The longer passage I transcribe in full, with such improvements in reading and punctuation as a brief study has suggested. I trust that these, with the notes upon usage and allusion which are also appended, may be of some use to scholars in determining its meaning and genuineness.

In quacumque domo uiuit luditque
professus
obscenum, et tremula promittit crimina
dextra.
(inuenies) omnis turpes similesque cin-
aedis)

his uiolare cibos sacraeque adsistere
mensae
permittunt; et uasa iubent frangenda
lauari
cum colocyntha bibit uel cum barbata
chelidon.
purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,
in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur
Psyllus ab Eupholio. quid quod nec retia
turpi
iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem
munimenta uereri pulsataeque arma
tridentem
qui nudus pugnare solet, pars ultima
ludi?

†accipit as animas aliosque in carcere
neruos.
sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor et
illis
cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque
recusat
flaua ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri.
horum consiliis nubunt subitaeque rece-
dunt;
his languentem animum seruant et seria
uitae;
his clunem atque latus discunt uibrare
magistris:
quicquid praeterea scit qui docet. haud
tamen illi
semper habenda fides. oculos fuligine
pascit,
distinctus croceis et reticulatus, adulter.
suspectus tibi sit, quanto uox mollior,
et quo
saepius in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis.
hic erit in lecto fortissimus; exiit illic
personam docili Thais saltata Triphallo.
quem rides aliis, hunc mimum, sponsio
fiat,
purum te contendo uirum, contendo:
fateris?
an uocat ancillas tortoris pergula? noui
consilia, et ueteris quaecumque monetis
amici:
'pone seram, cohibe.' sed quis custodiat
ipsos
custodes, qui nunc lasciuiae furta puellae
hac mercede silent? crimen commune
tacetur.
prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit
uxor.

2 *obscenum*, masc., ii. 9: Hor. Ep. 1, 18,
8 'professus amicum.' *crimina*, cod.

omnia; i.e. 'stupra' as often; e.g. Prop. 2, 6, 34, Sil. It. 6, 634.

3 is superfluous and most likely an interpolation; though the classical form of the acc., -is, seems to prove it old. There are many such single lines in Juvenal's text.

turpes and *turpi* (9); cf. ii. 9, 111; Hor. *carm.* 1, 37, 9.

4 *uiolare*, xv. 84.

5 *frangenda*, viii. 18 'frangenda...imagine.'

6 *colocyntha*, *κολοκύνθη*, or (-τη) to be added to the list of Juvenal's Greek borrowings = 'uentosa cucurbita,' xiv. 58. The synonym *σικίνη* is alone attested in this sense. *bibit*, abs. as Virg. 'bibit ingens arcus.'

barbata, Fest. ap. Paul. p. 109 'nanum Graeci uas aquarium dicunt humile et concauum quod uulgo uocant situlum *barbatum*,' Varro L.L. 5, § 119 'quo postea accessit nanus cum Graeco nomine et cum Latino nomine Graeca figura *barbatus*.'

chelidon, perhaps only here.

8 *numero*, a military word: cf. Tac. etc. in the *lexx.*

9 *Psyllus*, cod. *Psillus*. *Psilus* would not be so likely. *Eupholio*. This name is not known. Perhaps *Euphorio*, for which see Dessau Prosopographia; *Euforia* also occurs in the *C.I.L.*

10 *tunicae*, of a *retiarius*; cf. ii. 144 'tunicati fuscina Gracchi' and Mayor on viii. 207.

11. *arma* must be in apposition to *pulsatim...tridentem*. One would have expected *quassatam*. And Prudent. contra Symm. ii. 1109 sq. 'spectant aeratam faciem quam crebra *tridentis* | *impacto quatiant hastilia*' suggests *pulsantem*.

12 *nudus*, i.e. 'nudo uultu,' viii. 205.

13 A verse appears to have been lost. The sense of the couplet must have been 'Even criminals in prison shun the contact of such degraded wretches.' The line seems to be hopelessly corrupt. *auersas* agreeing with a lost subst. would make sense; but some may prefer to think *as* comes from *asse*.

16 *flaua*, i.e. 'dyed'; with the *spuma Batava*, Mart. 8, 33, 20. *degustare*, *nedum bibere*. *sepulchri*, i.e. a 'bustuarium moecha,' Mart. 3, 93, 15.

17 *recedunt*, i.e. 'a maritis.' *recedo* is elsewhere used for *discedo*, but not apparently in this precise connection.

20 *illi* must be *qui docet*. This is, however, not very satisfactory as the sense requires: 'You must not trust an apparent *semitur*.' Possibly *Idae* (*ide*) as the type of emasculation from its connexion with Ganyমে and the worship of Cybele; cf.

Mart. 10, 98, 2. *ili* (d. of *ile*) is very near to the MS. but does not seem probable.

21, 22. ii. 93-96 (with Friedlaender's notes) furnish the best commentary on these lines.

pascit seems to indicate the effect of the *fuligo* which, like belladonna, made the eyes appear larger. *distinctus*, cf. *scutulata* l.c. *croceis*, cf. *galbina* l.c. *reticulatus*, wearing a *reticulum* l.c.

25 *lecto*, cod. *tecto*.

26 *docili*, almost technical of 'artistes' performances; cf. Mart. 5, 78, 27 'lasciuos *docili* tremore lumbos.' Hence *Docilis* as the name of a gladiator, Hor. Ep. 1, 18, 19.

Thais, iii. 93 sqq. *Triphallo*, cod.

Triphallo, a Priapus-like figure of Roman Comedy and Satire; cf. Varro *Triphallo* ap. Non. 131, 26, Priap. (Tib.) 83, 9 where F has *Tripalle*. *Triballo* would be less probable.

28 *purum*, i.e. *purum putum*. *contendo*, of a sponsio Cat. 44, 4. There is an ellipse.

29 *uocat*, Juvenal has this use of the ind. elsewhere e.g. 'conciditur?' iv. 130. The sense is 'will you admit it? or are your wife's servants to be put to the torture?'

30 *ueteris* may be a genuine nom.; cf. Neue Formenlehre, II. p. 70, and xiv. 300, 'uelantis inguina panni.' It is acc. in Virg. Aen. 1, 358.

33 *hac mercede*, sc. *stupro*.

The last five lines call for special remark. It is to be observed that in substance they are identical with vi. 346 sqq.

audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici:

'pone seram cohibe' (prohibe P); sed quis custodiet ipsos

custodes? *cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor*. The other MSS. afford no traces of a double recension; but the scholion on 348 does. It runs (I quote from Buecheler's edition) as follows: 'et ab illis incipit uxor "qui nunc lasciuae furta puellae hac mercede silent crimen commune tacetur."'

This scholion is now intelligible; and it bears a wholly independent witness to a second recension of vv. 347, 348 and that the recension embodied in our fragment. It is of course incredible that Juvenal intended both 346-8 and 30-34 to stand: and we must choose between them. And, assuming that the fragment is genuine, there can be no hesitation about the choice; for the version which it contains cannot be broken from its context, whereas vv. 346-8 are easily separable. The similarity of these two passages is of itself quite sufficient to account for the omission of these thirty-four

verses in the archetypes of the MSS. which have been known to us hitherto. The recognition of these thirty-four verses as a genuine product of antiquity will necessarily modify the stemma of the codices. There must have been a triple transmission of the text, by the three branches of which P, ω, and the Bodleianus are the representatives. Their genuineness must and no doubt will be strictly scrutinized. But I believe that they will stand the test. They do not read like an imitation. Their similarities to the acknowledged work of Juvenal might be ex-

plained by this theory, but that would not account for their novelties. I will take leave of the subject with an expression of my own belief that both in language and metre they reveal the hand of the satirist himself.

I subjoin two conjectures on other places of Juvenal. In i. 5 it would be an improvement to read 'summa plenī iam margine libri | scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes' for 'summi plena'; and in xiv. 24 'quem mire adficiunt inscripti ergastula carcer' for 'adficiunt.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES ON THE TONE-THEORY.

NEARLY three years ago I undertook some detailed researches for the purpose of investigating a hypothesis which had been suggested to me by my observations, and which was to the following effect—in Indo-European the normal tone of all long open syllables was 'Stosston,' the normal tone of all long sonance closed either *natura* (as diphthongs) or *positione* 'Schleifton.' I have since then been unable to continue this study. But as it has been suggested to me that the publication of certain points might be of interest to the classical public, I have complied with the suggestion, without in the least pledging myself to a continued adherence to the above general thesis.

I. It seems to me that the ancients in dealing with the hexameter were led by the same correct instinct when they created the 'epic diectasis' and when they laid down the law formulated in our time again by Hilberg, according to which the fourth foot when followed by an *incisio* never should end with a syllable that is long only *positione*, unless it be a monosyllable. In both cases they tried to preserve a disyllabic sound that in daily speech was monosyllabic. With regard to Hilberg's law, Mr. Agar (*C.R.* x. i. 29 f.) has shown that, though it was a binding rule of later epos, we nevertheless find in Homer (1) exceptions, as voc. βοῶπις, O 189 λ 338 ἑκαστος; B 522 Κηφισόν, 813 Βαρίειαν, 842 Πύλαιος, Δ 189 ἄλλον, 796 ἄλλος, Π 38 ἄλλον, Σ 400 χάλκεον, M 20 Κάρησός τε Ῥόδιός τε, ζ 93 κάθηραν; (2) cases where the very fact that the law was binding on later epos has caused the alteration of lines in which the older epos had neglected

it, as H 277 σκήπτρ' ἔσχον, 467 πάρεσταν, Δ 331 ἄκουεν, Φ 194 Ἀχελῷος, 343 πῦρ δαΐεν, 602 δῖωκεν, Ω 616 Ἀχελῷον, E 706 Αἰτωλόν, P 387 πάλαχθεν, Σ 583 λάφυσσον τοῖς, K 364 δῖωκον νωλεμές, N 346 ἔτευχον κήδεα, Ψ 748 ἄεθλον, σ 8 δῖωκεν, η 114 πέφυκεν, χ 330 ἄλυσκεν, λ 484 ἔτιον, ι 530 προλίπορθον, ξ 295 ἔφεσσεν, β 57 πίνουσιν τ'.¹ Nevertheless these metrical forms are obviously out of harmony with the general dactylic character of the hexameter, even in its oldest shape. An explanation should be found which shall do justice to the fact both of their existence and of their seeming anomaly.

In the above lists only 4 words, if we except O 189 M 20 λ 338, have a non-diphthongal ending; all but the last are nasal diphthongs, and so naturally closed before consonants, *i.e.* in the normal position. This suggests as a general rule that the older epos allowed this incised ending to the fourth foot in the case of naturally closed long sonance, whether vowels or diphthongs; and this is confirmed by examination of A 1-429 and Δ 56-665, in all 1038 lines of confessedly the earliest stratum of epic poetry. Here, if we omit the 'contracted' verbs ἦνδα, ἐσύλα, αὔτει, ὀμίλει (once each), some 11 genitives in -ου which possibly ought to be resolved, and the words κελαινῇ and ὀλλύκτας τ' in two spurious lines, we find very few cases in which an incised fourth foot fails to end with a syllable *natura* long, and at the same time closed. These exceptions are πῶ (once) and dual αὐτῶ (once). Against these stand enough cases to constitute a rule that the incised

¹ The criticisms of Professor Platt (*C.R.* xi. iii. 152) do not in any case affect this second list.

fourth foot must end with a long self-closed sonance. I have counted the following endings—14 gen. plur. in *-ων*, 2 nom. sing. in *-ης*, one nom. sing. of the participle in *-ων*, one nom. sing. of *n*-stems, twice an acc. sing. in *-ον*, once the same in *-ην*, 4 dat. in *-ω*, 3 dat. in *-η*, 4 gen. in *-ης*, one nom. pl. in *-οι*, one acc. pl. in *-ους* and one in *-ας*, and thrice *ῶς*, thrice *Ζεύς*. Further we have *λῖς*, *λῖν*, *κῆρ*, and the accus. *Θεανῶ*, which is perhaps resolvable into *-όα*. We may omit the three cases of a quasi-incision by means of elision.

The explanation which I would offer for these facts is simply this. At the end of the incised fourth foot a semi-pause was made; we feel this distinctly in *e.g.* E 484 *οἶόν κ' ἤε φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ | ἥ κεν ἄγοιεν*. Under these conditions a naturally closed long vowel and the diphthong, which is essentially closed, were dialysed—*i.e.* their sonance was broken in two—precisely as in Aryan under the same circumstances, and thus the continuous sonance of an absolutely spondaic fourth foot was to some extent avoided.

II. I propose to give here a few of my statistics with regard to Veda. They show that dialysis of a long vowel or diphthong takes place normally, if at all, under the condition of closure by means of pause or in sentence-Sandhi.

Genitive plur. endings (*-ām*) are resolved by Grassmann in 359 cases. Of these 264 are at the end of *pādas*; of the rest the large majority are followed by words beginning

with a consonant. Prof. Lanman¹ allows 157 cases of dialysis in *a*-stems; of these 116 are in pause and 35 before initial consonance. In *ā*-stems it happens 7 times before pause, once before consonance, never otherwise. Of 131 cases in *i*-stems, 111 are before pause and 20 before consonance. Of 31 cases in the *ū*-stems, 23 cases are before pause, 7 before consonance. In the *r*-stems, 10 cases are before pause, 19 before consonance, 2 before vowels. Of other cases, *marutām* and *apām* are 27 times dialysed, 7 times before pause, 18 times before consonance, twice before vowels.

The stems in *-ā* tell the same tale. In their endings *-ās* *-ām* I have counted 27 cases of dialysis—22 before pause, and 4 before consonance.

In view of these and similar facts I have ventured to draw the inference that for metrical purposes the Eastern Aryans dialysed a naturally closed long sonance in final syllables followed either by pause (which is equivalent to following consonance) or by consonance at the beginning of the immediately following word. The Greeks on the other hand, not observing to the same extent the principle of sentence-Sandhi, dialysed only in the case where such long sonance was followed by a form of pause.

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¹ *J.A.O.S.* x. 352 ff.

ON A PETERSBURG MS. OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

By the gracious permission of His Imperial Majesty the Czar, kindly obtained for us by the authorities of the Imperial Library, Petersburg, the Greek MS. numbered LXII. in Muralt's catalogue has been sent over to England, and is at present lying in the University Library at Cambridge. It has occurred to us that a description of it may be of some use to students of Greek Palaeography. The manuscript will probably remain in Cambridge till the middle of May.

Its history is one of considerable interest. During his second journey in the East, in 1853, Tischendorf acquired what appeared to be two manuscripts of the Septuagint: one uncial, containing the greater part of Genesis; the other minuscule, containing the last words

of Joshua, and the whole of Judges and Ruth. The former was sold to the Bodleian Library for £108 in the spring of 1855. At that time Tischendorf seems to have regarded it as of the eighth century, though at a later period he altered his opinion and assigned it to the ninth. The minuscule manuscript had been purchased by the British Museum in the preceding year (Add. 20,002). Tischendorf assigned it to the ninth century; in the catalogue of the British Museum it is with greater probability described as of the tenth.

On his third journey in 1859 Tischendorf obtained another manuscript containing Gen. xlii. 18—Jos. xxiv. 26, and part of the Books of Kings (I. i. 1—III. xvi. 28). Of

this all but the first leaf was deposited in the Imperial Library at Petersburg, in accordance with the conditions on which his journey had been undertaken. But this leaf, the most interesting part of the MS., was, to quote his own words, 'iussu supremo meis ipsius reservatum studiis.' It remained in his private collection till his death, when it was acquired by the University Library of Cambridge, in conjunction with several other single leaves of MSS. which had belonged to him. The *recto* is in uncial character, and continuous with the Bodleian Genesis. The *verso* is in a minuscule hand, considered by Tischendorf to be identical with the uncial hand, and certainly the same as that in which the London and parts of the Petersburg MSS. are written. It thus forms the connecting link between the Bodleian Genesis and the Petersburg MS. The identity of the uncial hand in the Cambridge leaf with that of the Bodleian was noticed by Dr. Swete, who published the fact in a letter to the *Academy*, 6 June, 1891. But the connection of the three parts at Oxford, Petersburg, and London, was not generally recognised, though perhaps it might have been deduced from some rather obscure statements in Tischendorf's Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint. It was obscured by his reservation 'for his own studies' of the leaf which was the key to the problem. Dr. A. Rahlfs, of Göttingen, first clearly established the fact that all four parts belonged to the same MS., in a paper published in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1898. The facts stated above are mostly drawn from his article. Perhaps we may take this opportunity of correcting two slight errors in his careful and accurate account. The leaf containing Ex. xii. 7—xiii. 8 is not wanting, as he supposed (p. 101). It is only misplaced. On the other hand a leaf is missing, before the last leaf of the MS., which must have contained 3 Kings xiii. 17 ἐντάλται μοι—xv. 19 διασκέδασον τὴν δια. We are able to supplement his account with some palaeographical details about the Petersburg part.

The MS. is bound in quires of 8 with later Greek signatures in red. It may be convenient to give the 'collation' of the whole MS.

α⁸—δ⁸ at Oxford (but 7 leaves wanting, which contain Gen. xiv. 7—xviii. 24 and xx. 14—xxiv. 54).

ε⁸ (ff. 1–4 at Oxford: 5 at Cambridge: 6, 7 at Petersburg, paged 1, 2: 8 wanting, which contained Gen. xlv. 12—xlvi. 23).

ς⁸ (paged 3–10), ζ⁸ (paged 20, 11–16, 18), η⁸ (paged 17, 21–26, 19), θ⁸—ι⁸ at Petersburg.

ιη⁸ (f. 1 at Petersburg; 2–8 B.M.), ιθ⁸ (B.M.), κ⁸ (f. 1 B.M.: 2–8 Petersburg).

κα⁸—κδ⁸ (wants f. 8), κς[?] (f. 1 only left) at Petersburg.

Three different hands are found in the Petersburg part.

A. The hand which wrote the *verso* of the Cambridge leaf, continues from f. 1 (Gen. xliii. 13) to the middle of the first column of f. 36 *recto* (Lev. xv. 5). It is found again at the beginning of f. 75 *recto* (Deut. xi. 5) and continues till 1 Kings vi. 8 (f. 102 *verso*, end of first column). Thus the London part of the MS. is in this hand.

The writing stands upon ruled lines, and is in 2 columns of 40–42 lines. Square breathings are used, which occasionally tend to become round. It is a pure minuscule hand, but some uncial forms appear, generally at the end of lines, but occasionally elsewhere. We have noticed Α, Δ, Η, Μ, Ν and of course Ε.Π. Terminal abbreviations are uncommon. We have noticed only those for ην, ων. The ordinary abbreviations ιηλ, κς, θς, υς, πρς, πνα, etc., and that for καί, are regularly used in this and in the other two hands. Tischendorf suggests (Prolegomena in *Vet. Test. Graece*, ed. 1880, p. xlv.) that this hand is of the ninth century. It may more probably be assigned, as in the British Museum Catalogue, to the tenth.

B. This hand is in general appearance later than A, but must be contemporary with it. It extends from Lev. xv. 5—Deut. iv. 5. The writing hangs from the ruled lines. Thus the transition from A to B is at once made apparent by the drop in the middle of the line. The breathings are square, but show more tendency to become round. Uncial forms are commoner than in A. We have noticed Α, Γ, Ε, Η, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π. Terminal abbreviations are also more frequent (ων, αι, ην, ας, ης).

C. Very distinct from A and B, but of the tenth century. The uncial forms for Γ, Δ, Ε, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π occur, and are more frequently used than in A. But there are very few terminal abbreviations. We have only noticed that for ας.

In all three hands corrections are rare, except those made *inter scribendum*. Paragraphs are marked by very short spaces, and extruded capitals in the following line. On one page there are three marginal notes in Arabic, giving the headings of the sections opposite which they are written. The date

of the whole MS., including the uncial part, may well be the tenth century.

In the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 4th Feb., 1899 (col. 74) Dobschütz has called attention to another manuscript partly uncial and partly minuscule, of which the earlier part, now at Petersburg, is minuscule, while the later part (Codex A of the Gospels, now in the Bodleian) is uncial. The coincidence is interesting, as here again Tischendorf

acquired the uncial part of the MS. on his second journey, and the minuscule part on his third (see Scrivener's account of Codex A). We know too little of the history of his purchases in the East to say how far he is responsible for this barbarous tearing up of interesting manuscripts.

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SULPICIOUS SEVERUS AND GENNADIUS.

IN his supplement to Jerome's *de Viris Illustribus* Gennadius includes Sulpicius Severus (c. 19), but he tells us hardly anything he could not draw from Sulpicius' own pages or from the letters Paulinus of Nola wrote to his Aquitanian friend. He concludes with a statement a little saddening to the admirers of the happiest of the Gallic school of the 4th century:—*'Hic in senecta sua a Pelagianis deceptus et agnoscens loquacitatis culpam silentium usque ad mortem tenuit, ut peccatum quod loquendo contraxerat tacendo penitus emendaret.'*

The question is, did Sulpicius forswear the use of speech, as an act of self-discipline, or is this merely an inference made by Gennadius?

On the one hand, Pelagianism was a Celtic monk's heresy on sin, and Sulpicius was a Celt and a monk and much interested in the question of sin, so that it is possible he really was attracted by the views of a compatriot thinker. Gennadius moreover (c. 99) speaks of having himself written *'adversus Pelagium libros tres,'* and should therefore know.

On the other hand, Gennadius mentions specifically in his note on Paulinus (c. 49) *'ad Severum plures epistulas.'* In one of these letters (v. 6) Paulinus says when speak-

ing of Sulpicius throwing in his lot with Martin and forsaking the bar:—*'piscatorum praedicationes Tullianis omnibus tuis litteris praetulisti . . confugisti ad pietatis silentium. mutescere voluisti mortalibus, ut ore puro divina loquereris: et pollutam canina facundia linguam Christi laudibus et commemoratione ipsa pii nominis expiaries.'*

Hence rises the question, is it not possible that Gennadius, who twice refers to the friendship of these two men and whose work is somewhat of a 'dictionary' type, has tried to interpret the curious phrase of Paulinus too literally, not realizing his verbose and windy style, and has changed a metaphorical account of an act of Paulinus' youth into a literal story of his old age?

At all events Paulinus of Périgueux, a contemporary of Gennadius, who did Severus' *Martin* into an epic of six books speaks of him with profound respect and never a hint of such a scandal (Bk. V. column 1052 C Migne).

It would be rash perhaps to decide peremptorily one way or the other, but there seems at least to be some probability that Sulpicius has been traduced.

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PALEY AND SANDYS' PRIVATE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES.

Select Private Orations of Demosthenes, by F. A. PALEY, M.A., LL.D., and J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Cambridge University Press. Ed. III. (pp. xv. 295, 1898).

THIS third edition of a well-known book, which has done more than any other to

make the private orations of Demosthenes with all their many points of interest known to English students, is not a mere reprint of the previous edition; Dr. Sandys has been diligent in revising the book and embodying in it any new matter of value. I venture to make a few notes. (1) Is it

possible that the obscure words ἐπὶ ἐτέρῃ ὑποθήκῃ, Orat. 34. 6, which can only mean 'on another (second, different) security,' refer to the fine which Phormio undertakes to pay if he does not put goods on board at Bosphorus (§ 33)? The lender would require some guarantee for the fine. (2) 34. 10 συνέβαινε is not 'happened to hear the same account;' the word expresses agreement after comparison, cp. *Fals. Leg.* § 60 αὐτὸ συμβαίνει κ.τ.λ. (3) 35. 12, τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τιμῆς. The expression means, I think, what can be got for the particular commodity, without reference to 'ruling prices,' τῆς καθεστηκυίας τιμῆς. (4) In the note on 37. 38 we read: 'See also Herod. ii. 11 σχεδὸν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντες τοὺς μυχοὺς, used of two arms of the Red Sea that converge and join into one.' The words are used of the Red Sea and the Valley of the Nile, which run parallel but have their μυχοὶ at opposite ends. Abicht paraphrases thus: 'Duo maris sinus ex adverso sibi occurrentes propemodum sibi invicem perforarent intimos suos recessus atque adeo

jungerent, nisi parvo spatio interposito (ὀλίγου τι τῆς χώρης) inter se distarent (παρὰλλάσσοντας ἀλλήλων).' (5) In the note on χαλκίῳ, 39. 10, after an allusion to the well-known passage in Homer, we are told that τὸ χαλκίον 'is not the lot itself, etc.' This is true, because, at any rate in electing dicasts, the tablets had to undergo a further sortition, in which κύβοι were used (see *Ath. Pol.* col. 31, Sandys, p. 238); but this should be made clearer. (6) If as Thumser (p. 184) and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (p. 199) suppose, Mantias had married Plangon, and then divorced her because, says W.-M., 'she lost her money,' and then married her again, we must assume that even the money which Pamphilus gave to his daughter as dowry was still reckoned his property, and confiscated. In 40. 20 Boeotus asserts that Plangon's dowry was part of the surplus of Pamphilus' estate, but this may refer to the second marriage.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

FURNEAUX'S AGRICOLA OF TACITUS.

Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolae. Edited with introduction, notes and map by HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A. Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. 176.

THE distinguished editor of the *Annals* and the *Germania* has put classical students under renewed obligations by the excellent edition of the *Agricola* now before us. All the characteristics, so well known from his previous Tacitean labours, are here again in evidence: a thorough knowledge of his author, a wide acquaintance with the work of other scholars, a highly laudable conservatism in the handling of the text, and an admirable exegetical σωφροσύνη, which saves him from prolixity on the one hand and an undue brevity on the other. Real difficulties are nowhere glossed over or ignored, for even where the editor does not venture to pronounce a dogmatic verdict, the reader is invariably put into possession of the points at issue.

It goes without saying that in a treatise so full of critical and exegetical cruces, as the *Agricola* admittedly is, the editor's views and conclusions will not always appear generally convincing or definitive, while in

some cases unanimity will perhaps never be attained. But whether we agree with Mr. Furneaux or not, his reasons are always well considered and above all dispassionately stated, and therefore not to be ignored with impunity by any serious student of the *Agricola*.

If there be one grievous omission, an omission, by the way, which Mr. Furneaux shares with all previous commentators, it is the total absence of comment on the rhetorical art exhibited in this treatise. A careful examination would have yielded some very interesting results and to have drawn attention to these features could not but have proved highly illuminative and gone far to show concretely, what the average reader would feel but vaguely, if he felt it at all, that the *Agricola*, in spite of the impression of spontaneity which it conveys, is one of the great rhetorical masterpieces of Latin literature.

The work comprises an *Introduction*, in six chapters, which deals respectively with the History of the Text, The Life of Tacitus to the date of the *Agricola*, The Purpose of the Treatise, Language and Style, The Account of Britain and of its Conquest, The last years of

Agricola and the tyranny of Domitian. This is followed by the *Text*, with a brief adnotatio critica, and beneath it the critical and exegetical *Commentary*. Two serviceable *Indexes* conclude the volume.

The first, second, fourth and sixth chapters of the Introduction are adequately exhaustive and satisfactorily handled. The *fifth* chapter is evidently the pièce de résistance. It is a treatise on the ethnology, anthropology and geography of ancient Britain, culled from the most authoritative sources, often widely scattered and not everywhere easily accessible. The lucid, calmly discriminating and sober exposition of this obscure and difficult subject is apt to blind us toward the immense labour involved in its composition, but it was worth doing and will alone render Furneaux's edition indispensable to every student of the biography.¹

I regret my inability to bestow equally high praise upon the *third* chapter which takes up the controversial subject of the purpose of the *Agricola*. Here the editor has been apparently handicapped by his failure to consult, as he candidly admits, many important contributions to the controversy. In consequence, he seems himself not yet to have reached a clarified conviction, and as a result we have an unsatisfactory compromise which seeks to reconcile divergent theories, and this has in turn led to a confusion between the questions as to the form and origin of the treatise and its alleged purpose. F. is half inclined to emphasize with Gantrelle and others a political purpose, a kind of apologia pro vita Agricolae, and, by implication, of Tacitus's own career, but this confession of political faith and conduct is precisely reproduced on the larger canvas of the *Histories* and the *Annals*, so that its existence in the *vita Agricolae* is merely tantamount to saying that *Tacitus* is the author of that treatise. That the *Agricola* is a biography, pure and simple, the alleged irrelevant chapters all subserving a distinct purpose in the narrative of Tacitus' hero, I have elsewhere endeavoured to show in detail.²

The *Text*, as already remarked, is conservative, many readings which other editors discarded being successfully defended. In view of this fact, it is noteworthy that

¹ Regarding Agricola's expedition to Ireland which F. unjustly discredits, see my article in *Proceedings of Amer. Philol. Assoc.* vol. xxix. (1898), pp. xxxvi. ff.

² See *Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* vol. xviii. (1897), pp. xviii. ff., where the more important hypotheses are also dealt with.

Mr. F. did not shrink from putting some conjectures into his text which are, to say the least, fairly open to question, e.g. c. 18 'subitis' for 'dubiis'; 'patrius' for 'proprius,' for the former, though expressed by the same compendium, seems incompatible with 'lectissimos.' c. 22 the bold transposition of 'crebrae eruptiones' after 'hiems' (with Halm), though generally accepted, seems unwarranted on internal and external grounds. No camp erected by Agricola, says Tacitus, was ever stormed by the enemy, or deserted on capitulation; on the contrary, frequent sallies were made (*i.e.* the offensive was assumed), for (*nam*, with the usual ellipsis) they did not fear being put on the *defensive* by a siege, because strengthened by a year's supply, the enemy would soon recognize the futility of a blockade and depart. To place 'crebrae eruptiones' between 'intrepida ibi hiems' and 'et sibi quisque praesidio' not only violates Tacitean usage of 'et' after an asyndeton, but at the same time rudely separates two statements which belong closely together. c. 24: Furneaux, Ritter, and Halm suppose some words to have dropped out between 'in' and 'melius,' but the sense supplied by these scholars and approved by F. conveys a statement too self-evident to be attributed to Tacitus, for it goes without saying that in an all but unknown country the harbours and approaches would be better known than the interior! I have no doubt that 'in melius' was an interlinear or marginal gloss of a chauvinistic scribe which subsequently found its way into the text after 'haud multum a Britannia differunt.' That the archetypion of the *Agricola* came from an Irish monastery is not at all improbable. This would at all events account for the singular MS. history of this work as compared with that of the other writings of Tacitus. c. 33: 'ita' for 'item' of the MSS., but the latter seems to be a mere dittography of the final letters of *frontem*, immediately preceding. For 'nam ut' we should read 'nam et' (=etiam) 'sed,' before 'fugientibus,' being omitted. On this ellipsis, see Dial. c. 6 (p. 98).³ c. 42: Furneaux reads with Mommsen 'proconsuli consulari' on the ground that the 'proconsulari' of the MSS. would imply that the salary of all proconsuls was the same, but I fail to see how the accepted emendation helps us, for we have no reason to believe that the salary of a consular proconsul

³ Purser (*Hermathena*, x. p. 197) gives 'et .ita' without comment, but translates a *sed*, omitting 'et' altogether.

did not likewise vary, although it was doubtless higher than that of a praetorian proconsul. I believe 'proconsuli' (cp. Δ ^{ri} procos) to represent the original. c. 46: 'nosque et domum' with Urlichs for 'nosque domum,' for 'Tacitus could not belong to the domus of Agricola.' I cannot grant the validity of this statement, particularly as *nos* need not be taken as *me*, but may well include the wife and daughter, domum being in apposition. Many of these emendations, to which 'acies' (c. 33) might have been added, seem to owe their acceptance largely to their age or to the prominence of their source. But I submit that hero-worship ought to have no place in textual criticism. An emendation is not correct, simply because it is time-honoured or owes its origin to a distinguished critic, whether old or recent, but every textual alteration should stand on its own intrinsic merits.

While the above readings were, in my opinion, unjustly inserted into the text, the editor has repeatedly and, as it seems to me without sufficient reasons, refused to admit conjectures, some of which he *expressly approves of*, the MSS. being in all these cases admittedly corrupt, and the hitherto suggested alterations quite untenable. Such are e.g. c. 6 medio moderationis, c. 11 sacra deprehendas ac persuasiones, c. 28 retro remigante, c. 37 identidem. The editor also shrinks from accepting the transposition advocated in c. 44, and Prof. Purser has designated its rejection as a distinct service. I should be the first to abandon it, if the objections which I pointed out were cleared away and a more plausible explanation offered. I cannot admit that this has been done. The 'collocatio verborum,' no less than the meaning of 'filia...superstitibus,' is, I still maintain, quite impossible if the clause be taken with what follows. My suggestion is palaeographically unobjectionable, it does away with the existing difficulties and gives a perfect sense in the place to which it has been transferred. It thus satisfies fully all the methodical conditions of an emendation. Furneaux, however, not only does not remove my objections, but is compelled to take refuge in an impossible interpretation, declaring that the ablative absolute was 'by a stroke of conciseness' substituted for an independent principal clause. I very much question whether a parallel instance of a like substitution is found elsewhere—the editor has certainly failed to cite any. Finally I cannot admit

that the ablative absolute is here any more concise than a 'filia atque uxor superstiturunt et potest' would have been.

I turn to the strictly exegetical side of the commentary. It is a model of condensation, conveying a considerable amount of strictly relevant information, historical no less than stylistic, within a moderate compass. The reviewer has found but few occasions for dissent, but rather than dwell upon these he prefers to contribute from his own collectanea a few details which may possibly be found sufficiently interesting to be utilized in a second edition.

c. 1: *incuriosa*, &c. With the sentiment cp. the passages collected in my *Dialogus*, p. 201 f., and Sen. *de tranq.* 14, 4 Kanus Iulius...cuius admirationi ne hoc quidem obstat quod nostrosaeculo natus est.—*infesta*, &c. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 10, 35 tempora timens inimica virtuti.

c. 2: *monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum*. Exactly the same expression is found in Sen. *ad Helv.* 1, 2.—*scilicet illo igne*, &c. With the thought cp. Tac. *Ann.* 16, 21. On the burning of books, see H. Peter, *Die geschichtl. Literat. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. pp. 295 ff.

c. 3: *miscuerit principatum ac libertatem*. Cp. Plut. *Galb.* 6 *καينوπραγείν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.—securitas publica*. The same phrase, e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 73, 2.—*tardiora sunt remedia* etc. With the thought cp. Lucret. i. 556 *nam quidvis citius dissolvi posse videmus | quam rursus refici.—incondita ac rudi voce*. Such apologies are characteristic of prooemia and frequently found in the most artistically elaborated works. Cp. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, ii. p. 595, Note 1.

c. 4: *Gnaeus Julius Agricola*. It is noteworthy that among the many thousand names in the works of Tacitus, the present is the only unquestioned occurrence of the 'tria nomina Romanorum.'—*studium philosophiae*, &c. Cp. Suet. *Nero* 52 a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperatorem contrariam esse. On the apathy of Romans towards philosophy, see my note to *Dialog.*, p. 214.—*pulchritudinem ac speciem*. The same synonymic collocation occurs in Firm. Maternus, p. 113, 2 H.

c. 5: *tum de salute, mox de victoria* &c. and similarly c. 26 'securi pro salute, de gloria' seems to have been a stereotype antithesis. Cp. Plut. *Caes.* 56 *πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς*; *Caes. B.C.* iii. 111, 5; *Liv.* x. 16, xxi. 41; *Curt.* iv. 3.—*ex...ex*. On the re-

petition of the preposition, see *Dial.* p. 323.

c. 6: *decus ac robur fuit* = *decori...rubori*. Cp. *Germ.* 13 *nec rubor...adspici*; *Tibull.* ii. 1, 30 *non festa luce madere est rubor*; *Prop.* v. 11, 43, ii. 10 (iii. 1) 6; *Ovid A.A.* iii. 167 *nec rubor*; *Liv.* xl. 27; *Val. Max.* iv. 4, 5.—On the singular predicate with two abstract nouns, see my note to *Dial.* c. 5, 18 (editio minor, p. 55).—*per mutuam caritatem*. The same phrase in *Curt.* vi. 7, 4.

c. 9: *credunt plerique* &c. Cp. *Liv.* ii. 56 *rudis in militari homine lingua*; *Lamprid. Alex. Sev.* 63 *rusticitas Maximini utpote hominis militaris*.—*famam...indulgent*. See note to *Dial.* p. 127 f.—*egregiae tum spei*. Is less plausibly referred to character, but seems rather to have been an expression for 'marriageable age.' See *Urlichs, De vita et hon. Agr.* p. 24.

c. 18: *custodiri suspecta potius videbatur*. Our idiom would seem to require the superlative, but the comparative is idiomatic both in Greek and Latin. See the exx. in *Postgate, Propert.* i. 2, 10, and *Woelfflin, Lat. Comp.* p. 68.—*qui mare*. 'Navigation' of some kind or other. So *mare* is used by *Tib.* i. 3, 50, *Hor. Epist.* i. 11, 5, *C. ii.* 6, 7. The passage contains a 'gradatio in minus.'—*dubiis* here = 'periculosis,' critical. So *Val. Flacc.* iv. 272.—*dissimulatione famae*. With the thought cp. *Iustin.* 11, 1 *ita moderate de se multa pollicitis est, ut appareret plura eum experimentis reservare*.

c. 19: *primum domum suam coercuit*. Cp. *Lucret.* v. 22 ff.; *Cic. de rep.* ii. 69, 2; *de leg. Man.* 13, 38; *Liv.* 34, 18; *Iuv.* vii. 87 ff.; and *Schneidewin, Die antike Humanität*, p. 66.—*nil per liberos*, &c. Cp. *Cic. ad Q. fr.* I. 1, 11, 20 f.

c. 20: *famam circumdare*. To the illustrations collected in note to *Dial.* p. 350, add *Περὶ ὕψους* 1, 3 *ταῖς ἐαυτῶν περιέβαλον εὐκλείας τὸν αἰῶνα*.—*multus in agmine*. Probably a Graecism. Cp. *Polyb.* v. 49, 7 *πολὺς ἦν πρὸς ταῖς παρασκευαῖς*.

c. 21: *in bella faciles*. Far more common with *ad*. So also *Lucan.* i. 561, ii. 314. Cp., however, *Amm. Marc.* 19, 11, 2 *milites in bella promptissimi*.

c. 22: *opportunitates locorum*, &c. Cp. *Liv.* 35, 14 (de Hannibale) *neminem elegantius loca cepisse*.—*soliti plerumque*. With the pleonasm cp. *Sall. Jug.* 7, 6; *Caes. B.C.* iii. 82; *Lucret.* ii. 953; and *Dial.* 24 *saepe celebrato*.—*ex iracundia nihil supererat*, &c. Cp. *Hor. Epist.* i. 20, 25 *irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem*.

c. 24: *ingenia cultusque hominum...diffe-*

runt. MSS. 'differt,' but cp. *Mela* ii. 1, 9 *ingenia cultusque gentium differunt*.

c. 25: *saepe isdem castris...compararentur*. See the very similar passage in *Lucan.* iv. 196 ff. *et miles castris permixtus...concordes cespite mensas Instituunt...Extrahit insomnis bellorum fabula noctis Quo primum steterint campo, quo lancea dextra Exierit dum quae gesserunt fortia iactant*, and *Tac. Ann.* ii. 24.

c. 26: *utroque exercitu certante*, &c. Cp. *Liv.* vii. 35 *digni estis, qui pauci pluribus opem tuleritis, ipsi nullius auxilio egueritis*.

c. 28: *magnum ac memorabile*. Found as early as *Terent. Heaut.* ii. 3, 73 then very frequent, e.g. *Verg. Aen.* iv. 94; *Ovid, Met.* x. 608; *Lucan.* vi. 496. To the passages given from *Livy* add the fragment in *Sen. Suas.* vi. 21.

c. 29: *in luctu bellum inter remedia erat*. Cp. *Plut. Alex.* 72 *τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος* (also adduced by *Purser l.c.* p. 196).

c. 30: *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. Cp. *Iustin.* ii. 10 *tantopere rem maiorem quanti sit occultior putabant*.

c. 33: *septimus annus*, &c. This seems to have been a stereotype exordium. Cp. *Hist.* i. 28 *sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo*; *Ann.* xiv. 53 *quartus decimus annus est, ex quo*; *Lucan.* i. 299. The rhetorical commonplaces in the speeches of *Tacitus*, as in other historians, are very numerous, but the commentators fail to draw attention to them.—The remarkable parallelism in *Xenoph. Hell.* i. 1, 27 *τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν προθυμίαν...ὑπάρχουσιν*, lends colour to the conjecture 'virtute nostra...fide atque opera vestra.'—With the entire address of *Agricola* cp. the speech in *Curt.* vi. 3, 9 ff. The resemblances are often so striking, as to suggest, if not direct indebtedness on the part of *Tacitus*, at least community of source. See also *Amm. Marc.* 16, 12, 50; *Cass. Dio* 62, 11; *Lucan.* vii. 250 ff.—*e latebris suis extrusi*. Cf. *Curt.* iv. 14 *e latebris suis eruti*, also in a speech.

c. 34: *hi sunt*, &c. Cp. *Liv.* 27, 13 *nempe iidem sunt hi hostes quos vincendo absumpsistis*.—*quomodo silvas*, &c. Cp. *Curt.* iii. 8, 10 *delituisse inter angustias saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum quae strepitu praetereuntium auditio silvarum latebris se occultuerunt*.

c. 35: *et adloquente*, &c. Cp. *Amm. Marc.* xvi. 12, 13, 31.

c. 36: *vim telorum superfundere*. Cp. *Hom. Δ* 618 *τῶρες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν ὀξέα*.

c. 39: *nulla verborum iactantia*, &c. With

the whole passage cp. Amm. Marc. xvi. 12, 68 f.

c. 41: *cum damna damnis continuarentur*. Cp. Liv. 26, 41 *cum aliae super alias clades cumularentur*.

c. 41: *sic Agricola*, &c. With the anti-thesis cp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 23, 67 quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.

c. 43: *ex more principatus*. Cp. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 20 moderationis tantae fuit...ut amicos...inferiores aegrotantes viseret.—Auson. *Grat. Act.* 17, 76 aegrotantes amicos Traianus visere solebat.

c. 44: *quid aliud fortuna*, &c. Apparently a commonplace. Cp. Isoc. *Euag.* 28 τὶ γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας.—*quippe et vera bona*, &c. Cp. Plut. *Demet.* 1 τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἧς ἐν ἡθελίαι καὶ διὰ διαθέσει τὸ πλεῖστον ἐστίν and esp. *Περὶ ὑψους* 7.—*beatus*, &c. Cp. Sulpicius ap. Cic. *ad fam.* iv. 5, 5.

c. 45: *non vidit*, &c. This is a frequent rhetorical τόπος. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* iii. 2, 8; Sen. *Suas.* 6, 6; Sen. *ad Marc.* 20.—*exilia et fugas*. The same collocation occurs in Sen. *Agam.* 123.—*vitae claritate...opportunitate mortis*. Cp. Xen. *Ages.* 5, 3 βίος τε εὐκλεῆς καὶ θάνατος ὥρατος.

c. 46. This wonderful passage, with its piercing tenderness and solemn eloquence, is—one shrinks from saying it—a veritable mosaic of stereotype ideas, characteristic of this particular kind of 'epilogus,' or consolatio,' as a few illus-

trations out of many will show. The commentators have here, too, been strangely silent. *si quis piorum*, &c. Cp. Sulpicius in Cic. *ad fam.* iv. 5, 6; Sen. *Epist.* 63, 16; Catull. 96, 1; Ovid *Am.* iii. 9, 59; *Anthol. Lat.* 1399, 1; Eurip. *Alc.* 744 ff.; Soph. *Elect.* 355; Isocrat. *Euag.* 1 εἴ τις ἐστὶν αἰσθησὶς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων.—*ab infirmo desiderio...voces*. For exx. of this commonplace, see Vollmer, *Stat. Silv.* ii. 7, 93 (p. 372).—*formamque ac figuram...complexantur*. Cp. Vollmer, *Stat. Silv.* ii. 7 (p. 381).—*non quia...aeterna*. Cp. Isoc. *Euag.* 75 τοῖς μὲν πεπλασμένοις καὶ γεγραμμένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ὁμοιώσει, τοὺς δὲ τρόπους τοὺς ἄλλων καὶ τὰς διανοίας...ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς...χρηστοῖς εἶναι βουλομένοις; ch. 73. Sen. *ad Marc.* 24, 4; *ad Polyb.* 18, 2; Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6, 8. See other like passages in Vollmer, *Stat. Silv.* v. 1, 1 (p. 498).

But in spite of some shortcomings and desiderata, pointed out above, I have, in conclusion, no hesitation in saying that Furneaux's *Agricola* remains without question the best, and most serviceable edition of this biographical masterpiece now existing. It is to be hoped that Mr. Furneaux may crown his Tacitean labours by an exhaustive edition of the *Histories*. It is sorely needed and there is no one more eminently fitted for this arduous but grateful task.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

Philadelphia.

ELLIS'S VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

Vellei Paterculi ad M. Vinicium libri duo; ex Amerbachii praecipue apographo edidit et emendavit R. ELLIS, Litt. Lat. Professor apud Oxonienses. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. 1898.

IN spite of his somewhat doubtful character as a historian, and the obvious defects of his style, Velleius Paterculus has received an extraordinary amount of attention from scholars since he came to light nearly four centuries ago. In the bibliography given by Kritz in the preface to his edition (1840), thirty-three previous editions are enumerated; and the list of contributors towards the purification of the text contains some of the most famous names in Latin scholarship. We need hardly account for this

scholastic popularity simply by the fascination of the problem before an editor, the corruption of the text, the extreme difficulty in page after page of guessing what the author really wrote, and his almost romantic escape from total annihilation. Even as a historian Velleius has a double value, though it is accidental rather than intrinsic. In his second book we have a continuous sketch of the history of the Roman revolution, which, meagre as it is, supplements here and there our scanty knowledge; and for this it seems probable that one or two authors were used, e.g. Atticus and Hortensius, of whom we have hardly a trace elsewhere. And in the latter part of the same book we have the only contemporary account we possess of the

characters of Tiberius and Seianus, written before the death of the latter by an old soldier who knew and admired them both. There is therefore abundant reason, apart from the fascination of the textual problem, to be thankful to scholars who have laboured in one desperate passage after another to ascertain 'quid reuera Velleius uoluerit.'

The latest contribution to the subject is the small neat volume, beautifully printed at the Clarendon Press, which is the subject of this notice. In order to explain the important position which this revision of the text will unquestionably assume in the world of scholarship, it is necessary to advert for a moment to the history of the strange fortunes of Velleius' work. Even the most casual reader will be able to appreciate the pains and acumen here brought to bear upon every chapter and almost every sentence of the work; but the peculiar difficulties of the task can only be understood by those who are fully acquainted with the unusual conditions under which it had to be carried out.

Up to 1515 Velleius Paterculus was little more than a name, for he is only twice quoted in the whole range of Latin literature. In that year a MS., wanting the first part of Book I., was found in the monastery of Murbach in Alsace by Beatus Rhenanus, a scholar on the question of whose good faith and accuracy the whole Velleian controversy may be said to turn. Curiously enough, in two recently published catalogues of the MSS. belonging to this monastery in the XV. century there is no mention of Velleius; and Prof. Ellis (p. ix.) naturally supposes that the one discovered by Rhenanus could not have come to light when the catalogues were drawn up. However this may be, the publication of these catalogues (in *Philologus* for 1890) only adds to the mystery of the whole story. Rhenanus seems to have examined the MS. and appreciated its importance, but to have entrusted the work of transcribing it to a young friend, who unluckily performed his task 'properanter et infeliceiter.' The codex itself, too, was in such a desperate condition that Rhenanus declares, in a note at the end of his volume, that the original copyist could hardly have understood a word of it. No wonder then that he held his hand on hearing that another MS. was said to exist at Milan: or that when this turned out to be a false rumour, he could not produce his edition till 1520 at Froben's press, and then only after severe labour. To the end of this edition he appended the following im-

portant words 'Neque enim quia tu multa absque offensione legis, idcirco codex planus erat: imo nihil erat non depravatum: in singulis pene verbis haerebatur.' It is to be noticed that in these words he writes as though he had been at work on the codex itself; but it is probable, as Prof. Ellis points out, that his labour was spent for the most part not upon this, but upon the bad copy of it made by his young friend. He seems indeed to have sent for the codex itself in desperation in the same year 1520 in which the Editio Princeps appeared; but whether even then he used it himself is altogether doubtful. We should guess from his own language (quoted on p. x. of this edition) that he expected Froben's readers to do the work for him, and was disappointed with their laziness. Finally one Burer, on his behalf, re-read the MS. after the work was in type, and provided an account of its readings which was printed as an appendix at the end of the volume, and now forms one of the three sources of our knowledge of the text. It will be obvious to the unprejudiced reader that there is some reason for believing that Rhenanus was not sufficiently conscientious in the discharge of his duty towards Velleius, but left the bulk of his work on the MS. to others; and therefore that in labouring to make an unreadable text into a readable one, he had not a really scientific basis for his work. Kritz indeed calls him 'integerrimae fidei homo' (praefatio x.) and cites as proof of his integrity an often-quoted letter of Rhenanus to Spalatinus, dated 1520; but this, though it may show his genuine desire that his text should represent that of the codex faithfully, assuredly does not prove that he went the right way to work to realize his object. And for more than three centuries it was impossible to test the character of his work by any more positive criterion than the appendix of Burer; for the Murbach MS. entirely disappeared, never to be recovered, and until 1834 no other came to light. During all that time scholars had a free hand for correction and conjecture, unfettered by any bonds of positive evidence, and made the most of their liberty.

At last in 1834 Orelli discovered at Basle a MS., written by one Bonifacius Amerbach in his house at Basle in 1516, as he himself attests at the end of the codex; the great Swiss scholar saw its value, collated it with the Editio Princeps, and published it at Leipzig the next year, maintaining that it represented the lost MS. of Rhenanus much

more faithfully than his printed book. That it is a copy of that MS. there cannot be any reasonable doubt, though for some unexplained reason the first eight chapters are wanting; but is it the identical copy which the young friend of Rhenanus made 'propter et infelicitate,' or a copy made by Amerbach on his own account? In other words, was this Amerbach the young man of whose work Rhenanus had so poor an opinion? Amerbach himself tells us that he was only twenty-one when he made it; and this, taken together with the facts that Amerbach was in some sense a pupil of Rhenanus, and that this copy was made the year after Rhenanus had found the MS. at Murbach, would support the contention that we have in the Basle MS. that very transcription. Prof. Ellis, after carefully collating the MS. afresh, arrived at a different conclusion. Putting aside a view which some have held that it was a copy of a copy, and not of the original MS., he goes on to affirm his belief that it is *not* the copy of which Rhenanus disapproved, and that even if it were, his disapproval need not prejudice us against it. We might fancy that Orelli exaggerated the importance of his own discovery—it would have been but human nature if he had done so; but now Prof. Ellis emphasises his conviction that Orelli was right, and that this copy has preserved the readings of the original MS. far more closely than the Editio Princeps. He is thus in direct conflict with Kritz, who followed Orelli in 1840, and in his elaborate Prolegomena (cap. iii.) reverted to the old faith. The present edition is a vindication both of Amerbach and Orelli; and it will probably take rank as the most important and careful examination of the whole question that has been issued during the last sixty years. The editor's conviction is well expressed on p. xxiii. of his Prolegomena. 'Non enim temere videor autumasse Amerbachiani apographi eam speciem esse ut in magna rerum strage supersit tamen unde Vellei dissoluta domus resurgat.' These felicitous words mean simply that Amerbach's copy, taken together with the appendix of Burer, do really enable us to get behind the Editio Princeps, and to reconstruct the text which Rhenanus had made unhappily presentable by a process of 'cooking.' The evidence for this view must necessarily consist in a careful comparison of all our three sources of knowledge—the printed edition, the notes of Burer, and Amerbach's copy; and the results of such a comparison, carried out faithfully

even to the minutest detail, are here before us.

A good example of the difficulty of getting at the true reading of a passage, with no other evidence but one indifferent copy of a lost MS., one manipulated edition, and the notes made by Burer, is to be found in ii. 103. It is not one of historical importance, but only of sense and grammar. Velleius is here writing of the return of Tiberius to favour after the deaths of the young Caesars: P—the Editio Princeps—reads thus: *Itaque quod post Luci mortem adhuc Gaio uiuo facere uoluerat atque uehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adolescentum obitum facere perseuerauit.* Rhenanus was here ingenious; for as Burer tells us that the MS., though obscured, seemed to read not *atque* but *eo que* or *eo quod*, he must have divined a dittography and evolved his *atque* out of *uoluerat*. But he left us no hint of the real reading of his MS., and also left the grammar of the sentence halting—*inhibitus* having no ablative of the thing which Augustus was prevented from doing. The *eo que* of Burer would suit well, and was adopted by Thomas. But now A—Amerbach—comes down on us with *quae eo*, which he could not have written if he had not found something to justify it in his original. What then did the MS. really read? Ellis combines A and P and writes *atque eo uehementer*; and the only letters unexplained are the *que* after *eo* of Burer.

This is not an instance which shows the unquestionable excellence of A; it is one in which A—as rarely happens—differs from B, and one which might rouse suspicions like those of Kritz.¹ But our editor even here declines to discount the value of his witness, and he is justified in this by the general results of his collation of A. To give a fair idea of the basis of these results in a review is unfortunately almost impossible.

In his preface Prof. Ellis has laid down very clearly certain facts which prove the superiority of A. For example, A has often reproduced the confusions of words which he found in the MS.; e.g. *ut horoscusius* for *Otho Roscius*, *descivita* for *descivit* a; and thus we have a check on Rhenanus in passages where he may have 'cooked' badly. Again A frequently coincides with the readings of Burer, who was certainly a

¹ Of Kritz's edition Prof. Ellis says (p. 179) that there are in it '*multa quae palaeographiae nomen prae se ferant, reuera palaeographia auctore destituta.*'

conscientious reader of the original MS. A good example will be found in ii. 44, 2, where A and B agreeing show plainly what the MS. really contained, absurd though it be. I may add a curious parallel in ii. 74, 3, where A wrote *spem*, and then corrected it (in spite of grammar) to *spe*, while B tells us that the MS. appeared to have *spe* rather than *spem*. Again in orthography 'certissime demonstratur praestantia Amerbachiani apographi'; for Rhenanus introduced forms of spelling which he vainly imagined to be more correct than those he found in the MS. e.g. *eis* for *es* in plural nom. and acc.; while A preserved the true spelling of the age in which Velleius wrote.

Lastly, Prof. Ellis quotes some very striking cases in which P has made matters worse, while A enables us to guess the truth. To those quoted in his preface on pp. xvi. and xvii. (of which the first, in i. 12, 7, is an excellent example, though too long to reproduce here) I may add another in ii. 54, 1. Here P wrote 'Non fuit maior in Caesarem quam in Pompeium fides'; B, however, noted the presence in the MS. of a second *non* before *maior*, which P had omitted, and conjectured happily for *non fuit non, non fuit tñ=tamen*. A also preserved the second *non*. Compare also ii. 37, 4, and ii. 55, 1.

It may perhaps be doubted whether Prof. Ellis gives Rhenanus sufficient credit for his occasional ingenuity in correction. The man who could elicit *Homo uirtuti simillimus* from *non virtuti simillimus* (i.e. *hō* for *nō*) in ii. 32, 2, or *se metientem*, in the celebrated character of Seianus (ii. 127, 4), for the *scientem* which, if we may believe A, was the reading of the MS., is not to be despised as an editor; his sin is however held to be unpardonable, in that he corrected without telling us precisely what it was that he was correcting.

A few words in conclusion about the present editor's original contributions to the restoration of the text. There are not too many of them; and on the whole the work has lain rather in eliminating the false conjectures of Rhenanus and a host of later commentators. But occasionally we find a new suggestion, and not unfrequently a felicitous one. Thus in the well-known passage about Catullus (ii. 36, 2), "auctoresque carminum Varronem ac Lucretium neque ullo in suscepti operis sui carmine minorem Catullum," we now have the happy conjecture *conamine* for *carmine*. It is impossible to believe that Velleius here wrote

carmine; for the word *carmen* has already occurred two lines before and occurs again two lines later on. This conjecture is now printed in the text; another very convincing one, for which the interesting palaeographical explanation will be found on p. 160, is not so printed, nor indeed alluded to in the apparatus criticus. It occurs on ii. 48, 3 of C. Curio: 'huius animo uolubundo in libidinibus,' for 'uoluptatibus uel libidinibus' (cp. Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. apud Nonium, p. 491). A less certain conjecture, but a clever one, is in the description of Marcus Caelius Rufus, ii. 68, 1, *eiurari* for *servari*. In ii. 41, 1, where P and A both have 'inter antiquissimos constabat' (i.e. that the gens Julia descended from Venus and Anchises), there have been many suggestions; that of Prof. Ellis is *scientissimos*. I may perhaps express a doubt whether after all Velleius did not write *antiquissimos*; cp. *uir antiquus* of Cato in ii. 49, 3; for there is not much difference between a man who forms himself on ancient models, and one who has a turn for investigating antiquity. In the important historical passage about Augustus' consulships (ii. 89, 5), after much doubt and consideration, I am driven to the conclusion that Prof. Ellis has done better than any of his predecessors by substituting *qui* (= *quomodo*) for the *quem* of A and P: but the passage is in any case a difficult one. Once more, in the character of Seianus (ii. 127, 4), for 'uirum seueritatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae,' Prof. Ellis suggests 'uirum serenitatis laetissimae,' &c., which would be well in keeping with the 'uultu uitaque tranquillum' at the end of the sentence, and perhaps with the 'palam compositus pudor' of Tac. *Ann.* i. 4. I may here perhaps mention a suspicion, suggested by other words of Tacitus in the same passage, 'modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria et uigilantia,' etc., and noted many years ago in the margin of my text of Velleius, that he really wrote not 'laetissimae,' but *lautissimae*. If that were so, Tacitus has here, as elsewhere in this passage, given the expression a sinister turn.

There are other emendations of the editor to which a reviewer would gladly draw attention; but this notice has already a considerable length, and after all the chief importance of the edition lies in the vindication of the value of Amerbach's MS.—a vindication which appears to me to be fully supported by the detailed evidence adduced.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

CORPUS TEXT OF OVID.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Opera ex corpore poetarum Latinorum a Iohanne Percival Postgate edito separatim typis impressa. Tomi i. ii. iii. Londini. G. Bell et Filii. MDCCCXCVIII.

MESSRS. Bell and Sons have issued in three pocketable volumes the text of Ovid contributed to Dr. Postgate's *Corpus* (i. 322-596) by Prof. A. Palmer, Mr. G. M. Edwards, Prof. G. A. Davies, Mr. S. G. Owen, Prof. A. E. Housman, and the general editor. The poems are well printed and a fairly wide margin is allowed. It is, however, a pity that an uneven number of lines has been allotted to a page: this does not matter in the case of hexameter pieces, but gives elegiacs an awkward appearance, since it frequently happens that an inset

pentameter commences a fresh page. A more serious defect is that room has not been found for the prolegomena and brief critical notes that add much to the value of the *Corpus*: no 'editio minor' should ever appear without an abridged 'apparatus.' Also the publishers have omitted the qualification by which the non-Ovidian *Heroides* were distinguished in the larger work--'P. Ovidi Nasonis quae feruntur Heroides xv.-xxi.' Dr. Postgate prefixes a note from Ovid to his public, which is worth quoting: 'P. Naso, a suorum corpore et societate diuulsus et tres quidem ille in Tomos discessurus, a uobis, Lectores Beneuoli, petit ut eam ueniam, quam cum inter ciues suos esset dederitis, nunc soli ac paene exuli nolit is auferre.'

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

SANDERS ON THE SOURCES OF LIVY.

Die Quellencontamination im 21 und 22 Buche des Livius, von HENRY A. SANDERS. Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1898. 8vo. pp. xii, 149. Mk. 3.60.

IN the *Classical Review* for July, 1898, I gave a brief review of Dr. Sanders' inaugural dissertation of the same title, which formed the preliminary chapters of the completed work. He is to be congratulated on having so promptly fulfilled his promise, and so speedily removed his dissertation from the large class of unfinished works of the kind.

The book opens with a preface, in which the criticisms of Soltau on the preliminary chapters (*Woch. für klass. Phil.*, 1898, p. 491) are answered in detail.

The first two chapters of Dr. Sanders' work (pp. 1-50) have already been examined. The third takes up 'Die übrigen Quellen.' As regards Cassius Dio there is but little definite evidence. The use of a number of sources is assumed from his own words (72. 23), and the inference is confirmed by the results of investigation. It seems certain that he used Polybius, Livy, Coelius, and the early annalists. Plutarch in his biography of Fabius seems to have drawn especially upon Nepos, but he also made use of Livy, whom he not infrequently misunder-

stood, as well as Coelius. Dr. Sanders believes that he used the last-named authority directly, and not through the medium of Fenestella, as Soltau has assumed. Nepos himself, in his life of Hannibal, mentions as his sources Silenus, Sosilus, Sulpicius Blitho, Polybius, and Atticus. The last two appear to have been but little used, and to judge from his frequent errors, the writer's method of work would seem to have been, to read his sources, and then to write from memory, with little or no use of excerpts.

Very different was the method of the great historian Polybius, who used a great number of sources, but worked them over so carefully and combined them with such skill, that it is difficult, if not impossible, clearly to distinguish them. Dr. Sanders finds two 'scipionische Quellen,' one written and one oral (Laelius). Besides these Polybius used Silenus, Charaeus, and Sosilius, the last two being directly cited. Contrary to the current view Dr. Sanders, here agreeing with Soltau, decides that Cato was also used. To these sources the historian added oral information and the results of personal investigation of public records and documents. A common source for Livy and Polybius cannot be assumed.

While Polybius is universally regarded as the best authority on the period which he treats, Livy appears not to have rated him as highly as he deserved, nor to have appreciated his superiority to the other sources at his command, except, as he expressly intimates in 33. 10. 10, for events which took place in Greece.

Among the 'Verlorene Quellen' of Livy Dr. Sanders gives Claudius Quadrigarius, Clodius Licinus and Fabius as used directly, Silenus and Cincius indirectly. Livy also unquestionably used Coelius, although it is difficult to determine to what extent he did so. Livy's use of the annalists is examined in detail, and the citation from Claudius in Gellius, 4. 13. 1, is given in a parallel column with the corresponding account of Livy. The conclusion is reached, contrary to the views of C. Peter and Soltau, that Livy used the narrative of Claudius in connection with other sources. Claudius is shown by his language to have been influenced by Ennius.

The fourth chapter discusses Livy's use of Polybius at length. Dr. Sanders does not attempt to take up the two books chapter by chapter, since to trace the connection throughout is impossible, and is based beside on a wrong conception of Livy's method of composition, as described in the introductory chapters. Instead, certain chapters are selected in which the problem is less difficult of solution. Polybius is found to be Livy's principal source in the account of the Spanish campaign before the siege of Saguntum, through an examination of Polyb. 3. 13. 5-14. 10 and Livy 21. 5. 3-17. The passages are given in parallel columns, and sufficient correspondences are noted to assure Livy's use of Polybius, while a sufficient number of discrepancies exist to make the use of other sources equally evident. For the details of the interesting discussion the reader must be referred to Dr. Sanders' book.

Next the passage which gives the number of Hannibal's troops (21. 21. 11) is examined in the same way. That this is based on Polybius is generally admitted, but although Livy has followed the Greek

historian very closely, he has allowed himself great freedom in the choice and arrangement of his material. Thirdly Scipio's dream is given in parallel columns with Zonaras, Cicero De Div. (= Coelius, frag. 11), and Valerius Maximus. In the first half of the account Zonaras agrees with Coelius and Valerius Maximus with Livy, but in the second half there are many discrepancies. Dr. Sanders finds in Livy's account a blending of the annalistic and the Coelian versions. The account in Silius Italicus he believes to be based on Ennius and an annalist, with additions from Livy and Coelius.

Next the march from the Ebro to the Pyrenees is considered, where Livy returns to Polybius. Here the correspondences are clear and unmistakable. Livy's addition of the division of Hannibal's forces into three parts is traced to Fabius's Greek version, which Strabo also followed. Livy's use of Coelius is also evident. Then comes the rebellion of the Gauls, where Livy has followed Polybius, but as before with important variations drawn from other sources. A digression on the Roman chronology is introduced, to explain the deviation of the Roman dates at this period from the actual sun time, a question about which authorities differ greatly. In this part of Livy's narrative no less than three principal sources are discovered, Polybius, Coelius, and Antias, with additions from Claudius and from either Piso or Fabius.

Without going into further detail it may be said that the passage of the Rhone, the march over the Alps, the battles at the Ticinus, the Trebia, Lake Trasimenus, and Cannae are treated, with occasional digressions in which moot points of various kinds are examined. The result is to prove the author's claim that Livy used many different sources in the manner described in the chapters already reviewed. He appears also to have been industrious and actuated by a love of truth, but to have made mistakes through his ignorance of special details. He was in no sense a mere copyist.

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LINDSAY'S *CODEx TURNEBI*.

The Codex Turnebi of Plautus by W. M. LINDSAY. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. 59 + 140 (colloctyped). Price 21s. net.

CONSIDERING the interest which this volume has excited and the favour with which it has been received by some eminent Plautine scholars, it may be a rash act on the part of a reviewer to express an adverse opinion. Yet I am bound not to conceal from my readers the serious doubts which I feel as to whether Mr. Lindsay is justified in the interpretation which he has put upon the material at his disposal. The volume which he has unearthed from the Bodleian Library is a Gryphius edition of Plautus, containing a number of *marginalia* said to be by the hand of a sixteenth century scholar called Duaren.¹ On p. 488 there is the following remarkable entry: *ex fragmentis monast. s. columnae senon. urbis Adriani Tornebi jubas, lubas, Poict. iuuas alta manu*, which Mr. Lindsay interprets after M. Paul Le Breton, who unearthed a similar volume from the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1895,² as meaning 'from a fragmentary MS. of the library of the monastery of St. Colombe at Sens (department of Yonne), in the possession of Adr. Turnèbe.' This fragmentary MS. they identify with the 'Codex Turnebi'; and the inference is drawn that we have here a transcript of the marginalia in Turnèbe's own copy of Plautus; and moreover that all the readings here entered in the MS. come from the 'Codex Turnebi,' except those which can be proved to come from a MS. of the Italian recension (a copy of the Burney MS. now in the British Museum³). Now it is obvious that there is here plenty of room for error. How do we know what MSS. Turnèbe may have collated, or what emendations of his own or others he may have entered in the margin of his copy of Plautus? A great many of the supposed readings from the 'Codex Turnebi' are identical with readings from MSS. like *BCD* (e.g. Poen. 388-391, and *passim*), which were accessible⁴ to scholars of the sixteenth cen-

tury and had been made known in part by the complete edition of Camerarius of 1552—the first scientific edition of Plautus. It would be strange indeed if the readings of *B* and *C*, recently discovered by Camerarius, did not arouse interest in the minds of scholars of the day like Turnèbe, who was a Professor at Paris during the years 1547-1565. Is it not a large assumption to suppose that he closed his columns to any readings except those of one favourite codex and of a worthless MS. of the Italian recension?

But there is another consideration which seems altogether to have escaped the attention of Mr. Lindsay. The carelessly copied entry quoted above is not a general description of the contents of the volume, but a note on *one line* (Pseud. 732). It tells us that the fragmentary MS. of Turnebus had *iubas* or *iuuas* for *iubes* which stands in the text, and that another source called 'Poict' had *lubas*.⁵ Mr. Lindsay has divorced the last six words from the rest of the entry and taken the words *ex fragmentis . . . Tornebi* as applying to other readings than that to which it is attached. *Only one of all the readings in this volume is explicitly ascribed to the fragmentary MS.* What the source of the others may be cannot be decided till we discover the meanings of the symbols (or no symbols) which are attached to them. And here we come upon a great difficulty. Some of the supposed Turnebus readings have the curious signature *dr* (sometimes *du*, or *do*, or *dn*,⁶ the *d* being sometimes written like *9*).⁷ This Mr. Lindsay explained in the *Classical Review* and *Berl. Phil. Woch.* as denoting *Duaren*; but there are many considerations which make that unlikely. Why should the transcriber put his own initials to readings

lent to Gruter by the sons of Camerarius (about 1595). Camerarius respected Turnèbe as a scholar and seems to have followed his work with interest: see Ritschl, *Opusc.* iii. pp. 74 f. Also collected letters, ed. of 1583, Bk. vi. p. 447.

⁵ Whether the reading *iuuas* in the 'alta manu' belongs to 'Poict.' or to the 'fragmenta' or to the writing of the collator (Turnèbe?) is not clear. I am inclined to think that it is not a blunder for *altera* or *alia manu*, as Mr. Lindsay says, but denotes a special kind of bold handwriting: see Ducange (article 'Scriptura'). So perhaps *alta nu* in Pseud. 783 stands for *altana*—another kind of handwriting.

⁶ Or *d* followed by an indeterminable letter or contraction; e.g. p. 503 bottom. Cf. pp. 277 (top), 259, 495 (on Pseud. 956).

⁷ On Pseud. 748 we find *different* readings signed respectively *dn*, *dr*. In Pers. 854 *do* is part of the variant.

¹ I fancy I detect evidence of a distinct hand in some places.

² *Revue de Philologie*, vol. xix. p. 255. The Paris volume has the same blunder of *columnae* for *Columnae*.

³ See Mr. Lindsay, p. 50.

⁴ Turnèbe was a friend and correspondent of Camerarius, and *B* may well have been lent to him between the years 1525 and 1564, as it was afterwards

of an important MS.? Why to some and not to others in an entirely erratic fashion? Why does he show such uncertainty as to the proper abbreviation of his name? Why does he write it with a small *d*?

The whole question is involved in complete mystery. It may be added that the entry *Caristo dr* which interrupts the continuity of the entry relating to Pseud. 732 (being a variant for *Charisto*, l. 730) seems rather to point to the readings signed *dr*. coming from a different source from the reading quoted from the 'fragmenta.'

Nor has Mr. Lindsay by any means proved that the original of this transcript was Turnèbe's own copy of Plautus. The entries on Rud. 63 and 753 are hardly adequate to such an inference, in my opinion. Is it indeed likely that Turnèbe would have entered in his own copy the words 'ex fragmentis . . . *Adriani Turnebi*'? That is a description of the codex by some one else.

If, then, external evidence fails us so completely, is there internal evidence to show that these readings come from the 'Codex Turnebi'? M. Le Breton claimed that there was a strong family likeness between the two sets of readings¹; but what I am impressed with is their great divergence. Take the twenty-one readings in the Poenulus quoted by Goetz in his preface to that play (p. ix. foll.) as readings of the Codex Turnebi. Of these only four are exactly reproduced in the Bodleian marginalia, and three others partially—say about one third at most. Six do not appear in the Bodleian marginalia at all; and eight are in actual conflict with them (Poen. 47 *gnarures*, *aegnariores*; 231; 371 *ninnium*, *nimium*; 413 *partem minore habitus mea*, *parte minore habita mecum*; 471 *lenulle*, *lenuite* or *lenuile*; 530, 1168, 1312 f.).² Of the 14 readings in the Pseudolus and Rudens, only 2 reappear completely in the Bodl. marginalia, and at least 5 are in actual conflict. Add Poen. 1355—another case of divergence; cf. 384. These facts seem to me almost to preclude the possibility of identifying the *dr*. readings *en bloc* with readings of the Codex Turnebi.

To my mind it is clear that the original from which these notes were transcribed contained a heterogeneous collection of variants, not from any one MS. but from several (including one or more of the Palatine MSS.), and of comments derived from

various sources. Some conjectures are introduced by words like 'forte'; but the absence of any clear system of symbols to distinguish the different kinds of notes makes any exact inference almost impossible.

The 'heterogeneity' of the variants is by no means inconsistent with the fact that many of the readings contained in this volume are of high value and possibly derived in some cases from MSS. no longer accessible to us. Mr. Lindsay has himself quoted some of these in the *Classical Review* for 1897 (pp. 177 f. and 246 f.). That some may possibly be due to conjecture³ is shown by the fact that they have actually been made independently by modern scholars (Rud. 686 *diem hunc acerbum*, by Schoell, Pref. to small ed.; 700 *indignum*, by Fleck-eisen). But for such readings as Rud. 166 (*tam bene*), 186 (*Quam in visu*, i.e. *usu*, Seyfert), 670 (*Orta*), 687 (*istec*), Pers. 35 (*Emere*), and many others Plautine scholars cannot be too grateful. They probably rest on authority as good as that of the readings of the remarkable 'libri veteres'⁴ of Lambinus, with which they often agree (e.g. Rud. 417 f., 314 f.). Some of the comments too might seem to come straight from Lambinus (e.g. that on Rud. 122), if it were not that Mr. Lindsay gives reasons for thinking that the notes must have been written before 1557 (Intr. p. 2). This however would not prevent their being derived, directly or indirectly, from MS. material of Lambinus.

I cannot close this article without putting forward a suggestion which is not an essential part of my argument, but which seems to me deserving of consideration as throwing an entirely new light on the so-called 'Codex Turnebi.' Let us return to the entry quoted above (*ex fragmentis monast. s. columbae senon. urbis Adriani Turnebi*). What if the monastery of St. Columba was not that of Sens, which may or may not have had a library of MSS., but the famous home of palimpsests at Bobbio,⁵ from which, according

³ E.g. the *possim* in Pseud. 735 (a bad conjecture): cf. Mr. Lindsay (p. 8) on Pers. 623, 310, Poen. 30 926, Cas. 523.

⁴ In Poen. 977 the 'lib. vet.' also had *Punicus* (for *Punicast*); see ed. of 1577, p. 877.

⁵ The name of the founder of the monastery at Bobbio (*Columbanus*) often appears in the form *Columba*. See Jonas, Abbot of Bobbio in the 8th century, Life of Col. (*Columbanus qui et Columba dicitur*). So too in the verses quoted by Muratori, Antiq. Ital. med. aev. iii. p. 826 (*Sancte Columba, tibi Scoto tuus incola Dungal Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beuntur*, etc. from a MS. containing Vitae Sanctorum Patrum). The monastery at Sens was named after S. Colombe, a virgin who suffered martyrdom at Sens in the 3rd century.

¹ E.g. Poen. 977 *Punicust guggast homo* (Cod. Turn. *Punicast*, &c.).

² These proportions are not materially affected if some of the readings are excluded from consideration as not belonging to the Cod. Turn.; see below.

to generally received tradition, the *Codex Ambrosianus* found its way to Milan? This is no doubt what the Germans call a 'hair-erecting' hypothesis. But it led me to a renewed examination of the readings quoted by Turnèbe in his *Adversaria* and collected works, with the following remarkable result. In nearly every passage (32 in all) in which Turnèbe distinctly speaks of his special Codex, by such terms as *membranae*, *membranulae*, *membranae morticinae* ('carrian parchments'), *schedae antiquae*, etc.,¹ the reading quoted agrees with the reading of the Ambrosian palimpsest (*A*) so far as the latter is now accessible to us.² The question then arises: was the 'Codex Turnebi' simply *A* in a less mutilated condition? There is evidence that it was known before the time of Angelo Mai; why not, then, to a six-

¹ See Ritschl, *Opusc.* ii. p. 4.

² The only exceptions are Cas. 640, Poen. 319. Here Turnèbe possibly referred by mistake to the wrong MS. In Pseud. 738 *alis* (Adv. xx. 10) agrees with *A*; *aliis* (*Opusc.* i. p. 64, 53) is not from the 'schedae,' but from a MS. which he calls 'peruetustus' (perhaps *B*, which Camerarius often describes as *liber vetus*.) Similarly Rud. 767, and perhaps Rud. 525. In Cas. 729 the only MS. which has μέγα κακόν 'plane et literate perscriptum' is *A*, though it also has *tibi*, omitted by Turnèbe. In Poen. 371, 413, 471 Studemund read as Turnèbe (except in 413 *minore* and *meo*; in 471 *lenullo* for *lenulle*, and details of spelling in last word). In Poen. 1313 Turnèbe is probably quoting from the Palatine MSS. Rud. 724 *Non licet* etc. may well have been visible in *A* in the sixteenth century. It must never be forgotten that *A* is difficult to decipher, and probably was so even before the application of Mai's chemicals; so that some difference of opinion as to its readings may be expected. The marvel is that there are not more. [The passages in which the Cod. Turn. differs from *BCD* more than from *A* are more numerous: e.g. Cas. 523, Poen. 30, 47, 580, 770, 977, 1033.]

teenth century scholar like Turnèbe, whether its home at that time was Bobbio or Sens?³ The language in which Turnèbe speaks of the 'carrian parchments' which he 'at one time had in his hands'⁴ fits *A* to perfection: and the phrase *alta manus* of the Bodleian marginalia receives a new significance. Yet there is no absolute impossibility in there having been two fragmentary and almost identical MSS. in two separate monasteries both named after a 'Columba'; and in view of the fact that Lambinus constantly refers to several MSS. (e.g. on Cas. 729 he quotes no less than six, which he names, for the reading *dabo μέγα κακόν*), and that Pareus quotes 'plerique MSS.' for *eas*, *easque* Rud. 519, and bearing in mind also the difficulties involved in supposing that Turnèbe could have read the palimpsest even in isolated passages, I think it safer to maintain that the Cod. Turn. if not *A* was a MS. very similar to *A*. One thing, however, results from this enquiry. It becomes still more difficult to identify the *dr.* readings with those of the Cod. Turn. For the former have in general a marked affinity to the Palatine family. Their actual source will probably be discovered when the meaning of the symbol *dr.* is made out. Any further light on this or other points from Mr. Lindsay will be very welcome.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

³ Studemund says it is not *certain* that *A* came from Bobbio.

⁴ 'Schedae morticinae,' 'quas aliquando habui' (Adv. xv. 7); 'aliquando in aliquot membranas peruetustas incidi, in quibus scriptus erat Poenulus' (Adv. xix. 12). Not only, then, did Turnèbe write in haste (*cursim et propteranter*) but he had not got the MS. before him when he wrote his *Adversaria*.

SETHO-GNOSTIC CURSES FOUND IN ROME.

Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom, herausgegeben von RICHARD WÜNSCH. 8vo, pp. 123. Teubner, Leipzig. 1898.

IN this brief monograph the able editor of the *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* has rendered a further substantial service to the study of ancient religion, especially of its later developments, and incidentally to other sides of learning. In his preface to that collection he cited a long Latin curse written on a sheet of lead, directed against one

'Praeseticus son of Asella.' The roll had been discovered with several others in a tomb on the Via Appia, and was transcribed by de Rossi for a meeting of the German Archaeological Institute in 1880,⁵ having lain with the rest in the papal lumber-rooms for some thirty years; Henzen, to whom they were once offered, had discreetly refused to unroll them. Wünsch has now re-discovered them in the Museo Kircheriano, and publishes the text of all the

⁵ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Röm.* 1880, pp. 6-9.

But, apart from the theological interest of a particular question, the collection deserves attention for its own sake, as a historical 'document' of some curiosity, a genuine record of popular language and beliefs in a dark period. For the date of the inscriptions, which considerations of writing and the like do not suffice to determine, has been fixed by Wunsch with admirable precision by a comparison of the names of the persons cursed—who are all either jockeys or charioteers—with those on the large medals of the third and fourth centuries A.D. known as *Contorniaci*.¹ The

Several well-known phonetic changes of late Latin and Greek are here represented (e.g. the complete loss of final *-m*, the conversion both of consonant *u* and of the Greek β into the spirant *v*—written *u* in the early Minuscule hand used here—), which are attested for earlier dates; on the other hand the confusion of *-tium* and *-cium* in the different spellings of the enemy's name, with $\zeta\upsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha$ for $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\alpha$ in one of the Greek tables, vouches for the assibilation of the explosives before consonant *i* in the Latin of the lowest class of the community at the date of these tables (400 B.C.), which is a century earlier than has been hitherto assumed (p. 57).

NO. CXIV. VOL. XIII.

An extract from No. 49 may serve as a specimen of the Greek :

(p. 52) ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι καὶ ἄγια ὀνόματα συνεπισχύσατε τῷ κατόχῳ τούτῳ καὶ δήσατε καταδήσατε ἐνποδίσσατε ἀκο(ν)τίσατε καταστρέψατε συν[εργή]σατε ὀλέσατε ἀποκτίνετε σύνκλάσατε Εὐχέριον τὸν ἡνιώχον καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἱ[ππους] αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐρίῳ ἡμέρα ἐν τῷ ἱπ<ι>πικῷ Ῥώμης· μὴ τας θύρας καλῶς. . . , μὴ δέξυμαχίση μὴ παρέλθῃ μὴ πιάση μὴ νικήσῃ μὴ καλῶς κάμψῃ μὴ ἄθλα λάβῃ μῆτε πιάσας ἀποικιήσῃ μῆτε ὀπίσσοθεν ἀκολουθήσας παρέλθῃ ἀλλὰ συμπέσῃ συνδεθῇ συνκλασθῇ συρῇ ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑμῶν προῖνὰς ὥρας καὶ ἀπάριστα. ἦδη ἦδη τάχυ τάχυ.

ὁ κάτοχος is the charm, and the words δέξυμαχεῖν κ.τ.λ. are technical terms denoting various methods of winning in the chariot-race; most of the Latin equivalents appear in the *insec.* of *Agitatores*, *C.I.L.* vi. 10,044 ff. *πιάζειν* corresponds to *premere* (*Sil.* 15, 397-408), or *opponere* (*Plin. H.N.* 8, 160) and seems to mean either 'nursing,' i.e. intentionally steering so as to prevent a rival from passing you, or deliberately causing him to 'foul' your own vehicle; see p. 70.

In these extracts the reader will recognise much of the familiar furniture of magic all the world over; from the Iguvine Tables down to the Ingoldsby Legends cursers have always been voluble, always vulgar, and generally in a hurry. The pictures give other details; chains, ladders for torture, demons with a raven's head, the serpent

Sarapis, the seven stars and their seven (Greek) vowels; the *πάρεδροι* of Seth who are appealed to, to influence the other gods, just as Seth is—and as I believe Jove, Vejove and Saturn were in the Duenos-curse (*It. Dial.* p. 330); 'Ephesian letters' (*βακυχ, βαχαχυκ, βαζακυχ, κ.τ.λ.* at great length; were the Gnostics quoting from their sacred symbol of immortality, the frog?); epistolary form, foreign words, inane repetitions and the general paraphernalia of the regular magic prescription in its fullest development. The habits of the early Christian jockeys are attested by an excellent story (p. 75) from Jerome's *Life of St. Hilarion*. That pillar of the church was one day besought by a charioteer of Gaza for deliverance from a spell cast upon him and his horses by a pagan wizard. The saint consented, and by a modicum of holy water the wizard's spell was broken. The Christian charioteer of course won his race, and by his victory the people of Gaza learnt the power of the Christian faith, and all came to be baptised to share the benefits of the saint's wonderful water.

Wünsch's edition of the Tables is a model of clear and careful treatment of a difficult branch of epigraphy; and though I cannot attempt to judge the learning with which he has treated the subject matter, I may testify with gratitude to the interest with which he has filled it for the lay reader.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, April 1899.

HEIBERG'S PTOLEMY.

Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia.
Volumen I. *Syntaxis mathematica.*
Edidit J. L. HEIBERG, Professor Hau-
niensis. Pars I. Libros I.—VI. continens.
Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri.
MDCCLXXXVIII. pp. vi. + 546.

ALL who are interested in the history of Greek mathematics already owe an incalculable debt to the indefatigable scholar who has successively given us revised texts, based on the best MSS., of the works of Archimedes with the commentaries of Eutocius (Teubner, 1880-1881), of so much of Apollonius of Perga as is extant in Greek (including the first four books of the *Conics*) with the ancient commentaries thereon (Teubner, 1891-3), of Euclid's *Elements* with

the scholia (5 volumes, Teubner, 1883-1888), and of Euclid's *Optics*, etc. (Teubner, 1895), to say nothing of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *de caelo* (the seventh volume of *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, Berlin, 1894), and very numerous contributions to philological journals. We welcome therefore the latest addition to this formidable list, the first instalment of the works of Ptolemy, consisting of the first six books of the *μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις*, which was called *μαθηματικά* by Pappus as it is also in the headings to Books V. and VI. of the work itself, though it has been generally known as the *μεγάλη σύνταξις* or by the bastard name *Almagest*. The need for a thoroughly good text of this work will be appreciated when it is remembered that there have

been only two complete editions of the Greek text published until now. Simon Grynaeus, who brought out the *editio princeps* of Euclid's *Elements* at Basel in 1533, added thereto the *editio princeps* of Ptolemy in 1538, dedicating it, curiously enough, to King Henry VIII. of England. This edition was however (after the manner of the time) based on one MS. only and that not a good one. The other of the two editions is that of Halma (Paris, 1813-16), which is now very rare and which it has never been our good fortune to set eyes on. Halma used an excellent Paris MS., but appears to have been wanting in scholarship. Heiberg has himself completely collated this MS., written apparently in the ninth century, and two others, besides inspecting and partly collating three more MSS., one of which again is of the ninth century. The detailed description of the MSS. the editor postpones, as is usual with him, for a later volume; but it is abundantly clear that no labour has been spared to make the text all that it should be. A particularly interesting feature in the present volume is that the critical notes give the abbreviations used in the Vatican MS. (referred to as D) of the twelfth century which was copied 'ab exemplari optimo et uetustissimo.' These contractions are given because they will be useful for determining the date and character of the archetype; but at least one of them is important, as it seems to us, in another connexion. If any doubt is still felt as to the origin of the symbol (generally printed like a final sigma) by which Diophantus denotes the word ἀριθμός, whether used in its ordinary sense or in its technical sense as representing the *unknown quantity* or the x of his equations, one contraction found in the MS. of Ptolemy referred to may help to resolve the doubt. The suggestion, now generally accepted as a probable explanation (cf. Cantor, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, I², p. 440), is that the symbol is a contraction of the two first letters of the word, *ap*, into one sign; and this receives remarkable confirmation from the occurrence in the MS. of Ptolemy of the sign ρ to denote ἀριθμός, a

sign, that is, consisting of an *a* with a tail or hook which seems to represent *p* in much the same way as a hook attached to a ϕ in cursive MSS. made it ϕp (cf. Susemihl and Hicks, *Politics* of Aristotle, p. 240 note). The sign is moreover doubled to represent the plural in the same way as the supposed final sigma in the MSS. of Diophantus; and Heiberg's critical notes show that it occurs in the MS. side by side both with ς or $\varsigma\varsigma$ and, in one place, with $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon$. May we add the expression of a hope that, in describing the various MSS. in a forthcoming volume, the editor will think it worth while to give at least a general conspectus of the contractions found in all the MSS., after the manner of the similar one on pp. 126-132 of the second part of the third volume of Hultsch's *Pappus*?. We have personally missed very much, in Heiberg's text of Euclid, such an account of the MS. contractions, and should have been grateful for more information of the same kind in his edition of Archimedes. The Latin translation usually appended by Heiberg to his texts of the Greek mathematicians is wanting in the case of Ptolemy, but no one can complain of the modest excuse given for its absence: 'interpretationem meam siue Latinam siue linguae recentioris in tanta rerum difficultate addere ausus non sum; de ea re uideant astronomi, si interpretationem desiderauerint.'

This is not the place for any account of Ptolemy's astronomy; but Scots may be interested to learn that, while, according to him, the 55th degree of north latitude passes through 'Brigantium in Great Britain,' the 56th through 'the middle of Great Britain,' and the 57th through 'Catteractonium in Britain' (Catterick in Yorkshire), the 58th degree passes through 'the southern parts of Little Britain' (διὰ τῶν νοτίων τῆς μικρᾶς Βρετανίας), the 61st through 'the northern parts of Little Britain,' the 62nd through the Hebrides Islands (διὰ τῶν καλουμένων Ἑβρουδων νήσων), and the 63rd through the Island of Thule.

T. L. HEATH.

CAMBRIDGE COMPOSITIONS.

Cambridge Compositions, Greek and Latin.

Edited by R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M.A., and R. D. HICKS, M.A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1899.

THIS is a book which ought not to be reviewed at all. How absurd it would be to tell the public that Roberts is a very skilful billiard player, that Richardson is a first-rate bowler, and that Ranjitsinghi has

displayed conspicuous aptitude for making runs and for fielding! The book is, of course, wellnigh perfection. Let any scholar open it anywhere, and he will find evidence of the subtlest sympathy with the niceties of Greek and Latin idiom. If he begins to think what that sympathy means, he will see that here (in Cambridge) are those who will restore the classics with most success. This exquisiteness of taste has always been the heritage of the English school of classics. The happiest touches which brushed off the dust obscuring the antique gold have been administered by the English school; and this volume shows that by the Cam there is a goodly fellowship of scholars who are thoroughly *en rapport* with the incomparable literature of antiquity, and who may be trusted to purge away the dross which has often got into the place of the gold, and to clear away the *fungi* which have often overgrown it. It is in books like that which lies before us that we must look for a forecast of English scholarship, not in lists recording how often Diogenes Laertius uses the particle γε, nor in account books of Thothmes unearthed from *papyri*.

Of the foregoing books of compositions, our favourite has always been the *Sabrinæ Corolla*. Though it contained only the compositions of the pupils of Dr. Butler at Shrewsbury, yet it included some of the best work of the best scholars in the two great Universities of England. The book before us quite surpasses its predecessors, in our judgment. It is, of course, different in scope, as it includes compositions in prose. These are very much to be welcomed. They give the reader as much, and the same kind of, pleasure as the verses, and they emphasize the fact (surprisingly overlooked by some) that the capacity to dress Shakespeare and Tennyson in the garb of Sophocles and Virgil is precisely the same as that which can present to us Maundeville and Burke in the diction of Herodotus and Cicero. But the present work is superior in execution to foregoing collections. We do not say that the best things in the *Arundines Cami* or *Sabrinæ Corolla* or *Anthologia Oxoniensis* could possibly be surpassed. But we hold that in the present collection there is nothing that is bad, or even second rate. No such verse can be found in it as that which was given in the *Arundines Cami* as a rendering of

‘A ministering angel thou.’

It was not Latin, and it was not poetry.
It ran

‘Fungeris angelico sola ministerio.’

Angelico is not Latin, *sola* is surplusage, and *ministerium* is neither poetical nor classical. *Cambridge Compositions* presents to us mainly the work of the present staff of Cambridge. There are a few compositions by those admirable scholars of a past generation, Arthur Holmes, Robert Burn, Lightfoot, Munro. Jebb and Jackson have stood aside to make room for junior colleagues. We should have welcomed more from them; but we esteem ourselves fortunate to have so much of the exquisite work of Mr. C. W. Moule, who, we think, must have been little, if at all, junior to them.

What these scholars have given us is, as might be expected, quite perfect. It is instructive to observe how Prof. Jebb, a master in the art of versification, deals with an expression in a poem by O. W. Holmes, which Mr. Lyttelton (mistakenly, as we think) put forward as a specimen piece for translation in his book in defence of Latin versification. The quatrain runs:

‘Yes, dear, departed, cherish’d days,
Could Memory’s hand restore
Your morning light, your evening rays,
From Time’s grey urn once more.’

Prof. Jebb does the only right thing with the ‘grey urn.’ He omits all reference to it. Time stowing away in a grey urn departed days, possibly restorable by Memory’s hand, is a quite inconceivable figure, and therefore not to be translated into Latin poetry. Such a piece should never be set for translation. The Latin poets never wrote downright nonsense—not even Persius. Let those who doubt this consider the versions in Mr. Lyttelton’s ‘*Are we to go on with Latin Verses?*’ of those translators who have not ignored the ‘grey urn’ of Time. We say without hesitation that the expression could not be reproduced in Latin, because that language, unlike English, must of necessity betray the man who employs a figure of speech without thoroughly realising it as a picture presented to the mind’s eye. In reading the two copies of elegiacs which Prof. Jebb has given us, we cannot but be struck by the vast superiority of the Latin poems to the English in clearness and finish of style.

The contributors to the present volume who have endowed it most largely (we hesitate to say most delightfully, because in some cases we have gems which appear as sole contributions) are the editors, Butcher, Verrall, Walter Headlam, Moule,

Postgate, Heitland, Spratt. Prof. J. S. Reid has also given some admirable versions, not only in prose (which we expected), but in verse, to which we did not know before that he had turned so successfully his great erudition and discernment. We feel that it would be almost impossible to make a selection of the felicities in this volume. We cannot see the wood for the trees. We have not yet, after much turning over of the book—a delightful task—found a single piece from which felicities might not be cited. We have not met one which seemed to us in any way lacking in taste or scholarship. If we might make a single exception, it would be in the case of one of the greatest masters of composition that England has produced. That great scholar, H. A. J. Munro, after writing and publishing many triumphs of the art of verse composition at its very best, adopted in his later years some theories about verbal reproduction which we never could accept as sound. We never could believe that *pusillus ruris erus* was Latin for ‘the little tyrant of his fields’ in Gray’s *Elegy*, nor that *rusticitatis agit* catches the meaning of the verb in the line

‘The moping owl doth to the moon complain.’

We have the same fault to find with phrases in the two versions of his which this collection contains. The couplet

‘Golden lads and girls all must
As chimney-sweepers come to dust,’

does not (if we may say it without blasphemy) seem to us perfect, though ‘golden’ has a happy boldness. But the Latin would, we fancy, have been unintelligible to an ancient Roman :

Aureus ipse puer, *par a fuligine furvis*,
Et virgo fati foedere pulvis erit.

The italicised phrase is much worse than ‘as chimney-sweepers,’ which (if we may venture to say it) is not itself happy.

Again, even the warmest admirers of his magnificent Latin hexameters and Alcaics and Greek hexameters in the *Sabrineae Corolla*—and it would be impossible to admire them more than we do—cannot but own that in the version given on p. 71 he has more than once strained the language, and forced on Latin words and expressions meanings which would not have suggested

themselves to a contemporary of Horace or Ovid.

As we have said, ‘to extract felicities would be an endless pursuit, and a thankless one ; for those who could see them when pointed out could not fail to find them for themselves. To advert, on the other hand, to passages where we felt some difficulty would be a very strictly limited task, and might suggest to the author in each case a reconsideration of the passage, if it should seem to him on reflection that it demanded it. In pursuance of this method, we would ask is *laus fit iniqua sui* in Mr. Moule’s admirable version (p. 5) of a passage from *Paradise Lost*, the same as ‘Their song was partial’ ; and in Goodhart’s exquisitely Horatian rendering from Byron (p. 51) is

‘Siste leves Zephyros, paleas terat area
inanes’

a complete reproduction of the thought in

‘Hope constancy in wind, or corn in chaff’?

The same clever and scholarly composer on p. 107 makes ‘acta dies’ stand for ‘the Past.’ We doubt whether the Latin words could bear that meaning. Let it be remembered that the Horatian phrase is ‘temporis acti *se puero*.’ ‘The past’ would be ‘tempus exactum.’ What is the authority for *ἐλεγον* as 2nd aor. on p. 459? In the same very spirited piece we should prefer the phrase of Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1208) for ‘fresh bread.’ We do not mean to assert that *πρόσφατος ἄπρος* is wrong, and we do not claim for the word any affinity with *φένω*. But *εὐανίας ἄπρος* has the authority of the purest of the Attic writers. On p. 339 and again on p. 355 *Φοῖβος* is the Sun. We doubt if there is any justification for this usage in Greek poetry, though of course in Latin *Phoebus* is a synonyme for *Sol*. The very fluent and vigorous translation in Greek hexameters of a passage from *The Chronicle of the Cid* has a violation of the rule which prevails with singular regularity from Homer to Nonnus. The fourth foot of a hexameter never admits the trochaic caesura of a dactyl, as in the verse,

θυγατέρεςσιν ἐμαῖς γέρας ἔμμεν, ἀτάσθαλα
εἰδώς.

Where everything is so excellent it is really misleading to particularise. But if it should happen to anyone to have the book in his hands only for a few hours, let him not fail to read Prof. Butcher’s ‘Our birth

is but a sleep and a forgetting,' p. 19, Dr. Verrall's *Lorenzo and Jessica*, p. 25, Dr. Postgate's song from Sheridan, p. 113. Then he must read all the Greek verses by these and other scholars, among whom Mr. Walter Headlam is conspicuous for happy excursions into less frequented paths. He has on p. 353 an admirable *scolion*, a delightful metre hardly ever, we think, tried by modern composers before, and on p. 363 a wonderfully skilful version of Shelley's *Skylark* in Greek Sapphics. Mr. Archer-Hind's Platonic pieces are models of scholarship and taste, and so indeed are all his compositions. He, too, is fond of the less familiar metres, as in his exquisite anapaestic dimeters, pp. 345, 359, and his anap. tetram. cat. in p. 349. Some of the contributors have given only one piece. Mr. Gill on p. 211 has a piece of Latin prose which we recommend to our readers as a difficult and highly successful performance. 'Dis-establishment of the Welsh and Scotch Churches' and 'the Emerald Isle' are not easily latinised, but they appear in language worthy of Cicero's letters. Equally ingenious is Mr. Spratt's version of a Broker's Circular on p. 199. Another contributor of only one piece is C. E. Haskins, who on p. 5 beautifully turns Macaulay's *Epitaph on a Jacobite*. We were surprised not to find anything from such well-known masters of the Latin elegiac couplet as Dr. Butler and Dr. Moss; and we should have expected some choice iambs from Dr. Sandys. We suppose they stood aside to make way for younger scholars.

We notice that the writers of Alcaic and Sapphic verses have not held themselves bound to conform to that avoidance of hiatus at the ends of lines, or *synapheia*, which Horace imposed on himself in his

fourth book of the Odes. We do not see that the metre gains any appreciable charm from the observance of this restriction. Horace was just the man to enjoy subjecting himself to an unnecessary restriction, simply to display his unrivalled mastery over metre. We do not think modern imitators are bound to follow his precedent. If a violinist chooses to play on one string, or a boxer to fight with one hand tied behind his back, he shows his own skill, but does not suggest any improvement in his art. Again to revert to the supposed reader who has only a few hours at his disposal, let him read Mr. Stone's exquisite Latin lyrics and Mr. Wyse's Latin hexameters and elegiacs. Let him also read as many as he can of Mr. Hicks' and Dr. Postgate's Latin prose pieces, as well as those of Dr. Verrall and Prof. Butcher both in Greek and Latin; the Greek proses of Mr. Gerald Balfour, and a nice piece of hendecasyllabics by Mr. Sikes on p. 69. The Herodotean pieces, too, are very perfect. But, indeed, why should we offer advice? Wherever the reader turns he will find something as good as what we have specially pointed to, and maybe something which will more specially attract his admiration, just as the pieces mentioned here have specially attracted ours. Let us suggest one improvement. We cannot see why the whole names of the composers are not given at the end of each composition. The constant reference to the list of contributors is very tiresome.

We heartily welcome *Cambridge Compositions* as being in itself an admirable piece of work, and also as affording a very favourable augury for the future of English scholarship.

R. Y. T.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE TORCH RACE OF BENDIS.

In the British Museum there is a marble relief (Cat. No. 7*) representing a party of eight athletic ephebi, headed by two bearded men (one of whom carries a racing torch) approaching a figure, of larger proportions, of Artemis Bendis. This relief has been, no doubt correctly, associated by Hartwig (*Bendis*, pl. ii), with the interesting passage in the *Republic*, p. 327, where Socrates,

having gone to Peiraeus in order to pay his devotions to the goddess and to see the festival, is pressed by his friends to remain, because *λαμπὰς ἔσται πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεᾷ*. To which remark Socrates replies. *Ἄφ' ἵππων; καινόν γε τοῦτο*.

It is clear from the passage that the real novelty of the function to which Socrates was invited was not the torch race itself, which we know was nothing out of the way, but the fact that this particular one was

contested on horseback. Clearly we are not justified, without further evidence, in concluding (as has been usually done) that the torch race in honour of the Artemis Bendis was only introduced into Athens on the occasion referred to by Plato. While there is at present no actual evidence of the existence of a Bendis cult in Attica earlier than this, it is by no means certain that torch races on foot in her honour had not been instituted before this date.

This being so, it becomes still more questionable whether the contest referred to on the relief is the horse race. It is certainly not what one would expect, that in a votive relief concerned with a race, the particular feature which above all things distinguishes this race from any other, the horses, should be omitted; the more so as there was ample room in the field of the relief for their insertion. Hartwig himself feels this difficulty; but he makes light of it (p. 14) on the ground that (i) 'eine solche Vereinfachung scheint mir bei einem griechischen Relief guter Zeit wohl denkbar,' and (ii) that 'in this race more depended on the dexterity of the ephebi in handing on the torches than on the quality of the horses.'

As to (i) the whole case depends on whether or no the Bendis torch races were ever run on foot; if they were, then it is clear that such a 'simplification' as he mentions would have been out of the question; the very fact that the relief is of a good period would make it all the more likely that the artist would carefully indicate the distinguishing feature of this race. If on the other hand the Bendis race was invariably competed for on horseback, it must be admitted that the figure of the goddess in the relief might possibly be regarded as sufficient identification; but even so, we should expect some further attempt to distinguish it from other dedications of its class;—for I do not think it has ever had even a painted inscription: and the *καίνον γε τοῦτο* of Socrates becomes less intelligible.

But there is a stronger argument against the supposition that the horses are intended to be understood on the relief: and that is, the type of athlete there represented: a solid, full-grown, muscular figure, who would certainly have been a trying weight for the small Attic horse. The Greeks, like ourselves, were accustomed to put light weights on their racehorses, at any rate in the best period of the games. The only exception to this rule, so far as I know, was a race of a specially military character, open to mounted cavalrymen, and doubtless corre-

sponding to the *δρακόντων δρόμος* for infantry: it is mentioned, e.g., in *C. I. A.* ii, 444. *ἵππῳ πολεμιστῇ δίαυλον ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων*: where it is noticeable that the horse is a charger (doubtless of stronger build), and the course is the *δίαυλον*, a mere sprint.

All the literary and monumental evidence which has come down to us shows that as a general, if not a universal rule, horse races were ridden by boys. To mention only a few instances: on the Athenian Acropolis was a statue of Isokrates as a *παῖς κελητιζών*. Kanachos and Hegias both made statues of 'Keletizontes Pueros.' Pausanias says (Frazer's transl.), 'In the Altis are statues of Timon and his son Aesypus, the latter a child on horseback. For the boy won the horse race' (vi. 2, 4). '... And racehorses stand beside the chariot, one on each side, and boys are seated on the horses. They are memorials of Olympic victories gained by Hiero' (vi. 12, 1).

In most cases it was in antiquity exactly as to-day; the horse and its owner, not the boy rider, usually got the applause: and though occasionally (as in the instances of Aesypus or Isokrates) the jockey is for other reasons a notable personage, the personality of the rider is as a rule kept in the background. Pausanias (vi. 13, 6) mentions a statue of a *horse* 'which had brought glory to the house of the sons of Phidolas': and on the British Museum vase B 144, the victory of Dysneiketos' horse is represented by the horse with its boy jockey, the tripod and wreath, and a figure who is probably the owner himself; but the inscription *Δυσνεικήτου ἵππος νικᾷ* makes no mention of the jockey.

We may, therefore, I think, conclude that there is little ground for Hartwig's first contention, and that the relief rather goes to show the probability that torch races on foot were held in honour of Bendis.

As to his second contention (ii) I cannot follow the reasoning. It would surely be a futile sort of competition which involved parties of eight horsemen apiece careering about a confined space, and in which the party which fumbled least with the torch won.

Hartwig does not mention where he supposes the race to have taken place, nor what its conditions were: but in these facts lies I believe the solution of the whole problem.

The essential idea lying at the root of all torch races, whether ancient Greek or Mexican or savage, is the transmittal of fire from one sacred centre to altars or hearths which require to be started or renewed; it

must be conveyed rapidly, both in order that the torch or receptacle containing it may last out, and also in order that the flame may not be polluted in its passage.¹ Now the Bendis torch race took place at the Peiraeus, and it is a strong presumption that the object of the torch race in question was to convey fire to the altar in the Bendideion, which we know from other sources (e.g. Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 4, 11) existed at Peiraeus. But from whence? The cult of the Thracian goddess, in the early part of the fourth century, was a foreign novelty in Attica, and was scarcely likely to be intimately associated with any other cult already existing there. We should therefore naturally look for some centre of this or an allied cult outside Athens, which would presumably be an earlier foundation. Now it happens that we know of two other sites in Attica where the cult of Bendis existed: at Salamis there was a shrine of the goddess (*C.I.A.* ii. 620); and, as Hartwig has remarked (*Bendis*, p. 16), the existence of her cult in Laurion is proved by the discovery there of a cult-statue of her.

If we consider the geographical position of these three sites in their relation to the trade-route between Thrace and Attica, a strong presumption arises that the earliest establishment of the Bendis cult in Attica would be the one at Laurion. To the Attic worshippers of the Thracian goddess, the Bendideion of Laurion would be a centre of particular veneration as having been her first landing place on Attic soil; and what is more likely than that the sacred fire of her altar at Peiraeus should be annually renewed from the parent flame?

I would therefore suggest that the Peiraeus torch races alluded to by Plato and on the Museum relief were run from Laurion to Athens. The distance of Laurion from Athens, as given in the guide-books, is forty miles, but that is presumably the distance covered by the railway; the road journey would be perhaps five miles more; but the character of the road is (and has probably always been) such that the whole distance can be ridden with ease on a bicycle, and could *a fortiori* be ridden on horseback.

After the battle of Plataea a single runner brought to the city the new and holy fire from the altar at Delphi, but dropped dead with the effort.² The course

from Laurion to Peiraeus was clearly too long for a single runner, especially when he was weighted with a heavy torch. Hence we may account for the large number of runners represented in the Museum relief. If the eight³ runners there shown were posted in relays along the Laurion road, each runner would have for his share an average of, say, six miles, which to an ancient Greek athlete would not have meant a very serious trial. The modern record time for five miles is 24 min. 40 sec., so that, with allowances for uneven ground and hills, each torch racer would take probably between 30 and 35 minutes for his stage, which gives, say, 4½ hours for the whole race. The race would probably have to be begun and ended in darkness; but as the festival at Peiraeus was a *παιρυνχίς*, the lateness of the hour at which the winner of the last stage arrived would matter little.

The abnormal length of this particular torch-race (if the above suggestion be accepted) not only accounts for the number of runners on the Museum relief, but also explains the institution of the Bendis mounted competition. The character of the road offered obviously an opportunity for a display of the kind; but although only half the number of horsemen would be required, the provision of the mounts would very likely have been a serious matter in the earlier humble days when the cult was despised. It is natural to suppose that the horse torch race was only added to a pre-existing foot race in the more flourishing period of the cult alluded to by Plato.

CECIL SMITH.

EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(Continued from p. 186.)

IV.—The so-called 'Tomb of Romulus.'

This has already been described in the *Athenaeum* Jan. 21st, p. 90 (Mr. Baddeley)

³ On the relief the athletes are grouped, apparently by intention, in four pairs. Whether this is merely a device of the artist to vary the monotony of the group, or whether it means that the runners were actually associated in pairs, I will not venture to say. It is conceivable that two companions of the same party may have been provided for each stage of a long road-race, to provide against breakdown or other accident. In that case of course each pair would run twelve miles. It seems to me clear that the object in the hand of the first athlete is not a torch, as Hartwig thinks, but more likely a wreath: and that none of the others have held a torch. Only one torch would have been used, and that is held by the bearded man at the head, probably the *γυμνασιάρχος*.

¹ Wecklein in *Hermes*, 1873, p. 437: and an excellent summary of the question in Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. p. 392.

² Plutarch, *Aristides* 20, quoted by Frazer.

Feb. 4th pp. 152, 153 (Prof. Lanciani, Signor Borsari) and the passages bearing on the subject have been cited by Mr. Cecil Smith (*Classical Review*, Feb. p. 87). Its precise position is just at the south-east end of the late marble steps marked with the number 30 in Middleton's plan of the Forum (*Remains of Ancient Rome*, vol. i.), which are at right angles to its north-west side.

The excavations have proceeded some way beneath the pavement, but nothing has as yet been found which can throw any light upon its meaning. It is worth mentioning that the marble has been recognized to be marmor Celticum (bianco e nero di Francia)—see Pullen *Handbook of Ancient Roman Marbles*, p. 48—it is a black marble with irregular angular streaks of yellowish white with small round yellowish and darker flecks.

At the north corner a mediaeval well was discovered, in the walls of which were found several fragments of marble, one with Christian ornamental carving of the eighth century, and lower down much decayed vegetable matter and a considerable number of mediaeval household earthenware pots. Boring has been going on during the past month with a view to a thorough geological examination of the subsoil.

The pavement of the road skirting the north-east side of the Forum area has been cleared from this point towards the Temple of Julius, a little way beyond where it crosses the Cloaca Maxima, just before reaching which a wheeltrack in the paving shows where the road diverged which passed through the south-east entrance of the Forum Transitorium.

V.—*The pavement of the Comitium.*

The line between the Comitium and the Forum was considered by Jordan (*Topographie*, i. 2, 203) to be marked by the large brick base on the south-east side of the north-east pier of the arch of Severus, and by the travertine steps between it and the arch (Middleton, who shares this view—i. 242—marks the steps no. 29 in his plan). The line thus formed is parallel to the Curia (S. Adriano). The marble steps (Middleton plan no. 30) diverge about 5° from this line.

The present excavations have, however, shown that both these flights of steps are of an extremely late date. The marble steps may in fact have been restored in modern times—the plan of Angelini and Fea (1837) shows them in a much more dilapidated state

than at present, and Jordan describes them as much ruined. The travertine steps are similarly shown to be of late date by the fact that they are built against the marble dado of the north-west end of the brick base.¹

The so-called pavement of the Comitium, too, to which these flights of steps descended, which is very roughly laid, is shown to be later than the brick base by the fact that it is above the level of its marble plinth on the north-east side.

But, further, the level from which these two flights of steps descended was formed merely of earth gradually sloping down from the road, passing through the arch of Severus. Under this earth—and apparently under the road as well, though the state of the excavations will not yet permit of the point being settled—runs a pavement of blocks of travertine, which extends north-west as far as the arch of Severus, and north-east under both flights of steps, and apparently, under the base of Julius Constantinus. It cannot at present be traced beyond the flights of steps, but it is not unlikely that what has hitherto been called the pavement of the Comitium is this same pavement relaid, at a later period, at a slightly higher level.

The question of the various levels at this point is a difficult one. The late road² passing through the arch of Severus has been removed bodily for a distance of about ten yards south-eastwards, and two courses of the travertine foundation blocks of the arch—which were not, naturally, intended to be exposed to view—have been laid bare. In front of the arch are remains of structures of travertine and brick, and lower down, about on a level with the bottom of the lower course of foundations, are traces of a building of early date, of blocks of red tufa, the edges of which are still clean and sharp, making an acute angle with the front of the arch. A few inches only above this level lies, not only the travertine paving above described, which might be previous to the construction of the arch, but the brick base of the pedestal of Flavius Julius Constan-

¹ Upon this base has just been replaced the large marble pedestal with inscription to Fl. Julius Constantinus (*C.I.L.* vi. 1158) which previously stood by it; it is recorded to have been found 'ad arcum Constantini,' where it is shown in Duperac's *Vestigi di Roma*, Plate 3, and its measures are directly proportional to those of the brick base.

² Under the pavement of this road in 1803 was found *C.I.L.* vi. 1161 (date A.D. 356-359); see Nibby, *Roma Antica*, i. 485; Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 2, 307, note 137. After the excavations of 1827-35 (see Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*, p. 53) the pavement was restored, for under it have been found coins of 1811 and 1826.

tinus, which dates from just 150 years later. It appears then that after the building of the arch, the level of the ground, which had risen since Republican times, was again lowered: but this is quite contrary to the rule generally prevailing in Rome.

In the course of the excavations here four fragments have been found of an inscription of the time of Sulla, cut upon slabs of travertine, relating to a contract for work done in various streets of Rome—probably drainage, certainly not paving, as the price paid is too low. The topographical details are of considerable importance, though only a small portion of the inscription has so far been found.

VI.—*Temple of Saturn.*

In excavating on the N.E. side of this temple, where scanty remains of the concrete foundations of the steps were previously visible, an arched passage of early date has been discovered. It is built of small blocks of blackish powdery tufa of the variety known as *capellaccio*: it has a channel about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and 2 feet wide, upon one side of which the arch rises straight, while on the other there is a shelf a foot wide, which is also included under the arch, which therefore has a span of just over 3 feet. It has so far been traced for a length of about 5 or 6 yards: another part of it further towards the Tabularium was found in the time of Bunsen.¹ It runs parallel to the front of the present temple, and a few feet above it, in one of the masses of concrete just below the podium, which belong to the foundations of the later steps, four courses of blocks of similar tufa have been discovered, which must belong to the podium, or to one of the walls supporting the steps of the earlier temple. At the S.E. end of the arched passage are traces of walls of similar construction, also some concrete which interrupts its further advance. It would appear that we have to do with a drain passing under the steps of the early temple; that it is simply an arch supporting them does not seem probable, though, if it is a drain, it is at so high a level—about that of the platform of the Rostra—that we must suppose very considerable changes in the levels at this point in the course of time. Further excavation will throw more light upon these points—at present work is still in progress.

¹ *Mon. Inst.* 1836, tav. 33, 34.

General.

Besides the work of actual excavation, a great deal of good work is being done in the direction of sorting and identifying the architectural fragments which lie scattered about the Forum. The most important discovery that has been made in this way is that of the colossal Doric entablature of the Basilica Aemilia with ox skulls sculptured in the metopes.

A certain amount of restoration is also being carried on. The aedicula at the entrance to the Atrium Vestae has been reconstructed, and one of the honorary columns that stood on the seven brick bases flanking the Sacra Via opposite the Basilica Iulia has been reerected, while another will shortly be put in place.

Two other discoveries made during the last few weeks, though not in the Forum itself, are worth mentioning. The first is that of no less than 472 fragments of the *Forma Urbis* of Septimius Severus, in the walls of a small house in the Via Giulia, near the Palazzo Farnese, where they had been used as building material. Most of these fragments are small, and were therefore thrown aside when the pieces of the plan were arranged in the Palazzo Farnese: but a few are of some size. They will materially assist in the reconstruction of the whole plan, which is being undertaken by Prof. Lanciani, who gives a fuller account of the discovery in the *Athenaeum* of March 11th, p. 313.

The second discovery is that of another fragment of the marble enclosure wall of the Ara Pacis Augustae (for an account of those previously found see Petersen in *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 1894, p. 171 sqq.). This piece was found in the church of the Gesu, where it had been used as the tomb slab of Cardinal Sebastiano Poggio (died 1633). The blocks of the wall were originally 2 ft. 6 in. thick, but this piece has been sawn off, and is only 9 in. thick. The relief preserved is that of the inner side, representing bucrania and garlands: this was placed face downwards in the floor of the church, the inscription and arms of the Cardinal in marble mosaic appearing on the upper side. The block to which this fragment belonged was a corner block; the total length is 7 ft. 8 in., the height 4 ft. 8 in., the sculptured surface is 5 feet long, the rest of the surface is quite smooth, except for a hole $13\frac{1}{2} \times 12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, cut in the upper part, close to the edge of the sculptured surface, which was intended to hold the capital of one of the two

pilasters with which the internal angle was decorated (see Petersen, *op. cit.* p. 179).

The capital was fixed by a metal bolt, the hole for which still remains.

It is remarkable that while the other fragments found in the sixteenth century under the Palazzo Fiano—the site of the altar—were carefully preserved, and still exist in different galleries, this piece should thus have been employed as waste material. It is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the reliefs have to a certain extent been damaged—apparently by intentional mutilation—so that this piece may not have been thought worth preserving.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

POSTSCRIPT.

The addition to the Rostra made in the 5th century, said to have been first recognised as such by Signor Boni (*Athenaeum*, Feb. 4, p. 153, *C.R.* p. 144), is already spoken of as 'a prolongation of the platform'—without any word of its being the 'base of a column or honorary monument'—by Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 261), who puts in the margin, at the beginning of the paragraph, 'Rostra enlarged.' Further, the inscription alluded to is not cut on pieces of a marble slab, but upon blocks which have in their upper surface a groove precisely similar to that occurring in the cornice blocks of the Rostra, which supported the railing in front: so that these blocks were substituted for the cornice blocks in a late restoration. This fact was already noticed by Dr. Hülsen, who, in *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1895, p. 62,

publishes a restoration of the inscription from the fragments.

T. A.

Revue Numismatique. Part i. 1899.

E. Babelon. 'Deux médaillons disparus de Domitien et de Justinien.' These gold medallions were stolen from the French Collection in the great robbery of 1831, and were then, it would seem, consigned to the melting-pot. The medallion of Justinian—a magnificent piece about 3½ inches in diameter with a portrait-bust and equestrian figure of the Emperor—was discussed some time ago by M. Babelon who was then only able to represent it by a poor engraving of the last century. A sulphur cast taken from the original before 1831 has now been found by Mr. Grueber among the casts and moulds in the British Museum. From this M. Babelon has produced an excellent photograph accompanied by a further commentary on the medallion.—M. Soutzo. 'Étude sur les monnaies impériales romaines' (concluded).—M. Rostovtsew. 'Étude sur les plombs antiques' (concluded).

The Numismatic Chronicle. Part i. 1899.

P. F. Perdrizet. 'Décret de Cyzique pour un Antandrien.' The lapidary inscription referred to is known only from an evidently faulty transcript. It is of the fourth century B.C. and bore as its *παράσημον* the figure of a goat walking to the right. M. Perdrizet well points out that this is the type of the coins of Antandrus, and he is thus led to restore the inscription as a decree in honour of an Antandrian.—E. J. Seltman. 'The seated figure on the silver coins of Rhegium.' The figure was called by J. P. Six the founder Jocastos who died from the bite of a serpent. Mr. Seltman seems to be right in denying the existence of the serpent on the silver coins of Rhegium, and has, so far, weakened Six's argument; he has not, however, sufficiently discussed the bronze coins on which a serpent appears. Mr. Seltman's own view that the figure is Aristaenus is not likely to be accepted on the scanty and disputable evidence that he offers in support of it.

In the *Revue belge de numismatique*, 1899, pp. 145–156, Mr. M. P. Vlašto publishes some scarce varieties of Tarentine coins in his collection. The specimens, Nos. 5, 6, which he unfortunately assigns to Tarentum, are well-known coins of Cydonia in Crete.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 54. Part 2. 1899.

Sallusticitate bei Fronto, E. Hauler. As we cannot go further back than the 10th century for our existing text of Sallust, the quotations in Fronto bring us much nearer to the time of Sallust, and show that our text is not free from inversions and smaller omissions and additions. *Subsidia Procliana*, E. Diehl. An account of the various MSS. of Proclus's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, especially with reference to cod. Coislinianus discovered by H. Diels three years ago. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik* iv., Th. Birt. Concludes the

investigation into the value of *spiritus h.* Neither in the Saturnian remains of Livius Andronicus nor apparently in those of Naevius nor in the Saturnian inscriptions is any example of the vanishing of *h* to be found. It was in the time of Varro and Catullus that the *spiritus* was lost. An appendix of further exx. from Plautus is added. *Ἰσοκράτους Ἑλληνὲς ἐγκώμιον*, K. Muenschner. Maintains, from a consideration of the polemic against Antisthenes, Plato, and Alcidas, that the Helena was published B.C. 390–380 and before the Panegyrikus. *Das Sacrarium des Heius in Messana*, O. Rossbach. The *pervetus lignum signum* in the shrine of Heius (in the fourth

Verrine) was a 'Cultstatue. So the *lar familiaris* in the prologue of the *Aulularia* is a translation of *θεός* (*δαίμων*) γυνέθλιος. *Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Rhetorik* iii., L. Radermacher. Continued from the last vol. The statement of Quintilian at the beginning of book 12 and of Cicero in the *Orator* that the orator must be a good man may be traced to the Stoic Diogenes through Philodemus. *Ein Excerpt der Scholia Basileensia zu Germanici Aratea*, M. Manitius. The text *De ordine ac positione stellarum in signis* with a collation of MSS.

MISCELLAN. *Varia*, Guil. Heraeus. (1) Exx. of Acron's scholia to Horace rashly emended by Hauthal, (2) Exx. of corruption in the *anecdota Helvetica* that may be emended, (3) on two names of ships in Gellius (10, 25, 5), which appear as *vetutiae moedia*, (4) on certain words in the *sortes Sangallenses* which belong to the vulgar speech, (5) on Mart. 5, 17, 3 sqq. (*cistifero*), and ib. 9, 50, 5 (*Langona*), (6) in M. Tullius in *Sallustium* §18 for *cilonum* read *cydonum*, (7) in Aurelius Victor *de Caes.* 33, 30 for *conticiatur* read *conici datur*. Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern, A. v. Domaszewski. On *Cic. Phil.* 11, 26, *Vita Septimii Severi* 6, 1 and 12, 3. *Ad Senecam de matrimonio*, O. Immisch. Critical notes on three passages. Zum Senecagedicht des Honorius, E. Thomas. *Die Sabinerinnen als oratrices* Paris, F. Ruehl. The myth of the Sabine women is from the legend of Theseus where the Amazons invade Attica. Compare Aesch. *Eum.* 689 sqq. with Liv. i. 9, 5.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 27. Part 2, 1899.

Hierosolyma capta, I. M. J. Valetan. Continued. *Ad Odysseam*, H. van Herwerden. Continued from last vol. Notes on books 8-24. *De nomine Iulo*, C. M. Francken. The name mentioned in Hor. *Od.* iv., 2, 2 is that of *Iulius Antonius* as we know from an inser. Hence *Julius* in three passages of Tac. Ann. should be corrected. ΔΕΙΒΕΤΑΙ—ΘΑΕΙΒΕΤΑΙ, J. v. L. In Arist. *Eq.* 327 for λείβεταί we should read θάιβεταί. *Observationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Vitae Parallelas*, S. A. Naber. *Ad Alemanis* (?) *fragmentum nuper repertum*, J. v. L. On four hexameter lines of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. *Lysiaca*, J. C. Vollgraff. Two notes on Or. vii. and one on Or. xiii.

Hermathena. No. 24. 1898.

Arthur Palmer, R. Y. Tyrrell. *Postgate's Silva Maniliana*, R. Ellis. *Notes on Cicero ad Atticum*, J. S. Reid. *The Army of Ptolemy iv. at Raphia*, J. P. Mahaffy. *Some points in the Pentekontaetia*, J. B. Bury. *The Philobus of Plato*, J. L. Beare. On Mr. R. G. Bury's edition. *Notes on the Agricola of Tacitus*, L. C. Purser. *Two Emendations in the Poetics*, T. G. Tucker. *On the Recovery of a Missing Syriac Manuscript of the Apocalypse*, J. Gwynn. *Emendations*, W. J. M. Starkie. Two in Aristophanes and one in Herondas.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899. 15 Mar.

O. Gilbert, *Griechische Götterlehre* (H. Steuding). 'Contains much speculation which will find few believers.' *Claudii Ptolemaei opera*. I. *Syntaxis mathematica*, ed. L. Heiberg. I. (libri i.-vi.) and *Gemini elementa astronomiae*, rec. C. Manitius (S. Günther), both favourably noticed. A. C. Emery, *The historical present in early Latin* (O. Plasberg).

'Shows much diligence and will not be without value.' *Terentius Afer*, *Ausgewählte Komödien*, erk. von K. Dziatzko. I. *Phormio*. 3 A. von E. Hauler (O. Plasberg), favourable. *Horace, Odes and epodes*, by P. Shorey (W. Hirschfelder). 'Especially noticeable for references to modern poetry.' A. Lichtwark, *Übungen in der Betrachtung von Kunstwerken* (A. Gercke). 'Though confined to modern painting is stimulating to philologists and archaeologists.' W. Schmid, *Ueber den Kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang und die Bedeutung der griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit* (O. Weissenfels). 'Learned and philosophical.'

22 Mar. *Cassii Dionis historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. Ph. Boissevain. I. (K. Jacoby), very favourable. R. Dippel, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Xenophontis historiam Graecam et Plutarchi vitas quaeritur* (P. U.). 'Shows care and acuteness.' *Cicero, Ausgewählte Briefe*, erk. von Fr. Hofmann. I. 7. A. von W. Sternkopf (O. Plasberg). 'Too well-known to need commendation.' F. Bock, *Aristoteles Theophrastus Seneca de matrimonio*. Accedit scriptoris Christiani *Liber nuptialis* (O. Weissenfels). 'Has reached fruitful and certain results.' O. v. Sarwey and F. Heltner, *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes*. Lief. 8 und 9 (M. J.)

29 Mar. A. Furtwängler, *Griechische Originalstatuen in Venedig* (-r), very favourable. W. Hoffmann, *Die Chorlieder und Wechselgesänge aus den Tragödien des Sophokles in deutscher Übersetzung*. II. (H. Morsch), favourable. A. Baumstark, *Der Pessimismus in der griechischen Lyrik* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. H. Schröder, *Lukrez und Thucydides* (Chr. Harder). On the plague. 'Worth reading.' *Cicero, Selected letters*, ed. Fr. Abbott (O. Plasberg). 'Well fitted for its purpose.' K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. IV. 1 (U. Zernial). 'This most important work.' E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. Lief. 1 (R. Neumann). 'Makes possible a thorough knowledge of the important writings of the prae-Christian times.'

5 April. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graccarum*, it. ed. Guil. Dittenberger. I. (W. Larfeld). 'Needs no recommendation as a lapidary illustration of Greek history.' E. Irmscher, *Homers Odyssee, Buch xxii. Nachdichtung* (H. Morsch), favourable. Παπαμάρκος, Αἱ φιλοσοφικαὶ καὶ παιδαγωγικαὶ δόξασται τοῦ Πολυβίου (O. Weissenfels). 'A detailed picture of the political and educational wisdom of Polybius.' *Plutarch's Perikles*, herausg. von H. Schickinger (P. U.), very favourable. *Caesaris Commentarii ex rec. B. Kuebleri*; iii. 1, 2 (Ed. Wolff). 'Marks a noticeable advance in the criticism of the text.' K. Reinhardt und E. Roemer, *Griechische Formen- und Satzlehre* (J. Sitzler). 'Very useful for teaching.' W. Votsch, *Grundriss der lateinischen Sprachlehre* (A. Reckzey), favourable.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1899. Feb.

Arndt *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie* 1897-8, (K. Brandt), favourable to the book 'in its new and much improved form.' Ritter *Platos Gesetze: Kommentar zum gr. Text und Darstellung des Inhalts* (H. v. Arnim) 'a new and important aid to the study of Plato.' Peter (H.) *Die geschichtliche Litteratur ueber die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I.* (F. Leo.) 'will be useful and stimulating.'

The Classical Review

JUNE 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

UNDER the somewhat ambitious title, 'A Classical Discovery,' the *Cambridge Magazine* of May 25 publishes a paper by Mr. G. F. Abbott, an undergraduate of Emmanuel College, upon a coin of Septimius Severus which was discovered in Egypt in 1894. Mr. Abbott uses the coin, of which he gives a photograph, and which represents soldiers passing over a bridge, to defend the statement of Eutropius and Victor that Severus ascended the throne after defeating Julianus in a battle on the Mulvian bridge against the received account of Dio Cassius and Herodian. Mr. Abbott does not appear to have convinced the distinguished scholars whose letters he prints; but the publication of his paper in an undergraduate periodical is a very encouraging sign. It is a pity that the whereabouts of the coin itself is apparently not known.

Apropos of the heavy indictment which Mr. Sloman prefers in another column against the 'Revised Latin Primer,' a well-informed correspondent communicates the following remarks:—

'The monopoly of the *Revised Latin Primer* has remained unassailed since the meeting of the Head Masters' Conference at Charterhouse in 1885, when Mr. Young's motion in favour of free trade in Latin grammar was rejected. On that occasion, many votes were doubtless influenced by a personal appeal of Dr. Kennedy, who said that he wrote the *Primer* at the invitation of head masters, and on their express promise to use it exclusively: that he had

resigned the headmastership of Shrewsbury on the faith of that promise, and that the book was the main provision for his family. At the same time he circulated proofs of the revised edition, and asked for corrections and suggestions. But the book appears to be really incorrigible, and it is time that the privilege which it has enjoyed for more than thirty years should be withdrawn. There is probably no headmaster now in the profession who was a party to the original agreement with Dr. Kennedy.'

The last intelligence concerning the recently-discovered MS. of the *Agricola* contained in the letter of Mr. Furneaux which we print elsewhere, will be received by our readers with astonishment and dismay. One might have thought that in the year 1899 such an incident was impossible even in Spain. If the Bishop of Toledo can only take the commercial view of learning, let him sell the manuscript of which he is no fit custodian.

A correspondent suggests that the *Classical Review* should publish 'Scholarship' papers together with hints for answering them, like those in Gantillon's well-known collection. There are difficulties in the way of adopting the proposal, at least in this particular form. But we take advantage of its being put forward to say that we shall always welcome any suggestion with which correspondents may favour us for making the *Classical Review* more efficient or popular.

HANNIBAL'S ROUTE OVER THE ALPS.

THE printing of anything more upon this subject seems to me to need explanation. In fact this article, save for a few allusions to the researches of more recent writers, especially those of Dr. Fuchs,¹ was written, as it now stands, more than a dozen years ago, for a private society, without any idea of publication. I thought then that Mr. Douglas Freshfield's article, published in the *Alpine Journal* of 1883, and accepted by Mr. W. Arnold in his edition of his grandfather's chapters on the Punic wars, had finally settled the question for the main part of the route. But I find now that his really illuminating treatise is apparently ignored by many scholars, and by many subsequent writers on Roman history. Messrs. How and Leigh indeed adopt the right view, but Mr. Shuckburgh retains the old theory, and, still more recently, Mr. Greenidge in his excellent revision of Smith's *Smaller History of Rome*, published in 1897, supports the old case by arguments which had been entirely 'overthrown' by those of Mr. Freshfield. Lastly Dr Fuchs, who has already written with ability on the military aspects of the Second Punic War, though in a learned and careful treatise on the Pass of Hannibal he arrives at what I believe to be the right conclusion, does not seem to me to grasp the relative importance of the arguments for it, and against other conclusions, or to have discovered all of them. It is strange that with all his industrious research he never alludes to Mr. Freshfield's treatise at all. For him 'die Engländer' and 'die englischen Gelehrten,' often referred to, are Cramer and Wickham, who wrote about eighty years ago.² For all which reasons I think it will be not altogether useless to put forward a statement of the case—indeed I was urged to do so by a friend whose authority on Roman history stands very much higher than my own.

In studying the question I have been struck by one or two phases of contemporary writing. One is the unceremonious manner in which any ancient writer (and the same may be said about many ancient MSS.)—any ancient writer who traverses

the course selected by the modern essayist is swept aside by the most fanciful arguments, as if he were no obstacle at all. Even Thucydides is now told that in his narrative of the sieges of his own time he purposely embroiders. In reading such essays one is reminded of his own phrase 'ἀγωνίσματα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα.' It is surely time to protest against the zeal for re-writing history, and also against the modern method of criticising through a microscope, which shuts off a view of the surroundings. It is the fashion so to deal with Livy. We are told that he need not be reckoned, because he only cared to write picturesquely. We may alter the names of places; admire *cum risu* his descriptions; when he says 'ad laevam' we may, with one commentator, say he means 'to the right,' and when he says 'cis Volturnum' we may, with another, assert that he meant on the further side of the river. Now I believe that this is in great measure nineteenth century arrogance, and to some extent nineteenth century haste and impatience. I feel sure that many are far too ready to discount Livy's evidence; but at any rate, if he did not always use his materials critically, he used them honestly, and he used them more critically than is sometimes supposed. On this particular question it is pretty clear that he had the narrative of Polybius before him (though some have denied it); and he tells us himself that he was using the account written by Cincius Alimentus the annalist, who had been a prisoner in Hannibal's army at one time, and was more likely to know the details of the campaign than even the most recent critics of Livy.

Another phase, as I think, of this age, is the tendency of people to accept and repeat certain statements which they do not themselves understand, or to judge of matters of which they have no experience from their own preconceived notions. Even so great a man as Mommsen is hasty and unsound in his reasoning (whether right or not in his faith) upon this matter: no doubt, because he did not, and justly did not, consider this question of vital importance to the history. He says: 'The pass of the Little St. Bernard, while not the lowest of all the natural passes of the Alps, is by far the easiest; although no artificial road was constructed there, an Austrian army with artillery crossed by that route in 1815.' (I

¹ *Hannibals Alpenübergang*, von Josef Fuchs, Wien, bei C. Konegen, 1897.

² See also p. 10, 'Seit Mommsen diese in England herrschende Partei in seine mächtige Patronanz genommen hat,...' &c.

quote Mr. Dickson's translation.) Now as a matter of fact the Little St. Bernard is naturally steeper and more difficult ground than either the Genève or the Col de l'Argentière, and as to the argument of the Austrian army in 1815, it might as reasonably be made an argument for the Genève that Charles VIII. crossed it in 1474, or for the Argentière that Francis I. crossed it in 1515. Neither pass then had a carriage road, which I suppose is what he means by 'an artificial road.' There were Roman roads of some date or other on all three. A little further on he adopts with approval the argument offered by two English travellers that they found snow on the slopes of the Little St. Bernard at the end of August, and upon it makes the absolutely erroneous assertion—'on the Little St. Bernard winter begins about Michaelmas and the falling of snow in September.' I have been in deep snow at that height in August; but it was merely from a chance and exceptional snowfall lasting only for a time. *Winter*, that is, snow which remains, cannot be said now, as a rule, to begin before the second week in October, and the conditions are much the same for all the competing passes: whatever may be said about the snow encountered by Hannibal, it cannot be made a means of determining the pass. Mommsen's statement that the Carthaginian army 'had no choice' would be blameworthy if the matter had real historic importance, and even here startles us when it comes from the great German historian.

Mr. Bosworth Smith adds another proof: 'the reported' discovery of elephants' bones on the pass in 1769. I have not been able to discover the report,¹ but if it really was reported, I should like to know where the bones are, and who examined them. I have read a book on the geology of Auvergne which mentions that just about the same time the discovery of the remains of an oyster feast of a former mayor of Clermont Ferraud started the theory that the Limagne was a marine, and not, as it really is, a fresh water deposit. And then Mr. Bosworth Smith goes on to speak of Hannibal on a crevassed glacier, thereby putting the glacial period of such places, say, as the Tête Noire within 2,000 years of our own time. The fact is, neither Polybius nor Livy use any words which imply either glacier or crevasses. Yet once more—Mr. Capes in his very excellent and

useful edition, censures the luckless Livy for his description of the country approaching Col Bayard—*i.e.* between the Isère and the Durance—'*visa montium altitudo, nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora*'—all which things '*terrorem renovant.*' On which he writes, 'The following description is somewhat absurd applied to the lower Alpine valleys and is a bit of fine writing, in which Livy gives full scope to his rhetorical taste, working upon the description of some traveller who exaggerated the horrors of his journey.' I appeal to any Alpine traveller, whether it is not just these rugged summits in the *approaches* to the great mountains which look most hopeless and heartbreaking, if one is bound to climb them? The mountains 8,000 or 9,000 feet high with chalets perched two-thirds of the way up, which one is disposed roughly to estimate on a level with the moon? And in this district the unlucky army, by no means out for its holiday, would see these hills of 8,000 feet backed by the Dauphiné giants—the Écrins, of which Mr. Whympers (perhaps a little underrating ideal misery) writes: 'I may put it on record as my belief that however sad and miserable a man may have been, if he is found on the summit of the Pte des Écrins after a fall of new snow, he is likely to experience misery far deeper than anything with which he has hitherto been acquainted'—and with the Écrins, the yet more forbidding Meije standing, as it happens, exactly where a bee line to their pass, if it was the Genève, would take them. Is Livy then too rhetorical when he speaks of amazement and terror? And then the same writer who has so reprobated Livy's rhetoric, brings an argument for the Little St. Bernard, 'that it is steeper on the Italian side, which agrees with Polybius's account.' It is a commonplace in books of Physical Geography, and is perfectly true, that the southern side of the Alps is nearly everywhere steeper, the mountains being to some degree what Mr. Leslie Stephen calls 'of the writing-desk pattern,' with the gentler slope on the north side.

I think it may somewhat clear the way if I set down a few preliminary considerations in the form of resolutions, which may be mentally passed or rejected.

(1) Livy, who says that he studied the question, and had before him the writings of a Roman who had been prisoner in Italy with Hannibal's army, is not likely to be

¹ I see that Dr. Fuchs, p. 97, mentions this report and justly sets it aside.

wholly mistaken as to the line of country followed, especially on the Italian side. Therefore, if we follow most readily Polybius, who tells us that he conversed with men who lived through the events, and that he himself travelled over the actual route, still it is desirable to induce Polybius and Livy to go the same way, if we can do so without doing any violence to the Latin or the Greek language.

(2) Exactness in miles or stades is not to be looked for in Polybius. No one can suppose that in his day the route was marked by mile-stones; and any one who has travelled in the Alps knows that, off a driving road, distance is reckoned by hours, not by kilometres. Whereas then Polybius gives 10 days, 100 Roman miles to the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἀλπέων and then 15 days 150 Roman miles to the Italian plains, are we not warranted in suspecting the coincidence and concluding that mileage goes for nothing and that he knows the number of days and assigns roughly 10 miles a day? ¹

(3) His account of days must be taken as authentic, and the distance possible or impossible for infantry to accomplish in a given time must affect the question.

(4) It cannot be assumed that Celtic tribes had precisely the same limits of territory in 218 B.C. and in the time of Julius Caesar.

(5) All Alpine valleys of any length contain gorges more or less rocky, white rocks, whether from their relatively white formation or because they have been recently exposed by some landslip, places where Gallic towns did stand or might have stood, and places where avalanche beds might remain and receive a fresh coating of snow in September or October, or where a slope might be coated with two distinct falls of snow. Therefore minute local correspondences are an *ignis fatuus*—what may be predicated in this way of one pass may with equal confidence be predicated of another.

The ancient authorities whom we have as our guides are, (i) Polybius, who is careful to assert his topographical knowledge. 'I write,' he says, 'with confidence, having not only enquired from men who lived at the time of these events, but having also myself seen the places of which I speak and made the passage of the Alps as an enquirer and a sight-seer'—γνώσεως ἕνεκα καὶ θέας—excellent reasons for travel, and rare at that time.

(ii) Livy of whose materials in the writings of Alimentus I have already spoken, and who certainly shows careful geographical study in his examination and rejection of the Val d'Aosta route.—The accounts of Livy and Polybius will have to be considered more in detail.

(iii) Nepos who says that 'H. crossed those Alps which separate Italy from Gaul, which nobody ever crossed before with an army except the Greek Hercules, for which reason this pass is called Graius.' He would be an unscrupulous man who asserted that this limits us to the Graian Alps, since it is impossible to say whether Nepos means that Hannibal crossed in the same place as Hercules—nor is it worth while to enquire, for the whole statement is confused. Hercules's army consisted of cows, and Polybius tells us, what we might guess, that the Celts before Hannibal's coming had 'often' (οὐχ ἀπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς) crossed the Alps with large armies.

(iv) We have Varro, not merely the most prolific, but also the most learned writer of his age, whom Cicero calls 'diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis'; who was born only a few years after the death of Polybius; who as Pompey's lieutenant had crossed the Alps, and who must have been the great literary authority at Rome when Livy first became known in Roman society. Varro gives this very important opinion—quoted by Servius (*ad Aen.* x. 13): 'The Alps can be crossed by five passes—one which is near the sea through the Ligurians: the second by which Hannibal crossed: the third by which Pompey went to the Spanish War: the fourth by which Hasdrubal came from Gaul into Italy: the fifth which was formerly occupied by the Greeks, and thence comes the name *Alpes Graiae*.'

5. Strabo, who came to Rome as a young man the year before Varro died, and died himself not long after Livy, quotes Polybius (the passage is not otherwise preserved) in these words: 'Polybius names only four passes of the Alps: through the Ligurian territory next the sea; then through the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed; then through the Salassi; fourthly, through the Raeti' (Strab. iv. p. 209).

It is true that in one MS. but only one, the words ἢ Ἀννίβας διήλθε are omitted, and some critics may therefore declare them to be interpolated. I see no reason for rejecting them; but at any rate the suggestion in an excellent edition of Livy is amusing—that they might have been transposed, i.e. you may, if you like, assume that Strabo really

¹ This is correctly perceived by Dr. Fuchs, p. 103.

wrote, not, as we find it, 'through the Taurini where Hannibal passed,' but 'through the Salassi where Hannibal passed.'

Four passes may be considered as really in the competition.

First, reckoning from the north, the Little St. Bernard in the Graian Alps, which, quitting the Isère at Bourg St. Maurice, turns N.W. up the torrent Récluse and comes down into the Valley of Aosta (the territory of the Salassi).

2. Mont Cenis, or the Little Mt. Cenis, in the Cottian Alps, which leaves the Isère, turning S.E. by the Valley of the Arc, and comes down to Susa—that is to say, keeping east and north of the tunnel and railway.

3. Mont Genève, also in the Cottian Alps, which leaves the Isère by the Valley of the Drac, reaches the Durance (Druentia) near Gap, and passes by Briançon to Césanne and Susa.

4. The Col d'Argentière. This pass is the same as the Genève as far as Chorges between Gap and Embrun. It there leaves the Durance going S.E. up the Valley of the Ubaye by Barcelonette, and down to Cuneo.

It is not necessary to consider such wild ideas as the Great St. Bernard, which would have taken him past the Lake of Geneva into the Upper Rhone Valley—or the high passes near Mt. Viso; still less the Simplon or the St. Gothard, which have both, absurd as it seems, found advocates.¹ I should notice however a passage of Arnold, whose sense of geography led him to distrust the Val d'Aosta route. He says (Vol.iii. Note M.) 'I have often wished to examine the pass which goes by the actual head of the Isère by M. Iséran and descends to Chivasso.' He would have examined only to reject. From the head waters of the Isère, in the Val de Tignes, the Col de Galise leads to Ceresole and Chivasso. It is a glacier pass nearly 10,000 feet high, presenting no great difficulties to persons accustomed to mountains, and provided against emergencies with axe and rope—but that is all that can be said for it. It passes, as Arnold conjectures, close to that impostor Mt. Iséran, in Arnold's time still believed to be a high mountain.

It may be interesting to note opinions expressed by Napoleon, who often dwelt upon Hannibal's passage, and sometimes, though apparently not always, believed him to have crossed the Genève. In that most interesting of the many books about him, Ségur's memoirs, it is said that on his march

by the maritime Alps in 1796 he pointed towards Mte. Viso, and said to his staff 'That is where Hannibal passed.' His staff seem to have thought that he meant over the Viso or over its shoulder; for Ségur adds (I only quote from memory) 'We observed that that was not the usual belief.' Hennebert seems (p. 50) to have been misled in the same way; but it should be noticed that the direction in which Napoleon pointed would do for the Genève as well as for unlikely passes such as the Traversette. More important, however, as an authority is the saying of Napoleon, which Hennebert rightly thinks valuable. In rejecting that Little St. Bernard route on one occasion, he said 'il ne l'a pas fait, parceque le texte de Polybe et de Tite Live est positif, *parcequ'il n'a pas dû le faire.*' The military judgment underlined is worth noting.

The conditions to be fulfilled may be gathered from the histories as follows, taking Polybius as the chief authority, and noting whether or not he is really at variance with Livy.

Hannibal in four days' march from the Passage of the Rhone between Orange and Tarascon reaches what is called 'the Island,' formed by the Isère joining the Rhone. The great triangle, so cut off, Polybius compares to the Delta of Egypt, saying that the base, instead of being sea as in Egypt, is formed by the mountains—clearly the range of Mont du Chat. His object was to settle some dispute between two factions of the natives, and to get supplies and guides from his friends.² He then marches 10 days along the river (*παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*), 800 stades = 100 Roman miles or 92 English miles, before he reaches the 'ascent' (*ἀναβολή*) to the Alps—that is, I conceive, before he faces a steep ascent, either leaving the valley in which he has been hitherto marching, or else entering upon a part of the same valley distinctly steeper and more rugged in character. So far he has had easier ground, in which his cavalry could act enough to deter the Gallic attack. It is not necessary to postulate a plain like the Valley of the Thames. He has also been conducted by certain barbarians belonging to the chief whom he had supported on the Island. According to Livy the inhabitants are Allobroges, though Polybius does not say so. It is noticeable

² Hennebert tries to account for his not striking up the Durance from its confluence with the Rhone by the fact that the Salyes, on the lower Durance, were hostile. His business in 'the island' is a simpler explanation.

¹ See Hennebert, *Hist. d'Annib.* ii. p. 46.

that Polybius never names the river, and in fact gives no local names in any part of the subsequent route. Livy tells us that in leaving the island—*i.e.* as I take it, from Valence—he bore to the left through the Tricastini. The Tricastini lived between the Isère and the Drôme. Thence, as Livy says, passing the Vocontii (who lived about Vizille) and the Tricorii (who lived near St. Bonnet) he came to the Druentia (Durance) by a country which presented no difficulty. This march without difficulty should cover the ten days which Polybius mentions as being easy and little molested.

At this point he is attacked by some Allobroges (so named by Polybius as well as by Livy) in steep and difficult ground. He forces what is apparently a pass or defile with a town in more open ground beyond, which he occupies. There he rests a day and gathers provisions. Livy particularly mentions that the country just after this difficult place was more populous and better cultivated. After marching six days he is attacked in a defile which Polybius calls *φάραγγα δύσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη*, and Livy 'angustiore[m] viam parte altera subjectam jugo imminenti.' The cavalry got through to more open ground, but he himself with the infantry halted for the night under arms by 'a strong (or defensible) white rock.' On the next day—the ninth day as Livy says from the beginning of the ascent—and this agrees with the reckoning of Polybius) he reached the summit of the pass. His soldiers are encouraged by the view, real or presented to their imagination, of the Italian plains. He remains two days and begins the descent, coming to some very difficult ground owing to the breaking away of the path, and complicated by old and fresh snow lying on the slopes. This place is only a short way below the summit and we are told that when he has conquered the difficulty, he reaches the plains within three days from that spot (*τριταῖος ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν*), having marched, according to Polybius 150 miles (141 English) from the ascent to the plains in fifteen days. He descended into the plain of the Po: for Polybius says 'crossing the Alps he was to come to the plains of Italy which are about the Po,' and afterwards he says 'Hannibal descended with confidence (*τολμηρῶς*) into the plain of the Po and the country of the Insubrians'—it is mentioned however, that he encamps to rest his troops 'under the very skirts of the Alps,' and after this rest attacks the Taurini who dwell next the foot of the mountains. Livy states that the first people he came among were

the Taurini, which 'inter omnes constat.' I shall consider presently whether there is any real conflict between Livy and Polybius.

Of one point only in this question I feel quite certain, that, whether the Genèvre is found to be the pass or not, the Little St. Bernard must be unhesitatingly rejected, though in modern histories it has far the greatest number of votes.

My objections are, that it is positively rejected, as all admit, by Livy, and in my opinion, also by Varro and Strabo; and that, even if we look to Polybius alone, and throw Livy overboard, we shall find that it does not satisfy his conditions. First, as regards the western side. The distance supposed to be required from Valence to what Polybius calls 'the ascent of the Alps' is made up by taking Hannibal up the Mt. du Chat—that very ridge which the historian himself calls almost inaccessible—(*δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπρόσιτα*), and the ascent and descent of which would be gratuitous, as it would only bring him to Chambéry and Montmélian, which he could have reached more easily by the valley of the Isère. As Mr. Freshfield points out, it is the sort of ascent which Polybius seems to condemn in chap. 47, when he calls those who suggest impracticable routes many bad names. For whether the ridge was pathless and impracticable or not, Polybius clearly thought that it was so.

It is true that there was a Roman road later over this ridge, continued from the Little St. Bernard, but that was to make a Roman route Roman fashion, as straight as possible through Aix, and on to Vienne and Lyons. I cannot believe that Hannibal would have dragged his army and elephants up and down that ridge 4,000 feet high; and, if he had, is it not strange that no mention is made of his coming down directly upon a lake 10 miles long (the Lac de Bourget)?¹ Personally, as I have said, I think little of the mileage, and, if I wished to take Hannibal over the St. Bernard, I should take him from Valence by the Isère without touching the Mt. du Chat and Bourget; but I dwell upon the improbability, because the correspondence in distance to the *ἀναβολή* is used as one of the principle arguments for the pass. But is there this correspondence? It is measured, they say, *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* and this river they declare to be the Rhone and nothing but the Rhone. Therefore they measure 1,400 stades along the river to Mt. du Chat. But to measure this they leave

¹ Dr. Fuchs justly comments on this silence about the Lac de Bourget.

the great bend and cut across country, My view of 'along the river' is that Polybius meant thereby that they kept to a river valley until they reached the ἀναβολή: and whether the valley was the real Rhone valley or valleys branching from it, does not signify. The name of the river is not mentioned, nor do the words παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν occur in connexion with any mention of the Rhone.¹

It appears to me that Dr. Fuchs wastes a great deal of time in trying to prove that Hannibal marched his army only up to the 'island' (i.e. the country between the Rhone and the Saone to the north of the Isère), and did not cross into it, merely drawing up his army along the south bank of the Isère outside the island. It does not matter, as it seems to me, whether he took his army into it or not. The point is that he did not march through the 'island' and over the Mt. du Chat; but if he did enter it, returned again across the Isère. I think, myself, that he did enter the 'island' with his army, or some portion of it. His object was to settle a quarrel between the two brothers, chiefs of the Allobroges, and so out of this pacification to get the friendship of the brother whom he found it his best policy to support, to secure guides and supplies from the natives, and possibly safe conduct through tribes who lived further to the south. That he did all this by drawing up his troops on the other side of the Isère seems to me improbable. However that may be, Dr. Fuchs strains the Greek language in a manner which cannot be approved, when he tries by a long disquisition on words compounded with prepositions to show that συνεπιθέμενος must mean moral support only. So far from that being the case, I should say that the word can mean nothing but 'joining in an attack,' which would imply that he did take at least some of his

troops across. I fear I can only regard as the same sort of σκινδάλαμοι ἐπὶ his long discourse on Greek prepositions (pages 18-64). He takes a great deal of trouble to prove that ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς, 'ὡς εἰς τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Εὐρώπης' imply 'in the direction of' etc. and do not merely = ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς, etc. Of course it is so, but who in the world *now* would suppose that Hannibal went up to the glacier from which the Rhone issues,² or that he reached the precise centre of Europe? But then he lays stress on the point that εἰς means 'into,' πρὸς 'to.' What then? Of course ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν νῆσον does not tell us that he went into the island; but it does not deny that he went into it. Hence we really gain nothing by a laboured discussion summed up (p. 34)—'Also πρὸς drückt die Tendenz nach der Nähe, ἐπὶ nach der Begrenzung, εἰς nach dem Innenraume eines Objectes aus.' It is all quite correct, but it proves nothing. He is not however correct in his contention that the words 'πρὸς ἢ ἀφικόμενος...καὶ καταλαμβάν ἐν αὐτῇ δύ' ἀδελφούς,' proves that he did not enter, and did not lead his army across.' I am totally unable to follow his argument based upon two pages of passages in which he finds the word καταλαμβάνω used. They are, I fear, as misleading as the five pages which follow with a collection of passages where συνεπιθέσθαι is used. Much of this has not merely the detriment of criticism through a microscope. The error is not only that the significance of certain Greek words is unduly magnified; but some are not, I venture to think, correctly translated. I feel sure that Dr. Fuchs comes to a right conclusion in the end on the main question, and that many of his arguments are true and valuable. What I regret is, that he does not perceive their relative importance, and therefore produces much less conviction than he otherwise might produce in the mind of the reader. He does not seem, for instance, to grasp the fact that the really unassailable argument against the Little St. Bernard—not the only argument, but by far the strongest—is that the distance between the *Col* and the plains of the Po could not possibly be traversed in the time which Polybius allows. This point will be dealt with more fully below.

With the rest of the western side of this pass I am not concerned. All the distances and localities will do very well, and an

¹ In a note communicated by Mr. Westlake to the *Geographical Journal* for last March (1899) there is a mistaken theory about the contrast between παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν and παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. If these expressions occurred in the same sentence, the first would mean close to the river, the second merely somewhere in the river valley. Occurring in different chapters they are, in all probability, used without any distinction at all. At any rate both mean 'along the river valley,' and neither could be used by a Greek writer of an army marching across ridges 'parallel to, or in the general direction of, the river.' I may take this opportunity of remarking that I think that Varro's statement is misunderstood by Mr. Westlake, and that he is consequently incorrect in saying 'Varro's statement that Hannibal passed by the Argentières is so clear as hardly to admit of misinterpretation.' I hope to show further on that we ought not so to interpret it.

² It is true that Dr. Hoefer (1859) did suppose Hannibal to have passed the Rhone glacier and gone over the Furka and St. Gothard passes (see Hennebert, ii. p. 46): but it is waste of time to discuss such a theory.

excellent white rock is provided. But the really fatal objection to the Little St. Bernard, as the pass described by Polybius, is found on the Italian side—on that side which must have been best known to the historian. Hannibal is brought down into the Valley of Aosta—a valley hemmed in by high mountains: the great Pennine Chain on the left, the Cogne Mountains, a snowy range with the Grand Paradis over 13,000 ft. high, on the right. It is a valley, no doubt, but so little of a plain that any one can judge its character by a glance at the map—only three little narrow patches by the river side in all that 70 miles free from contour lines. Mr. Freshfield justly terms it ‘a long defile.’ It is not only that the great ranges send out spurs; there are also the huge moraines which make the roadway broken and intricate in many places. These moraines are respectable mountains. None within the valley attain the vast size of the old moraine of the same glacier system just outside at Ivrea (which is 2,000 feet high); but they form ground which in Wales or Scotland would be called mountainous. This valley so enclosed by mountains, and cut up by its own hills, narrows as one goes down it, and has its exit by the famous rocky gorge at the Fort de Bard. It is clear that Hannibal could not be said to have reached ‘the plains about the Po,’ until he passed out of this valley. But what are we asked to believe? The point where he issues from the Valley of Aosta is 82 English miles from the summit—at least 75 miles from the *κρημνοί*, where he is supposed to cut his road, and this distance of 75 miles of rugged ground he and his whole army have traversed before the end of the third day. It is hardly too much to say that this is impossible: it is also most improbable that, if he passed this valley at all, Polybius should make no mention of it, or of the warlike Salassi who inhabited it. Were they friendly? If so, why did he not halt to rest in the open ground about Aosta instead of pressing on to the plain of the Po? He does not mention them at all. And is it not strange that he should say nothing of the gorge of the Fort de Bard, where the only natural exit is monopolised by the river and the only roadway cut out of the rock? It stopped Napoleon in 1810 and nearly rendered his passage to the Great St. Bernard useless, or even disastrous. He marched his troops indeed over the mountains on the right bank of Dora, but it was by steep and difficult ground where his artillery could

not follow, and his guns were dragged through the street below the strangely unsuspecting fort, wrapped in straw. Of this remarkable gorge there is not a word in Polybius. I have no doubt that Livy is thinking of it and of the general character of the Valley of Aosta when he objects to the ‘Pennine’ (i.e. Great St. Bernard) route and to the Little St. Bernard also, on the ground that ‘ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per saltus montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.’ This ‘per saltus montanos’ Madvig alters to ‘per alios montanos.’ I think that the error lies in the first ‘saltus.’ It is possible that ‘qui ambo saltus’ has displaced ‘quae ambo’ (iuga). Why should Livy write ‘alii montani’ instead of giving the name? Anyhow the sense is plain. Livy says: ‘If he crossed either of these passes, he would have to go through rugged defiles to get out of the Valley of Aosta to the Libui Galli’ (who lived in the plain of the Po); and it is just these ‘saltus montani’ and still more the impossibility of a mixed army, and a tired army, marching 25 miles a day which hopelessly condemn the Little St. Bernard.

My reason for rejecting the Cenis is that if this route is chosen, all attempt to retain Livy’s account must be abandoned. The road follows the Valley of the Arc, and the Druentia is never touched. The Cenis may no doubt be made to agree fairly with Polybius’s description, but certainly not more closely than the Genève.

If the little St. Bernard and the Mt. Cenis are rejected, there remain the Genève and the Argentière. The latter and more southern pass is on the whole preferred by Mr. Freshfield, whose article, as I mentioned above, I found convincing as regards most of the route, and more thorough than any other treatise that has dealt with the subject, though I differ from his conclusion as to the point where the main chain was crossed.

The Argentière branches off from the Genève by the valley of the Ubaye, and, striking far to the south, descends upon Cuneo. It is this ultimate goal which condemns it in my mind. Hannibal would have been brought to a point fifty-four miles south of Turin, and a great way south of the Po. This seems to me inconsistent with his subsequent operations. There is no mention of his crossing the Po in Polybius, but he seems to march at once upon the town of Taurini, at or about Turin. I cannot believe that he was ever so much to the south as Cuneo, until after the campaign of Trebia; nor that

if he had been, we should have no mention either in Livy or Polybius of his passing from the south to the north of the Po. Historically the pass of Argentière is interesting because of the wonderful passage of Francis I., whose guns proved as difficult as elephants to manage, and were slung from rock to rock by ropes and pulleys. I regret to give up the parallel, which Jovius (quoted by Mr. Freshfield) evidently had in his mind; for he borrows Livy's actual words 'rupem ferro pandunt' in relating Francis I.'s passage: but, as I said, I cannot believe that Hannibal descended so far to the south. Left therefore with the Genève, we may trace Hannibal's route as follows. He leaves the 'Insula' by its southern edge at Valence turns '*ad laevam*,' that is, instead of marching due east to the Alps, which he faced, he bears to the left or north of east, up the more level valley of the Isère. His march *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* for ten days I take to mean merely that he followed a river valley so long before the ascent to a pass came; not necessarily nor actually the same river, as we name it, but an affluent. From Valence to Grenoble is about fifty miles, and the ordnance map shows on the right bank of the river a fairly open space: and in that distance the fall of the river appears to be only 400 feet: In other words, it is not difficult ground, such as would have prevented his cavalry from acting, as described, for his protection. So far, he passed through the Tricastini: thence he takes the valley of the Drac through the Vocontii, who lived about Vizille, and came into the country of the Tricorii, about Corps and St. Bonnet. At St. Bonnet he has to cross a pass 4,000 feet above the sea, to Gap (the ancient Vapincum). It is true that he might have saved fifty miles in distance by leaving the Drac at Vizille and striking due east for the Genève; but that involves crossing the Col de Lauteret, a pass nearly 7,000 feet high, 600 feet higher than the Genève itself, and very much colder and more wintry, as being close to the great glaciers of the Dauphiné Alps. Pompey afterwards opened this route, to save time on the road to Gaul and Spain; but it would have been surprising if Hannibal's guides had taken him there, instead of by the easier route which the Romans used until Pompey's time, and which Livy fixes for us by his mention of the Tricorii and the river Druentia. From St. Bonnet, then, he crosses the 'Col de Bayard'—the name, a record of Francis I.'s passage, when Bayard, the last of the

knights of chivalry, was marching to his death on the banks of the Sesia—and this Col Bayard I should follow Mr. Freshfield in making the *ἀναβολή*, or first ascent.¹ Here the natives guarded the pass, as both Polybius and Livy tell us, by day, and departed at night to their town beyond; and, though Hannibal took advantage of their rather crude outpost system to crown the ridge by night, yet he had considerable difficulty and danger in getting through the pass next day, and occupying the town—possibly where Gap now stands. Here he entered the valley of the Druentia near Chorges (which preserves the name of the Caturiges). Difficulty may be felt—indeed, it is made an insuperable difficulty by some—in the settlement of Allobroges, about Gap, so far south of the Isère: but I am inclined to think that Polybius does not place the Allobroges in the island: He mentions 'barbarians' who dwelt on the island, but gives them no name, and he clearly distinguishes the 'barbarians' of the island who guided Hannibal from the 'Allobroges' who attacked him near the *ἀναβολή* after the escort had left him. I suspect that in 218 B.C. the Allobroges lived to the south of the island, and that before Livy's time they had migrated northwards and occupied the island.

The crossing of the Druentia must, if we follow Polybius's days, be placed after the engagement at the *ἀναβολή*—not before, as Livy says; otherwise we are brought too near to the summit of the pass. But this is a divergence of quite a different kind from that which we should admit, if we said that Hannibal never touched the Druentia at all. Wherever it came on the march, the passage of this river was a difficulty; and that difficulty Livy had heard of and describes, mentioning both the name of the river and its natural features. I agree with Mr. Freshfield in regarding this as the only difference worth mentioning in the narratives of Livy and Polybius, unless we must add as a discrepancy the position of the Allobroges, of which I spoke above.

Up to this point the route is the same for the Argentière and Genève. Here the route to the Genève turns along the Dur-

¹ I feel sure that Mr. Freshfield is right in taking this ascent to be the *ἀναβολή* of Polybius iii. 50. He tells us that, after marching 10 days '*ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις*' he '*ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ἀναβολῆς*,' evidently his first really steep ascent. Dr. Fuchs takes this to be at Embrun in the valley of the Durance: but is it likely that crossing a watershed 4,000 feet above the sea would be unnoticed, and the slighter ascent in the river valley be made the first *ἀναβολή*?

ance Valley, north-east to Briançon, about thirty-five English miles. Briançon is seven and half miles by the present coach road from this summit of the pass, and there is a rise in that distance of 1,700 feet. We know that Hannibal came to a rocky gorge within a day's march of the summit, where the Gauls, who had feigned friendship, attacked him : that, with some difficulty, he passed his cavalry and baggage through, while he himself, with the infantry, guarded the rear, and that he halted his infantry for the night near a white rock. Next morning he joined the cavalry, and the same day reached the summit. It is probable that this halt was somewhere about Briançon. Any one who cares to localise it may fix upon the rock on which the fortress of Briançon stands, as the veritable *λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν*.

The summit of the pass of Genève is a plateau nearly two miles across, giving ample space for encampments. No reasonable man will trouble himself about the view from the top. In fact, of all the competing passes, the Cenis is the only one from the top of which any Italian view can be seen. The little St. Bernard is the worst of all in this respect, since it gives merely a magnificent view of Mt. Blanc, which the weary Africans would not find cheering. But in truth, on whatever pass he stood, we need not suppose more than that he pointed to the descent, and in the direction of the plains which he promised them. Among other things Polybius says that Hannibal pointed out Rome itself, which no one but the Governor of Tilbury Fort could suppose him to be describing as actually in sight.

From the summit to Susa is a distance of twenty-seven miles, which could easily be traversed within three days. It is possible, however, that the point where he is regarded as having reached the plains, and where he halted, is Avigliana, where the Susa valley widens out. This is eighteen miles further on, and would make his three days' march forty-five miles, not an impossible distance.

Hennebert, who is correct in taking Hannibal over the Genève, seems to me to go quite wrong at this point. He lays great stress upon the words in Strabo iv. p. 203. "*Δουρίας κατενεχθεὶς διὰ Σαλάσσω*", as showing that the Salassi lived also in the valley of the Dora Riparia, which, he contends, would make it impossible to believe that Hannibal went through it. He therefore claims to have proved (p. 90) that the route after the descent from the Genève was through the Val Chisone — though this forces Hannibal, after reaching the valley at

Césanne, to climb out of it by a second pass, the Col de Sestrières, a height of 6631 feet, nearly 600 feet higher than the Genève itself! I think that the answer to his difficulty is this : it may be gathered by comparing page 205 that Strabo confuses the other *Δουρίας*, the Dora Baltea, which flows through the valley of Aosta, in which the Salassi dwelt, with the Dora Riparia, which flows from the Genève past Susa and Avigliana, and this confusion has made him speak of Salassi as dwelling, apparently, about the Dora Riparia. But more than this, even if there really was a branch of the Salassi in that valley also in Strabo's time, it does not follow that they had spread there two centuries earlier. The failure to understand that Celtic tribes shifted their territorial limits has been a fruitful source of error. A known position of a tribe at a later time may be used to support a conclusion by probabilities, but is certainly not conclusive in itself.

If Hannibal's halt was at Avigliana, this would make his total march from St. Bonnet 128 English miles, which (though for reasons mentioned above, it should not be used as an argument) happens to be very near the estimate in Polybius, 150 M.P. (= 137 English miles), from the *ἀναβολή* to the plains, and the total distance we have brought him is within six miles of the 250 miles derived from Polybius.

The descent on the Italian side of the Genève is by a valley with steep sides, which would suit the description well enough, neither better nor worse than any of the competing passes. Mr. Freshfield is inclined to postulate 'a gorge with a hill track turning it,' which he finds in the 'Gorge of Barricades' in the Argentière. I do not think that he interprets the words of Polybius exactly as I understand them. The account, as I read it, in Polybius and Livy is this. Hannibal, having halted two nights on the top, began his descent on the second morning. After going a little way he found that the path, which wound down one side of the valley had been broken away by a recent landslip for a distance of a stade and a half, or nearly 1000 feet—a difficulty which effectually stopped him. And here I should like for a moment to remark upon the unfair treatment meted out to Livy. He writes, 'this place naturally steep, now recenti terrae lapsu impeditus in mirandam admodum altitudinem abruptus erat.'¹ Literally, 'was

¹ Dr. Fuchs (p. 128) does not appear to observe that the text which he cites is merely a suggested

by a recent landslip made impassable, being broken away to a surprising depth.' How deep he does not say, but a drop of even 100 feet would be startling. So the MSS; but not so the editors who alter, following what they are pleased to call 'the almost certain emendation of Valla,' to 'in pedum mille admodum altitudinem,' a depth of about 1000 feet, and then they abuse Livy.¹ 'Polybius,' says a very excellent scholar, 'writes three half stades in *distance*. Livy mistakes this, or the language of their common authority, and converts it into a precipice of 1000 feet in depth, if we accept Valla's almost certain emendation.' 'This,' says Niebuhr, 'is nonsense, as all must see.' Of course, it would be an exaggeration, though those who are familiar with alpine tracks would think 'nonsense' too strong a word. But why substitute it for Livy's sense? Such perversity makes one glad that the days when an 'almost certain emendation' was an almost certain step to a bishopric, have passed away. But if 'certain emendations' can no longer affect the Church, they may still sometimes vitiate the sources of history.

Hannibal, thus suddenly brought to a standstill, tried to make a circuit by getting along the face either above or below the landslip, probably above. This he found too dangerous, as it involved passing across a slope where fresh snow rested in imperfect cohesion on old hard snow. So he went up to the *πάξις* or ridge. Livy calls it *jugum*—the exact French translation would be *arête*,—and encamped there, probably not on the summit of the pass, but simply on the nearest part of the edge which forms one side of the valley, as he could not halt his army on the slope. I see nothing about a 'narrow gorge with a possibility of turning it by a side path,' and I think that Mr. Freshfield in so explaining it has misunderstood the statement of Polybius, that they could not get by the bad place *διὰ τὴν στένοτητα*. This does not mean the narrowness of a gorge, but the narrowness of the path, which had nearly all been swept away,² and Livy's emendation. I cannot follow him either in his argument that the passage so emended 'in pedum mille altitudinem' has the same meaning as the words of Polybius 'ἐπὶ τριῖ ἡμιστάδια τῆς ἀπορρώγος ὁδοῦ.' The Greek can only mean horizontal distance (or distance measured along the path), and *in altitudinem* can refer to nothing but vertical depth.

¹ The sentence would no doubt run more smoothly if we had 'et' after *impeditus*, or placed 'erat' there; but even without change it may stand as the MSS. have it.

This is rightly taken by Dr. Fuchs, p. 99.

expression 'angustior rupes' is probably meant to convey the same idea. It took a day's work to repair the paths sufficiently to get by, zigzagging it in some parts, Livy says, and then the army marched on to the resting place in the valley. It may be well to say a few words about two points in the details of the descent. First, the famous vinegar story. Livy probably had an exaggerated idea of the extent of the zigzags actually cut in the rock, but I believe that much of the ridicule which has been directed against him is caused by an idea that he, as well as Juvenal, said 'montem rumpit aceto.' What Livy does say is that the soldiers, having to repair the paths down the rocky slope, or to remake it, cut down trees and made a large fire on the rock: the heat and the vinegar poured on it made the rock crumbly, so that they were able to cut it more easily. The 'huge trees' are probably an exaggeration; but wood of some kind might well be granted. As to the use of fire, among other instances the farmers of Salisbury Plain, when they wanted barbarously to break up the great blocks about Stonehenge, used to light a fire of sticks upon the stone and, when it was hot, pour water on it to make it crack. Further, as regards the use of vinegar, we have Pliny's testimony that it *was* used to aid in disintegrating rocks, and that fire was used too.³

The other question is what was the old snow of which both Livy and Polybius speak? We are told that over the old snow was fresh snow, 'modicae altitudinis,' in such a state that it slipped away with those who trod on it, and left the base ice. Every one who knows the Alps is familiar with the danger caused by fresh snow falling on a frozen slope. On steep ground the two layers take quite three days to cohere, and the upper layer will probably break away in an avalanche if it is trodden on soon after it falls. There may have been a fall of snow which had hardened some days earlier and been coated by a recent snowfall. But if Polybius is correct in calling the old layer a remnant of snow from the winter before,⁴ it must have been an avalanche bed which was thus coated, for there is not the

³ Plin. xxiii. §§ 54, 57 'Aceto summa vis est in refrigerando, non tamen minor in discutiendo...saxa rumpit infusum, quae non ruperit ignis antecedens.' Cf. Plin. xxxiii. ch. 21. Hemebert, ii. 260, cites Dio Cassius, and Apollodorus, the architect, to the same effect.

⁴ 'ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν χιόνα καὶ διαμενεμένην κυῖαν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου χειμῶνος ἄρτι τῆς ἐπ' ἔτους πεπτωκυίας' (iii. 55).

smallest ground for supposing that 2000 years ago the line of perpetual snow was at a greatly lower level than it is now. There is nothing impossible in avalanche beds, thick and sheltered by a gully, lasting through the summer. They are often met with as low down. But whether we take this first snow to have been lying on hardened snow which had fallen a few days earlier, or on an old avalanche bed, the description of what followed bears all the stamp of truth, and suggests accurate information.

The argument upon which the St. Bernardites lay the greatest stress is that, according to Polybius, Hannibal should descend upon the Insubres or *Ἰνσούβροι*, whereas the southern passes bring him to the Taurini.

Their own route to the Val d'Aosta, as I pointed out, brings him to the Salassi: but let that pass. Does Polybius exclude a descent into the country of the Taurini, and so contradict Livy, who says 'The Taurini were the nearest people to him when he came into Italy'? Polybius, speaking *generally* of the march, says (iii. 56) 'he descended with confidence (*τολμηρῶς*) into the plains about the Po and the tribe of the Insubres.' I take this to mean simply that the Insubres, a friendly people, were the dominant tribe in Cisalpine Gaul about the Po, and therefore he went confidently into that district—with more confidence, for instance, than he would have gone by the coast road into the Ligurian country. That he passed the evidently weak Taurini, and stormed their town in passing to reach the Insubres, does not contradict the statement that the Insubres were to be his stand-by in the plains of the Po. When we come to Polybius's detailed account of the passage and Hannibal's subsequent movements, we find no indication of an immediate meeting with the Insubrians. On the contrary the history (Pol. iii. 60) tells us that the army, being reduced to the state, so to speak, of brute beasts (*ὄιον ἀπορεθριωμένοι*) by the mountains, Hannibal encamped to rest his troops under the very skirts of the Alps (*ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρωρίαν τῶν Ἀλπείων*) and that then (*μετὰ ταῦτα*), since the Taurini, who happen to dwell near this spot (*πρὸς τῇ παρωρίᾳ κατοικοῦντες*), were at enmity with the Insubrians and did not listen to his overtures, he stormed their chief town (Turin, or thereabouts). There is not a word of cooperating with the Insubrians against them, as we should expect if he had descended into the Insubrian country at Ivrea, and then turned back

westward to storm Turin. I confess that, if I had no authority but Polybius, I should still conclude from him that the Taurini were the first tribe that Hannibal came across in Italy.

It only remains to see if the brief notices in Varro and Strabo agree with the view here advocated.

Strabo says that Polybius mentions four passes as used by the Romans: (1) that through the Ligurians, (2) then that through the Taurini which Hannibal crossed, (3) then that through the Salassi, (4) then through the Raeti.

(1) is the Cornice Road, (2) must be the Argentière, the Genève, or the Cenis, Polybius only knowing one of those three passes. (3) is the little St. Bernard, (4) the Septimer from Coire to Como. As to (2) which this passage assigns to Hannibal, Polybius was more likely to have ignored the Argentière or Cenis than the Genève; for we have stronger evidence of an early use of the Genève by the Romans than can be found for either of the other two.

Varro gives five passes as possible for crossing the Alps, (1) the Ligurian, (2) that by which Hannibal passed, (3) that by which Pompey went to the Spanish war, (4) that by which Hasdrubal entered Italy, (5) the *Alpes Graiae*. The Graian pass is the Little St. Bernard: therefore Hasdrubal's is, according to Varro, the Cenis. The difficulty ensues that, if we assign the Genève to Hannibal, we may seem to have no pass for Pompey, and this is naturally made an argument for making the Argentière Hannibal's pass. I have argued for the rejection of the Argentière from the narratives of Polybius and Livy, because it brings Hannibal too far to the south; and I think it probable that that pass (which is not in the Itineraries) was unknown to the Romans in Varro's time. The explanation which I should offer is, that Pompey, pressing towards Spain, opened the more direct route from the Genève across the Col de Lauteret, and by the valley of the Romanche. This was, as we know, afterwards used as the direct Roman road to Gaul, 54 miles shorter than the way by Gap; and, as its highest point in the Col de Lauteret involves another and a higher ascent, and lies far to the north of the older route by the Durance valley and Gap, Varro gives it as a distinct pass from Hannibal's, although the road on the Italian side as far as the summit of the Genève, and a few miles on the French side is the same. It is in fact hardly less allowable to talk of them

as distinct passes, than to distinguish the Septimer and Julier passes which coincide for $\frac{4}{5}$ of their length. I have a strong opinion that the words of Pompey's letter, quoted in a fragment of Sallust, (*Hist.* iii. 3) 'Per eas [Alpes] iter aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci,' gives support to this view. They may well be intended to point out that this new and shorter variation, by the Lauteret route, branching off just below the Col de Genève, and then climbing the much higher watershed, was, because of its directness, a more convenient military road, than Hannibal's route by the Durance and over the Col Bayard.

The conclusion, then, to which I am

brought is that the narrative of Polybius suits best the Genève, which (or the Argentièrè) Livy distinctly requires us to adopt; and that Varro's account probably, and the citation in Strabo certainly, support the same view. All four accounts are absolutely impossible to reconcile with the Little St. Bernard. The Col de l'Argentièrè, which Mr. Freshfield prefers, is a possible, though as it seems to me, a less probable alternative. I agree with Mr. Freshfield in holding that, besides these two neighbouring passes, there is no other which can be accepted without throwing over either Polybius or Livy, or both at once.

G. E. MARINDIN.

NOTES ON GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

(Continued from p. 150).

ALONG with the fragments of Menander is usually printed a large collection of Γνώμαι μονόστιχοι, or apophthegms contained usually in a single line, traditionally derived from his plays. Some of them come from him, some from other comic poets, many from tragedy, others from other sources, and many no doubt are late. The MS. evidence for them is at present so uncertain (see Kock's Preface to his 3rd volume and also his article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. 41) that it might be the part of wisdom to follow Kock's example and not deal with them at all, the more so since their absence from his edition makes it difficult to ascertain what scattered conjectures have been proposed for the improvement of the text. I will therefore omit some things that suggest themselves and state briefly a few that appear to be best worth putting down. I follow the text and numbering of Meineke's larger edition of the Comic Fragments.

30. Ἄνὴρ ἄριστος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυσγενής.

A superlative is quite out of place. Perhaps ἄνὴρ ὁ χρηστός. Cf. Meineke's probable conjecture of χρηστά for ἄριστα in Aesch. *Sept.* 183 ἢ ταῦτ' ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια κ.τ.λ. and Orelli's ἄριστον for ἄχρηστον in Aen. *Tact.* 2, 1.

65, 66. Βιοῖ μὲν οὐδεὶς ὃν προαιρεῖται βίον.
Βίος κέκληται δ' ὅς βία πορίζεται.

These two lines should be joined together and ὅτι read for ὅς. It is not clear from

Meineke's note whether there is any MS. authority for ὅτι.

109. γυνή γυναικός πώποτ' οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

Πώποτ' is indeed a miserable makeshift, as Kock says. It cannot precede the negative nor go with a present tense. Perhaps γυναικός οὐδὲν διαφέρει γυνή ποτε (or πάνν), or γυνή γυναικός διαφέρει γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔν.

119. Δίκαιος ἴσθι ἵνα δικαίων τύχῃς.

Non est antiqui poetæ says Meineke, but δίκαιος ἴσθι τῶν δικαίων ἵνα (ὡς?) τύχῃς might be.

158. Ἐαυτὸν οὐδεὶς ὁμολογεῖ κακοῦργος ὢν.

The meaning should be 'no one admits to himself' (πρὸς αὐτόν? αὐτῷ γάρ?): a statement not more untrue than Juvenal's *se iudice nemo nocens absolvitur*.

167. Εὐκαταφρόνητός ἐστι σιγηρὸς τρόπος (σιγηρὸς Blaydes).

It will be another example of a well-attested error, if this stands for ἀκαταφρόνητος (Hirschig οὐ καταφρόνητος). The point may resemble that of Eur. *Med.* 319-20, or that of Ar. *Ran.* 916.

203, 204. Ἦθη πονηρὰ τὴν φύσιν διαστρέφει.
Ἦθος πονηρὸν φεῦγε καὶ κέρδος κακόν.

Ἦθη and ἦθος should be ἔθη and ἔθος.

206, 207. Ἡδιστόν ἐστι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
κρατεῖν.

Ἡδιστόν ἐστιν εὐτυχοῦντα νοῦν
ἔχειν.

'Pleasantest' is evidently wrong. 'Best' (ἄριστον) or 'difficult' or 'uncommon' would make sense, but I do not see clearly what the Greek word is likely to have been. Was it ἔθιστόν or ἐθιστέον?

221. Ἡδὺν σιωπᾶν ἢ λαλεῖν ἂ μὴ πρέπει.

Here again ἡδύ must be wrong for two reasons, and this time it is easy to see what the original word probably was. Read ἐλοῦ (ΕΛΟΥ for ΗΔΥ), for ἐλοῦ ἢ comparing Dem. Ol. 2, 22 ἐλοῖμην ἢ, and other passages.

229. Θεὸν σέβου καὶ πάντα πράξεις ἐνθέως.

For ἐνθέως we should read σὺν θεοῖς 'with heaven's help.' Ἐν and σὺν are often confused.

235. Θησανρός ἐστι τοῦ βίου τὰ πράγματα.

I conjecture γράμματα for πράγματα, as the words are sometimes confused. See Schäfer's *Greg. Cor.* 1, 185 note and elsewhere. For the sense compare such other γνῶμαι as

312. λιμὴν πέφυκε πᾶσι παιδεία βροτοῖς.

403. ὁ γράμματ' εἰδὼς καὶ περιπτὸν νοῦν ἔχει.

438. ὁ γραμμάτων ἄπειρος οὐ βλέπει βλέπων.

652. βακτηρία γάρ ἐστι παιδεία βίου.

657. διπλοῦν ὀρώσιν οἱ μαθόντες γράμματα.

with the saying which Diogenes (5, 1, 21) attributes to Aristotle: κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον τῷ γῆρα τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγε, and Diodorus 12, 13, 2 (end).

This seems much more likely than Kock's attempt (*Rhein. Mus.* 41, 90) to connect this line in meaning with Aesch. *Fab.* 22: ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ ὅτι ὁ κάματος θησανρός ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

257. ἴσος ἴσθι πᾶσι καὶ ὑπερβάλλης βίῳ.

Read βίᾳ. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 130.

318. Λιμὴν πλοίου μὲν, ἄλυνπία δ' ὄρμος βίου.

Read λιμὴν
πλοίου μὲν ὄρμος, τοῦ βίου δ' ἄλυνπία.

Cf. Meineke's note.

328. Λάλει μέτρια καὶ μὴ λάλει ἂ μὴ σε δεῖ.

Perhaps μέτρια λαλήσεις μὴ λαλῶν ἂ μὴ σε δεῖ.

337. Μισθὸς διδάσκει γράμματ', οὐ διδάσκαλος.

Μισθός seems unmeaning. Perhaps μόχθος, as in the next line: μοχθεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς θέλοντας εὐτυχεῖν.

362. μὴ γάμει γυναῖκα κοῦκ ἀνοίξεις τάφον.

I would either read μὴ | γάμει γυναῖκα κοῦκ ἀνοίξεις <σοι> τάφον, or still inserting σοι regard the line as part of a trochaic tetrameter. There are many such commingled with the iambs in the *Sententiae* of Publius Syrus, and some of these γνῶμαι may very well have had that form originally. So 318 above.

367. Μετὰ δικαίου ἀεὶ διατριβὰς ποίει.

Rather μετὰ τῶν δικαίων διατριβὰς ἀεὶ ποιοῦ.

376. Νικᾷ γὰρ ἀεὶ διαβολὴ τὰ κρείττονα.

Should we alter νικᾷ to some verb meaning 'aims at' or 'assails'? Possibly δάκνει.

385. Νῆξ μὲν ἀναπαύει, ἡμέρα δ' ἔργον ποιεῖ.

Read ἀνάπανσιν. Is ποιεῖ right?

424. οὐδεὶς ὁ νοεῖς μὲν οἶδεν, ὁ δὲ ποιεῖς βλέπει.

This could only mean 'no one knows what you think and sees what you do.' Read ὁ νοεῖς μὲν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, ὁ δὲ ποιεῖς βλέπει, i.e. 'what you think, no one knows, but (he) sees what you do.' The change from οὐδεὶς and nemo to a positive idea is common enough: e.g. Plat. *Symp.* 192 E οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἐξαρνηθείη... ἀλλὰ...οἷτο' ἂν κ.τ.λ.: Hor. *S.* 1. 1. 1-3. For the meaning cf. Publilius Syrus *Sent. Append.* 11 (Ribbeck *Com. R. Fragm.*) *Cernuntur facta, nemini animus cernitur.*

439. οὐδεὶς πῦρ εἰς χρήματα διδοὺς ἐπαύσατο.

Meineke says *in* πῦρ εἰς latet genitivus substantivi dolorem vel malum indicantis, and πυρός or πυρετοῦ has been conjectured. Rather, I should say, the words conceal an aorist passive participle in -εις, and the well-known ὁ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται (422) suggests that δαρεῖς is the word. This very day (Nov. 6, 1896) it is reported in the *Times* that Mr. Justice Wills thought 'a punishment so irrevocable as flogging should not be added to the existing punishment.'

446. πολλοὺς ὁ καιρὸς οὐκ ὄντας ποιεῖ φίλους.

Perhaps πολλοὺς ὁ καιρὸς, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς, ποιεῖ φίλους, circumstances (or interest), not real feeling. Transposition of the words is easy enough, but emendation gives a much more pointed sense.

523. Ὑπνος δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

Ὑπόνοια has been suggested, but I fancy the original line was ὕπνος περιττὸς δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις κακόν. Cf. 88 γέλως ἄκαιρος ἐν βροτοῖς δεινὸν κακόν. Cf. Plato, *Laws* 808 B: Diog. L. 3. 39 against too much sleep. (I find from Kock in *R.M.* that Meineke in his *editio minor* proposed ὕπνος δ' ἄκαιρος). So Webster in the *Duchess of Malfi*, 1. 1.

If too immoderate sleep be truly said
To be an inward rust unto the soul.

590. Φίλος φίλου δέομενος οὐκ ἔστιν φίλος.

Unmeaning. The author wished perhaps for a candid friend and wrote φίλος φίλου φειδόμενος οὐκ ἔστιν φίλος. Cf. Syrus *Sent.* 10, *amici vitia si feras, facias tua.*

606. Ἰσχυε σοφία κάρτην, χρόνῳ δὲ μή.

For χρόνῳ we might read λόγῳ (χρόνος et λόγος ob similitudinem compendiorum quibus scribuntur, χ_o (*frequentior est nota inversa* λ_o et λ_o , *passim confunduntur* Bast in Schäfer's *Greg. Cor.* 1. 33, note), meaning 'mere power of words.'

636. Ψυχῆς ἀρχαίαι οὐδὲν ἔστι γλυκύτερον.

Ἀκεραΐαι Meineke: ἱλαρᾶς Schmidt. Perhaps δικαίαι. The three letters α ρ χ are known to get confused respectively with δ ι κ. But are just people always the pleasantest?

644. Ἀνάπανσίς ἐστι τῶν κακῶν ἀπραξία.

This might be taken to mean that a man can escape troubles by doing nothing at all, and some one may compare Syrus *Sent.* 377, *nil agere semper infelicist optimum*. That, however, means rather that a man had better not try his luck, if it is habitually bad: and here ἀνάπανσις must mean *cessation*, not *avoidance*. When in trouble, a man cannot get out of it by mere ἀπραξία. Was the real word ἀταραξία, meaning that your troubles cease to exist if you cease to concern yourself with them? Not to feel them is not to have them.

653. Βραβεῖον ἀρετῆς ἐστιν εὐπαιδευσία.

Excellence does not, however, bestow a good education. It is good education that bestows excellence. Perhaps therefore we should read something like βραβεῖον ἀρετῆς ἔστιν εὐπαιδευσίας.

682. λεπτῶς γέ τοι ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ λαμπρῶς κακῶς.

For λεπτῶς γέ τοι Blaydes writes λιτῶς καλῶς, Schmidt λεπτῶς γὰρ εὖ. Λαμπρῶς κακῶς also seems to me doubtful, and I suggest λιτοὺς γὰρ εὖ ζῆν κρεῖττον ἢ λαμπροὺς κακῶς, the adjectives going closely with the verb.

711. Πέγχει παρούσης τῆς τύχης τὰ πράγματα.

Is πέγχει anything but a blunder for τρέχει 'things go on swimmingly'? Cf. Pind *Pyth.* 8. 32, τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον ἔτω, where, however, τράχον is not always taken with ἔτω.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CONTRACTED FORMS OF THE PERFECT IN QUINTILIAN.

THE fact that Quintilian himself in two different passages has expressed his own views in regard to the use of the longer or shorter form of the perfect, lends an additional interest to the observation of his own practice in this direction. In ix. 4, 59 he sets 'ratio' in the form *vitavisse* over against 'consuetudo' in the form *vitasse*, leaving the final choice to be determined in each case by 'compositio.' In i. 6, 17-21, in a more extended discussion of these and

similar forms, he has expressed himself somewhat more strongly. Here he makes the remark, that it is only those 'with a most unpleasantly perverse attachment to exactness' who would use *audivisse* and *scivisse*, and concludes the passage by saying, 'let the extremely learned man say *conservavisse* rather than what we say' (*conservasse*). This gives no uncertain hint as to his own preference. For the usage of the time of Cicero we have that writer's own words, to

be found in *Orat.* § 157, to the effect that in his time the contracted forms were usual, but that the fuller form 'recte dici et imminutum usitate.' For this period we have also a statement of Varro, *L. L.* iii. fr. p. 148 (W.), that *amasti, nosti, abiit* are the favourite forms of the time. For the usage of a still earlier period, cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 507, chapt. viii., § 48, who says that Terence usually adopts the contracted forms in *-evi, -ivi* and of *novi*, though the forms in *avi* are usually contracted only at the end of the line; and that in Plautus the uncontracted form, though used in the middle of the line, is not used at the end. 'Eo,' he says, 'and its compounds have even in Plautus usually the form *ii* in perfect forms, except *ivi, exivi, ambivi*, etc.' For the further usage of poets cf. Luc. Mueller, *Re Metr.*² p. 507 and 508, and for Claudian, Birt, *Archiv. f. lat. Lexicogr.* iv., p. 589; Reisig, *Vorles. Neub. von Hagen* i., p. 376, Note 271 says: 'Über Quint., S. Bonnell lexic. Quint. prolegg. p. xxvii.; bei ihm ist besonders die contraction nach *a* häufig, namentlich in conj. perf.; von *e* und *o* führt Bonnell nichts an; jedoch ist wenigstens *nosse* nicht selten, andere Formen aber mochten sich selten finden.' Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*,³ p. 430 fol. gives an exhaustive list of the contracted perfect forms, but his list for Quintilian is far from complete. On p. 476 he cites four occurrences of *obisse*, which should be *perisse*; on p. 488 he cites *noritis* 1, 1, 25 for *norint*.

The object of the present investigation is to give a complete list, classified, of all contracted perfect forms in Quintilian, and to determine more exactly the usage of this writer.

I. *Infinitive Forms.*—Quintilian never uses the fuller form of the infinitive. The verbs most frequently contracted are those of the first conjugation. Of these forty different verbs occur.

(a) *First conjugation*: *adnotasse* 8, 6, 2; *cogitasse* 9, 2, 30; *commendasse* 5, 13, 30; *conciatasse* 11, 3, 8; *cubasse* 7, 2, 20; *curasse* 1, 1, 34; *damnassee* 9, 3, 90; *demonstrasse* 2, 6, 2; *donasse* 5, 10, 112; *dubitasse* 9, 2, 20; *emendasse* 11, 3, 130; *errasse* 3, 4, 4; 8, 6, 2; *exanimasse* 12, 10, 4; *exarasse* 9, 4, 90; *exclamasse* 1, 6, 45; *expectasse* 9, 2, 39; *factitasse* 7, 2, 26: 10, 5, 2: 12, 3, 4; *habitassee* 8, 6, 71; *ignorasse* 9, 1, 18; *inclinassee* 10, 1, 80; *inlustrasse* 3, 7, 10; *iudicasse* 5, 9, 13: 11, 3, 6; *lacerasse* 8, 2, 20; *narrasse* 4, 2, 10: 10, 3, 12; *nominasse* 4, 1, 1; *numerassee* 5, 7, 5; *obscurasse* 5, 13,

41; *occupasse* 2, 21, 13; *peccasse* 7, 4, 31; *pererrasse* 5, 11, 13; *perseverasse* 11, 1, 80; *postulasse* 11, 1, 58; *salutasse* 8, 4, 2; *servasse* 3, 8, 51; *signasse* 5, 11, 32; *separasse* 12, 1, 2; *superasse* 10, 2, 28; *terminasse* 8, 4, 40; *tractasse* 3, 1, 12: 5, 13: 5, 10, 37; and *vitassee* 3, 3, 5 (forty verbs).

(b) *Third conjugation*: here only *nosse* is used, occurring ten times, 4, 1, 17: 5, 23: 5 proem. 4: 5, 7, 26: 6, 4, 8: 7, 1, 4: 10, 1, 22: 5, 20: 12, 2, 29: 4, 2 (one verb).

(c) *Fourth conjugation* is somewhat more common; *audisse* 3, 1, 17: 12, 8, 8; *coissee* 5, 9, 5: 11, 35; *issee* 7, 1, 30; *perissee* 5, 9, 11: 7, 2, 23: 10, 7, 4: 11, 2, 15; *redissee* 7, 1, 30; *servissee* 7, 2, 26, and *scissee* 7, 4, 14; 12, 11, 24 (seven verbs).

II. Indicative Forms.

(a) *Perfect, 2nd pers., rare*: *efflagitasti* Praef. 1; *existi* 5, 10, 45; *militasti* 7, 1, 51; *stuprasti* 4, 2, 71; *vulnerasti* 6, 2, 23, and only once in the plur., *damnastis* 5, 10, 79 (six verbs).

(b) *Perfect, 3rd plur., more common.*

(1) *First conjugation*: *depravarunt* 9, 3, 100; *donarunt* 8, 5, 12; *errarunt* 1, 1, 32; *existimarunt* 10, 15, 10: 3, 11, 20: 5, 12, 21: 6, 67; *impugnarunt* 2, 17, 40; *indicarunt* 4, 2, 72; *intrarunt* 4, 2, 72; *laborarunt* 3, 8, 52: 11, 22: 9, 2, 77; *negarunt* 7, 4, 17; *notarunt* 3, 2, 3; *nominarunt* 9, 2, 23; *pararunt* 8 proem. 29; *pronuntiarunt* 1, 5, 60; *signarunt* 4, 1, 3; *vindicarunt* 2, 17, 40 (fifteen verbs).

(2) *Third conjugation*, only two examples: *desierunt* 5, 10, 101; *norunt* 1, 9, 6.

(3) *Fourth conjugation*, only three examples: *audierunt* 4, 2, 38; *coierunt* 11, 3, 103; *scierunt* 9, 4, 4.

(c) *Pluperfect* only in 3rd pers. sing except *coniurarant* 4, 2, 72.

(1) *First conjugation*, only *comparat* 10, 1, 79.

(2) *Third conjugation*, only *norat* 12, 10, 57 and *petierat* 4, 2, 85; 6, 3, 68.

(3) *Fourth conjugation*, only three examples: *audierat* 12, 6, 7; *exierat* 11, 2, 11; *redierat* 9, 3, 73.

(d) *Future perfect.*

(1) *First conjugation*: in the 2nd pers. sing. only *indicaris* 9, 3, 68; and 1st pers. plur. only *acomodarimus* 6, 2, 26 and *existimarimus* 10, 3, 29; more common in the 3rd sing.: *compararit* 3, 2, 2; *invitarit*, 7, 3, 3; *optarit* 12, 7, 4; *segregarit* 1, 2, 21; *tractarit* 12, 2, 3.

(2) *Fourth conjugation*: *audierit* 10, 5, 20: 11, 2, 34; *exierit* 4, 2, 61; *perierit* 7, 3, 33; *scierit* 5, 13, 52: 8, 6, 16: 9, 2, 4;

transierit 10, 2, 10 : 12, 6, 7 (five verbs); in the 1st pers. plur. only scierimus 5, 10, 22 and 10, 7, 5.

III. Subjunctive Forms.

(a) *Perfect.*

(1) *First conjugation*: all in the 3rd. pers. sing. except existimarint 3, 8, 1; cogitarit 10, 6, 4; degustarit 12, 2, 4; honorarit 5, 10, 118; militarit 7, 4, 4; mutarit 5, 4, 2; notarit 9, 3, 47; recitarit 10, 5, 13 (eight verbs).

(2) *Third conjugation*, only three verbs; concupierint 10, 2, 14; consuerint 11, 2, 88; noris 4, 2, 22; norit 2, 1, 4 : 5, 7, 7 : 11, 3, 180; norimus 10, 1, 10 and norint 1, 1, 25.

(3) *Fourth conjugation*. In the 1st pers. only audierim 12, 5, 5; petierim 6 proem. 14; scierim 12, 11, 8; in the 3rd pers. sing. perierit 7, 2, 8; petierit 7, 4, 4 : 8, 5, 14; scierit 4, 5, 1 : 5, 10, 6 : 7, 10, 6; and plur. audierint 2, 4, 15 (seven verbs).

(b) *Pluperfect*, chiefly in the verbs of the first conjugation.

(1) *First conjugation*. In the 1st pers. only adprobassem 3, 6, 63; dubitassem 6, 5, 1; in the 2nd pers. only repudiasses 8, 5, 31; in the 3rd pers. sing. twenty-two verbs: alienasset 5, 10, 17; amasset 10, 1, 130; celebrasset 11, 2, 12; conciliasset 5, 10, 17 : 11, 1, 9; desperasset 5, 12, 13 : 6, 3, 84; elaborasset 2, 3, 6; errasset 11, 2, 38; exclamasset 6, 3, 81; iactasset 11, 3, 129; indicasset 4, 1, 67 : 8, 2, 2 : iniquinasset, 10, 1, 100; interrogasset 5, 11, 3 : 12, 10 : 6, 3, 84 : 12, 10, 57; intrasset 8, 3, 67; negasset 5, 12, 10 : 11, 1, 28; occupasset 8, 4, 5; postulasset 11, 2, 50; probasset 10, 1, 56; spectasset 2, 20, 3 : 6, 3, 71; superasset 11, 1, 40; terminasset 12, 2, 23; vacasset 10, 1, 44; vapulasset 9, 2, 12. In the 3rd pers. plur., 5 verbs: durassent 5, 11, 41; evigilassent 9, 4, 12; excitassent 4, 2, 58; pugnassent 5, 7, 27; putassent 10, 2, 4.

(2) *Third Conjugation*, only one example, nosset 12, 10, 57.

(3) *Fourth Conjugation*, 3rd pers. sing. only two examples: sepelisset 8, 5, 16 and scisset 1, 10, 48; 2nd pers. plur. only one: audissetis 11, 3, 7.

It is to be noted that while *norit* is used

in 2, 1, 4 : 5, 7, 7 and 11, 3, 180, *noverit* occurs in 4, 2, 20; cf. also *norint* 1, 1, 25 and *noverint* 1, 4, 13; *norimus* 10, 1, 10 and *noverimus* 1, 7, 1 and 12, 9, 19.

Quintilian's usage may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Contracted perfect forms occur in all 185 times, most often in the first conjugation, 123 times, 66 per cent., and next to this 37 times in the fourth and 25 times in the 3rd. Contract forms are not found in the second conjugation.

(2) With regard to *Modes*, contractions occur most often in the subj., 69 times, next in the infin., 66 times, and in the ind. 52 times.

(3) With regard to the *Tenses*, contractions occur most often in the pluperf. (subj.) 43 times, perf. (ind.) 33 times, and perf. (subj.) 26 times, and least often in the fut. perf. 11 times and pluperf. (ind.) 8 times.

(4) With regard to the *Infinitive*, verbs are contracted most often in the first conjugation, 45 times, and in the fourth conjugation only 11 times, and in the third conjugation only in the verb *nosse*, 10 times.

(5) With regard to the number of different verbs, 47 are contracted in the infinitive, 42 in the subj., and 37 in the ind.

Though not belonging to this category, it may be noted in this connection that Quintilian discusses also the forms of the perfect in *-ere* in i. 5, 42 fol., rightly rejecting the explanation of it as a dual, which some grammarians advocated, but incorrectly explaining it as a weakening of *-runt*. Cicero, *Orat.* 47, 157 declares in favour of the form in *-runt*, but the form in *-ere* is common in the poets (cf. e.g. Vergil *Wotke Wien. Stud.* viii.), and in the poetical prose of the Silver Age. So Quint. uses this form 6 times, *dixere*, 1, 5, 43; *fuere* 2, 16, 5 : 12, 10, 10; *indulsere* 10, 1, 84; *proposuere* 1, 8, 12; and *successere* 3, 1, 13. In the same passage Quint. also gives an incorrect explanation of the forms in *-re* of the 2nd. pers. sing. pass., similarly explaining it as a weakening of *-ris*. He uses the form in *-re* but once, *utare* in 2, 1, 12.

EMORY B. LEASE.

THE CODEX TURNEBI OF PLAUTUS AND THE BODLEIAN MARGINALIA.

IN the volume of the *Classical Review* for 1897 (pp. 177, 246) I gave an account of a Bodleian copy of Plautus, in whose margins has been entered a set of remarkable readings for a portion of the plays, and I stated reasons for believing these readings to have been taken from that famous lost MS., known as the Codex Turnebi (*T*), which was used by Adrien Turnèbe in the sixteenth century. This identification of the Oxford marginalia with a collation of *T* was so favourably received by the leading Plautine scholars of the continent, that when the Delegates of the Clarendon Press generously undertook the publication of collotypes of the marginalia along with a few pages of prefatory matter (*The Codex Turnebi of Plautus*, Oxford, 1898), I preferred to use the space at my disposal in a discussion of the relation of these marginalia to the 'libri veteres' of Lambinus and the 'vetus codex' of Scaliger, rather than in a fuller statement of the evidence connecting these marginal variants with Turnèbe's MS. That the good readings of Scaliger's 'vetus codex' are nothing more or less than these actual written entries in the Bodleian volume is, I hope, satisfactorily proved. The proof that those 'libri veteres' of Lambinus which contained good readings were merely marginalia, similar to the Bodleian, and not actual MSS., is not quite so cogent, but is, I think, too strong to be set aside without the production of weighty evidence in support of any other hypothesis. These variants however of Scaliger and Lambinus are of comparatively small moment. The Codex Turnebi on the other hand is of paramount authority for the text of Plautus, and it is of the utmost importance that Plautine students should be able to know definitely and without reservation whether there is or is not adequate justification for believing these Bodleian marginalia to represent the actual readings of the lost codex. Now that Prof. Sonnenschein has given expression to some doubts which have suggested themselves to his mind, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of re-stating the evidence with the help of the fresh material which has accrued since the discovery of the precious volume in the Bodleian.

First let me give an account of the volume itself. It is a copy of the Gryphius edition of 1540, of small octavo size. The written marginalia, which often seem to suffer from lack of room in the narrow margins, are by

the hand of François Duaren (1509-1559), a friend of Turnèbe, known to us as an eminent authority on Law, but hardly as a classical scholar.¹ They have not been taken by him at first hand from MSS. of Plautus but have been transcribed *en bloc*, whether mediately or immediately, from a collation, made presumably by some one else. The numerous mistakes in transcription are a proof of this *e.g.* p. 502 (ad Pseud. 1175). *S. ceminus malum* for *Scena m.m.* For *etiam* we often find *et* (see my note on Pseud. 783); an *o* of the original is often miscopied as *r* (see my note on Pseud. 816). Here and there a variant has been misplaced; *e.g.* the variant *non aequè scitus* which belongs to Pseud. 745 has been wrongly entered opposite v. 748 where the word *scitus* in the text caught the eye of the writer.² And

¹ It was not till after the appearance of the *Classical Review* articles that I learnt from M. Léon Dorez of the Bibliothèque Nationale, a gentleman whose knowledge of the handwriting of the sixteenth century scholars is unrivalled, that the entry on the fly-leaf: *Hae notae in margine sunt manu Francisci Duareni Juriscons. celeberrimi ex veteri Codice*, came from the pen of Joseph Scaliger, a younger contemporary of Duaren. Being unable to find at Paris or elsewhere any specimens of Duaren's handwriting, I had previously felt some hesitation in regarding this statement on the fly-leaf as certain proof that the marginalia were written by Duaren. When Prof. Sonnenschein says 'I fancy I detect evidence of a distinct hand in some places,' he is, I suppose, referring to one or two entries by Scaliger (or Nicholas Heinsius, I cannot be sure which), such as these on p. 493 (see the collotype): *sic credis, numo, si non, ne mina quidem* (Camerarius' emendation of Pseud. 877), *condiam* (ad v. 882), *nimis* (ad v. 889), to which I have called attention in my notes. There are in the earlier part of the volume a few entries by a third party (perhaps the poet Remy Belleau or his friend and brother-poet, Étienne Tabourot, both of whom were successive owners of the volume), *e.g.* 'ung pot a vin' (ad *cirneam*, i.e. *hirneam*, Amph. 431). But these are so few and so trivial as to be unworthy of mention. That the whole body of marginalia is written by one person is unmistakable; and with the explicit statement of Scaliger before us, we can hardly venture to doubt that that person is Duaren.

² This transposition (there are many similar cases) has led Prof. Sonnenschein into the mistake of supposing that v. 748 has two variants from a source indicated by a symbol to be discussed later, these two being (1) *non aequè scitus*, which, as we have just seen, belongs really to v. 745, and (2) *scitust*, which is the proper variant for the line. Duaren's handwriting, though not nearly so illegible as Turnèbe's, is not always of the clearest, so that it is not surprising that Prof. Sonnenschein should have read the symbol in its first occurrence as *dn*. But a closer examination of the different ways in which Duaren forms the various letters, makes it certain that the letter here is *r* and not *n*. So the statement 'On

very frequently a variant which stood in the inner margin of the original has had to be transferred to the outer margin¹ of the copy, owing to the narrow limits of the inner margins of the Gryphius edition of 1540. I am unwilling to take up more space in accumulating proofs. Anyone who will take the trouble of examining the collotyped pages will be able to satisfy himself that Duaren's marginalia are a copy and not an original. In the Bibliothèque Nationale I found a transcript of Duaren's marginalia (entered in a Gryphius text of 1535) which I have found of great use in suggesting means of inferring the nature of Duaren's original from various peculiarities of the copy. The original of which Duaren made a transcript seems to have stood in much the same relation to Duaren's transcript as Duaren's transcript itself to the Paris reproduction. Indeed I will furnish later some reasons for believing the original to have been marginalia not merely in a printed edition but in a Gryphius edition, either of 1535 or 1537. All that I am going to say about what Duaren has written will apply 'mutatis mutandis' to this supposed original.

What then is the nature of these marginalia of Duaren, and (by inference) of the marginalia (belonging, I fancy, to a Gryphius edition either of 1535 or of 1537) which he was at the pains of transcribing? It was not till after the articles in the *Classical Review* had been written that I had the means of giving a full answer to this question. In a lucky moment I came across a British Museum MS. of Plautus (referred to 'the latter part of the fifteenth century'), known as the Codex Burneianus (*Burn.*), a MS., which, like all 'Renaissance' MSS., contains the worthless 'Italian recension' of the text. The Duaren marginalia represent in the first place a collation of a transcript (I will call it *Burn.*²) of this Codex Burneianus.² The Burneianus has in the two earlier

plays, and here and there elsewhere, a copious marginal commentary containing references to Nonius Marcellus, Paulus' epitome of Festus, etc., along with other elucidations of Plautine terms. These have been transcribed 'in extenso' in the collation, so that the Duaren marginalia are of considerable extent in the early pages of the Bodleian volume. The various readings too which are noted in the margin of the Burneianus have been faithfully copied by the collator, e.g. at Men. 75 *alibi in alio codice invenitur textus sequens*, etc., at Amph. 342 *al(i)a's qui pugnīs os exossas hominibus*. These however are not numerous, so that the Duaren marginalia soon become of smaller extent and leave ample space on the margins.

In the middle of the *Pseudolus* (at about v. 730, on p. 488 of the Gryphius edition) all this is changed. The pages previous to p. 488 are not included among the collotypes, but if one looks at pp. 612-615, the last collotyped pages of the *Rudens*, one will get a notion of the appearance of the pages that precede p. 488, with their marginal spaces but little occupied by the scanty collation of *Burn.*² The scantiness of the collation had made it possible for the collation of another MS. to be entered in the same margins. And so, when we turn from p. 487 with the usual slight equipment of marginalia, we find a quite different state of matters on p. 488 and the following pages. The few variants from *Burn.*² appear in company with a large set of other variants. And while these variants from *Burn.*² had previously no symbol attached to them, they are now followed by the symbol *poict.* (*proict.*, *piet.*). This symbol is used to distinguish them from the variants which come from another source, these latter variants being provided with a symbol of their own, which looks like *dr.* (with a horizontal stroke above), and of which the first letter was certainly taken by Duaren for *d*, since it has sometimes the *J*-form, as well as the ordinary *d*-form (with shaft intersected by the horizontal supra-script stroke). The second letter is occasionally *o* and *u*. At the top of the page is the entry in somewhat large writing (at least in the opening line): *Ex fragmentis | monast(erii) s(anctae) | columnae se | non(ensis) urbis | Adriani Tor | nebi jubas. | lubas, Poict. | jumas alta | manu*, an entry which clearly does not faithfully represent the form of its original, for *columnae* is a mistake for *Columbae*. The Benedictine Monastery of Sancta Columba (Sainte Colombe, a virgin-martyr of the

¹ Pseud. 748 we find different readings signed respectively *dn*, *dr* is erroneous. Both are signed *dr*, and the first of them refers to v. 745, not to v. 748.

² That, by the way, seems the explanation of the intrusion into the left-hand or outer margin on p. 488 of the variant for Pseud. 730 *Caristo*. It had to be squeezed into an open space in the centre of that entry *Ex fragmentis*, &c., which I mention below.

³ The proofs of this relationship cited in the Appendix to my *Codex Turnebi* are, I trust, such as can leave no room for doubt. It is possible that the transcript still exists in some library, public or private. But neither a printed circular sent to public libraries in France and elsewhere, nor an article in the *Revue de Philologie*, have as yet succeeded in eliciting any clue to its existence. And really the Codex Burneianus supplies us with all that we need.

third century A.D.) at Sens (the Latin name of which is *urbs Senonensis* or *urbs Senonum*) was, like other Benedictine monasteries, a home of learning, as we know from the letters of Bishop Lupus of Ferrières to Aluinus, a monk of this establishment in the ninth century. It was pillaged and burnt by the Calvinists in 1567, when these 'fragmenta' probably perished in the destruction of the library. Into the middle of the entry has been squeezed the variant for 730, viz., *caristo*, a variant which, I have already suggested, may have stood in the other margin of the original.

These symbols *poict.* and *dr.* are entered on this page conscientiously enough, but are very soon discarded. For a time the rule is followed, more or less consistently, of using them when a pair of variants are noted for the same word or phrase; e.g. at v. 778, where *praebitere* stands in the Gryphus text, we find in the margin *perdere poict.* and (below) *perbitere dr.* Even this is found to involve too much trouble, and the use of the symbols becomes quite exceptional, the only visible clue to the source of the one and the other variant being the order in which they are written. The variant from *Burn.*² normally stands before the other. All this is so natural a proceeding on the part of a not over-careful copyist that it would be absurd to try to find some special significance in the presence or absence of the symbols in Duaren's transcript, or to argue that we are entitled to refer to one and the same source only such variants as happen to be provided with the symbol *dr.*, or only such as happen to be provided with the symbol *poict.*

The excellence of these new variants which now appear side by side with the variants from *Burn.*² is happily beyond dispute. It will be sufficient here to mention four: (1) *Poen.* 977 supplying the latter half of the line (*Punicast guggast homo*), which is omitted in all MSS. except the Ambrosian Palimpsest; (2) *Poen.* 943 (in the Carthaginian passage) *luful*, the true form, preserved by the Ambrosian Palimpsest, where the other MSS. have *lueui*; (3) *Poen.* 1355 *had uerbum*, where the minuscule MSS. have *aduersum* and the Palimpsest correctly *haud uerbum*; (4) *Pseud.* IV. ii. (in the scene-heading) *C*, i.e. Canticum, a symbol found in no other MS. here.

Where can these variants have come from? We know that there was in existence in France in the sixteenth century a fragmentary MS. of Plautus of considerable

age, and containing an extremely good text. It is mentioned several times by Adrien Turnèbe (Professor at Paris from 1547 to his death in 1565) in his *Adversaria*, a huge mass (in thirty volumes) of emendations and explanations of passages of Latin authors. Prof. Goetz, in the Introduction (pp. vii. *sqq.*) to his edition of the *Poenulus* (Leipzig, 1884), collected Turnèbe's notices of the MS. and its readings, and from an investigation of them drew the conclusion that this *Codex Turnebi* (*T*) belonged to the 'Palatine' family of Plautus MSS., the family to which our minuscule MSS. (the best of which is *B*, and the next best *C* and *D*) belong, rather than to the 'Ambrosian,' of which the sole representative is the Ambrosian Palimpsest at Milan (*A*). He showed further that it must have exhibited the 'Palatine' text in a very superior form; for it agrees with *B*, the best existing representative of the family, in passages where *CD* go wrong, and on the other hand in passages where *B* goes wrong with *CD*, it preserves the true reading, which, of course, is often confirmed by *A*. Here are his words: 'Fuit autem liber optimae notae. . . Verba in *BCD* omissa, integrum versum, qui in *CD* deest, conservat, cum *A* saepius consentit, in egregiis scripturis diversa *BCD* librorum memoria, saepissime cum *B*, discrepantibus *CD*. . . Certe codex Palatinorum recensionis adscribendus est, non palimpsesti. . . Fuit igitur Palatinae recensionis codex praestantior certe multis locis—quoniam consentaneum de propriis vitis Turnebum non rettulisse—quam ei libri qui nunc praesto sunt.' These conclusions, so far as I know, have not been challenged by any one except Prof. Leo, and he has now withdrawn his opposition (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1898).

The new variants in Duaren's marginalia conform precisely with this description. They agree with *BCD* against *A*, except in some passages where *BCD* have gone wrong (e.g. *Poen.* 977, 943 quoted above), and with *B* against *CD*. Further, they offer a number of new readings which are manifestly the readings of the proto-archetype of the Palatine family, e.g. *Poen.* 1355, quoted above. Such readings evidently come from an excellent source. Can we be sure that that source was the *Codex Turnebi*? 'A priori' there is considerable likelihood that it was; for it is impossible to imagine it to have been the Ambrosian Palimpsest, in which the text of Plautus lay concealed under a text of the Old Testament, until at the beginning of this century

Cardinal Mai, by the application of chemicals, revived the old writing; nor is it safe to imagine that there were more first-class MSS. of Plautus in existence in the sixteenth century than those now extant and the one of which we know by report. 'Renaissance MSS.' of Plautus were indeed common, but when we consider the excitement produced by the discovery in the previous century of the eleventh century MS. (*D*) and the number of students in Turnèbe's time who were eagerly employed in the emendation of the text of this favourite author, it seems improbable that any MS., whose antiquity would mark it off from the current MSS. of Plautus, would be collated by any scholar without the fact being divulged to the learned world. Would that it were true that a number of such MSS. were then in existence! There would be a possibility of their survival now in the shape of leaves used for binding purposes, if in no other. But I am afraid the chances are strongly against such a supposition.

Let us compare one by one Turnèbe's quotation of readings from his codex with the Duaren variants: (1) Pseud. 738: 'quod in schedis quibusdam veterimis repperi...in quibus scriptum est *hircum ab aliis*; and elsewhere 'in pervetusto legi *hircum ab aliis*.' The Duaren entry is '*hircum ab aliis* dr *Is cum ab aliis* poiet. sed ab "aliis" un [*sic*] i "axillis"; (2) Pseud. 743: 'in veteribus illis, quas dixi, schedis scriptum erat *lamberas*.' The Duaren entry is *jamberas* poiet., *lamberas*; (3) Pseud. 1051 (a line omitted in *CD* and the early printed texts as in *Burn.*): 'repperi et in antiquis membranarum...unius versiculi auctarium...*Ita hac triumphi ad cantharum recta via*.' The Duaren entry is *Ita ac triumphi* and nothing more; (4) Pseud. 1100: 'in iisdem pergamenis *ad molas coloniam*.' The Duaren entry is *ad molas colonias* (the variant from *Burn.*² The Gryphius text has *coloniam*); (5) Poen. 19: 'recte in membranarum scriptum erat *Neu designator praetor os obambulet*.' The Duaren entries are *designator* (*Burn.* has *dissignator*) and *praetor os* (*Burn.* has *praeteriens*) *obambulet*. The Gryphius text has *Neu*; (6) Poen. 30: 'illae quoque membranarum scribebant *Ne et ipsae silitant et pueri peritent fame*.' There is no Duaren entry. The Gryphius text has *Ne et ipsae silitant et pueri pereant fame*; (7) Poen. 47: 'aliquando in aliquot membranarum pervetustas incidi, in quibus scriptus erat Poenulus, cuius in prologo scriptum erat *gnarures*.' The Duaren entry is *aequi mecum sitis signatores. aequi mecum*

sitis aegnariores, the first version being that of *Burn.*²; (8) Poen. 55: 'et in eis item commodum *Nomen iam habetis nunc rationes ceteras*.' There is no Duaren entry. The Gryphius text has *Nomen iam habetis. nunc orationes ceteras*; (9) Poen. 137: 'mihi membranarum quarundam perveterum auctoritas fidem facit *lyrae lyrae germanum esse*.' There is no Duaren entry. The Gryphius text has *λῆροι λήρων*; (10) Poen. 231 (*scimus facere*, etc.): 'mihi videbatur Plautus "ennam" usurpasse prima statim specie hoc in versu...sed in membranarum pervetustis repperi *en iam*.' The Duaren entry is *Scimus facere | niam* | followed by *Scimus facere*. The latter version (*i.e.* with the omission of the word) is the reading of *Burn.*²; (10) Poen. 319: 'in membranarum vetustis repperi *prima cum ut*.' There is no Duaren entry. The Gryphius text has *primae ut*; (11) Poen. 371: 'in iisdem membranarum erat ego faxo *Si non irata es nimum pro te dabit*...sed puto tamen scribendum esse "numulum pro te dabit".' The Duaren entry is *Ego faxo si non irata es nimum pro*. The Gryphius text ends the line with *nimum pro te dabit*, and so does *Burn.*; (12) Poen. 413: 'sic e veteri membrana lego maiorem partem minore habitas mea. The Duaren entry is *maiore parte | minore | habita mecum* [or perhaps *meam*], and the *maior* of the text is corrected by suprascript 'e' to *maiore*. Since *meam* is the reading of *Burn.* (*maiore parte minore habitas meam*), I am inclined to regard this as a poiet.-variant; (13) Poen. 471: 'ex illa vetusta membrana, aliquantulum tamen scriptura conturbata, *lenulle de illa pugna pentethronica*.' The Duaren entry is *lenulle de illac*, and the Gryphius text has *pugna pentethronica*. The reading of *Burn.* is *lemni* and *penetronica*; (14) Poen. 478: 'in membranarum illis legebatur...*farferi*.' The Duaren entry is *farferi* (the *furfari* of the Gryphius text being corrected by suprascript *e*). This is the reading of *Burn.* also; (15) Poen. 530: 'in membranarum pervetustis repperi *et clauatorem*,' and again, 'tantum tamen tribuo illis aliquot membranarum quas aliquando habui, ut earum lectionem bonam testari et interpretari debeam, *uel clauatorem gradu*.' The Duaren entry is *glabratorem | clabratorem*, the former word being the reading of *Burn.*² The Gryphius text ends the line with *gradu*; (16) Poen. 580-1: 'in utroque versu "conductum" legimus, non "conductum" et membranarum ad stipulantibus et favente sensu.' The Duaren entry at v. 580 is *conducta* (the *conducta* of the Gryphius text being corrected by suprascript *o*);

at v. 581 the *indoctior* of the Gryphius text is left unaltered. The reading of *Burn.* is in v. 580 *conducta*, in v. 581 *indoctior*; (17) Poen. 770: 'scribo etiam ex earum fide *peregrinum Spartanum id nunc his cerebrum uritur*. The Duaren entry is apparently *his cerebrum utitur*, though the first *t* of the last word shows an unusual form. The *Burn.* reading is *id nunc hisce credo auditum*. The Gryphius text begins the line with *Peregrinum Spartanum id nunc*; (18) Poen. 778: 'scribo etiam ex earum fide *nego et negando siquid refert rario*.' There is no Duaren entry. The Gryphius text has *Nego et negando si quid refert aio*; (19) Poen. 977: 'in iisdem membranis exaratum *facies quidem aedepol punica est, guggast homo*.' The Duaren entry is *aedepol punicust guggast homo dr.* The Gryphius text begins the line with *facies quidem*; (20) Poen. 1033: 'ego in pervetustis membranis repperi...*micdilia*.' The Duaren entry is *nundilia | migdilia*, the former word being the reading of *Burn.*²; (21) Poen. 1168: 'legendum puto *graecae sunt hae columnae sustolli solent*, subscribente huic lectioni veteri libro.' The Duaren entry is: *Thecae sunt celonnae sustolli solent. Threcae sunt celumnae sustolli solem*, the former version being that of *Burn.*²; (22) Rud. 363: 'ita in libro antiquissimo scriptum repperi...*anancaeo*.' The Duaren entry is *amancaeo do annaneo ananuo n etiam*. (The last words seem to be mis-copied; perhaps for 'uno n.' *Burn.* has *ananeo*). To these explicit citations of the 'Codex Turnebi' we may add the following, in which there can hardly be room for doubt that the same MS. is referred to; (23) Rud. 613: 'integratum...inveni verum hunc, qui vel mutilus vel nullus est in exemplaribus, *sed quid hic in Veneris fano meae vicinia*.' The Duaren entry is *Sed quid hic in Veneris fano meae uicinae* (with *uiae* on the other margin). *Burn.*² had merely *Sed quid hic in Veneris fano*, with omission of *meae uicinae*; (24) Rud. 724: 'lego non licet est lex apud nos.' The Duaren entry is *Non licet ita est lex*. The Gryphius text has merely *Est lex apud nos* and so had *Burn.*²

It will be noticed that Turnèbe's citations do not always furnish us with the 'ipsae litterae' of the readings in his codex. For the emendation *lenulle* in Poen. 471 he ex-

pressly adds to his citation the qualifying clause '*aliquantulum scriptura conturbata*,' a description which suits the Duaren variant *lenulle*. In justifying *clauatorem* in Poen. 530 against the rival reading *grallatorem*, his words cannot be construed to mean that *clabatorem* was not the actual spelling of his codex. If a modern editor were appealing to the support of a MS. for, let us say, the proposal to read *Phoebus* instead of *Poenus*, he would surely make no scruple of citing its testimony in his favour, even though it showed the ordinary mediaeval spelling *febus*. Even the remark on Poen. 231 does not seem to me quite to exclude the possibility of *facerenniam* having been the actual form offered by the Codex Turnebi. Above all, where Turnèbe says merely that his MS. 'favours' his emendation we must be cautious against unduly pressing his words (e.g. Poen. 1168, Poen. 581). In fact, the need of caution is impressed on us by the very fact that in two cases in the above list, in which Turnèbe refers more than once to the same reading, his statements are not wholly consistent. The reading for Poen. 738 is in one passage given as *hircum ab alis*, in another as *hircum ab aliis*; the reading for Poen. 530 as *et clauatorem* and *uel clauatorem*. But after all these allowances have been made, we still have quite sufficient material for identifying a collation of the Codex Turnebi (*T*). How do the *dr*-variants stand the test?

With all the characteristic readings of *T*, the readings which mark it off sharply from other MSS. these variants coincide: (1) the portions of lines which are omitted by all the other Palatine MSS. (viz. Poen. 977 *punicast (-cust) guggast homo*, Rud. 613 *meae uicinae*, 724 *non licet*), or which are omitted by all but *B* (viz. Poen. 1051 *Ite hac (ac) triumphi* etc.), (2) the correct readings where all the Palatine MSS. have gone wrong, viz. Poen. 770 *his cerebrum uritur (ut-)* [*hisce crebro auritur* CD, om. B], Poen. 1033 *micdilia (migd-)* [*micdilia BCD*]; or all but *B*, viz. Pseud. 738 *hircum* [*hiscum* CD], Rud. 363 *anancaeo* [*ananaeo* CD], etc. The absence of a *T*-reading from Duaren's marginalia is of course no proof that they do not contain a collation of *T*. The collation transcribed by Duaren probably does not represent the full, final collation made by Turnèbe (see below); and Duaren himself has probably omitted a good deal that was in his original. At Poen. 1051 he has copied only half of the supplementary line, *Ite ac triumphi*, being possibly at a loss to decipher the *ad cantharum* of his original;

¹ Goetz seems to be perfectly right in adding to this list other readings from the *Adversaria* in which the reference to the *Codex Turnebi* is not so unmistakable. But it will be well here for purposes of argument to omit any reading which might be challenged.

for it is hardly conceivable that his original contained only this fragment. His omission of the variant *rationes* at Poen. 55 would imply merely his overlooking a dot under the first letter of the word printed in the Gryphius text, *orationes*, and so on. The only serious discrepancy seems to me that at Poen. 47, where Turnèbe quotes from his MS. *gnarures* (possibly spelt *ignarures*, as in the Palatine archetype), but where the *dr*-variant is *aegnariores*. This is so extraordinary a form that I suspect it to be due to miscopying by Duaren. The recurrence of the initial syllable *ae* in the entry that he was transcribing may in part account for his blunder: *aequi mecum sitis signatores*, *aeque mecum sitis aegnariores*. Indeed this is the great defect of these Duaren marginalia, the carelessness shown in transcription.¹ On the other hand Turnèbe's confession of the haphazard condition of the papers from which he compiled his chapters and of the trouble that his handwriting gave to the printers (see my *Codex Turnebi*, Introd. p. 12), shows us the danger of regarding as infallible all the statements in the *Adversaria*, especially as a great portion of it was published after Turnèbe's death.

The agreement of the *dr*-variants in Duaren's marginalia with what Turnèbe's statements enable us to know of the actual readings of *T* seems to me as perfect as under the circumstances could be looked for. To the majority of Plautine scholars, I fancy, the full details I have given above will seem superfluous. It will be enough for them to know that the *dr*-variants (1) include the important test-readings, Poen. 977, Rud. 613, 724, Poen. 770, 1033, (2) contain new readings that were manifestly the readings of the Palatine arche-

type, (3) agree with the best tradition of the Palatine text.

But, it may be asked, are we justified in regarding *all* these readings (all, that is, with the exception of the *Burn*.-variants) as having come from the Codex Turnebi? The good Palatine MS. *B* was (along with *C*) brought to light by a contemporary of Turnèbe, Camerarius; and although Camerarius' edition of Plautus did not appear till 1552, perhaps after the Bodleian marginalia were penned, and his notes in that edition give but scanty information about the actual text of the MS., still some knowledge of its readings may well have been communicated to Turnèbe, by the German scholar. And may not a number of the marginal entries be really emendations made by Turnèbe himself or by contemporary scholars, and not actual readings of the Codex Turnebi or of any MS.?² Professor Sonnenschein states the case strongly: 'It would be strange indeed if the readings of *Band C*, recently discovered by Camerarius, did not arouse interest in the minds of scholars of the day like Turnèbe... Is it not a large assumption to suppose that he closed his columns to any readings except those of one favourite codex and of a worthless MS. of the Italian recension?' He would have made his statement still stronger if he had added to it that remark of Lambin on Turnèbe's method of work, which is quoted on p. 12 of my Introduction: *cum ille quipiam ingeniose ac praeclare excogitarat, in suo codice [i.e. printed copy of Plautus] perscribat. Cum aliquid item ab altero ingeniose et erudite inventum reppererat, id in suum codicem referebat, tacito interdum auctoris nomine, quod properaret, non quod quemquam sua laude fraudare vellet.* Here we have definite information from a younger contemporary of Turnèbe that that scholar had a habit of jotting down in the margin of his copy of Plautus contributions from all kinds of sources without adding satisfactory symbols of discrimination. At first sight this looks like a strong confirmation of the suggestion that these marginalia may be after all 'a heterogeneous collection of variants, not from any one MS. but from several (including one or more of the Palatine MSS.), and of comments derived from various sources.'

¹ Still I am less inclined to censure Duaren, now that I have had opportunity of examining Turnèbe's handwriting. The best that can be said of it is that it is not quite so illegible as Lambin's. Duaren had a far more difficult task than the writer of the Paris transcript of these Bodleian marginalia. And yet, if we compare the two, I do not know that Duaren's mistakes greatly outnumber the other's. For all that, such mistakes as (on p. 488) *columnae* for *Columbae*, *un i* for *uno i*, *alta manu* for *altera manu* (again on p. 493 *castigatus alta nu* for *castigatus altera manu*) are provoking at the outset of a transcript of so important a collation. The *alta*, by the way, is more likely to represent *altera* than *alia*; for if *altera* were written with the contraction of *ter*, viz. *t* with a cross-stroke intersecting the upper part of the shaft of the *t*, this contraction would be very easily confused with that by-form of *t*, which has become with us the current form. Prof. Sonnenschein's remarks about *alta manus* and his reference to the mysterious *allana scriptura*, mentioned by Ducange, are hardly to be taken seriously.

² Those who would refer a correct reading in a *dr*-entry to a conjecture, say of Camerarius (e.g. Rud. 738), will have to explain why a wrong emendation of Camerarius never occurs in these entries. At Rud. 614 it is worth mentioning that the entry is *animus miratur*, not *animus miratur meus*.

My reply is that the original of the Bodleian copy was not a copy of Plautus that would suit Lambin's description. It was not the copy (or one of the copies) which Turnebus kept by him as a storehouse for emendations and elucidations of the text. A first examination of it does indeed suggest this as its character; for the early pages have their margins filled with quotations from Nonius Marcellus and Paulus' Epitome of Festus and with exegetical notes. But these, as we have seen, all come from the margins of *Burn*.² They are merely a part of the collation of *Burn*.² The original of the Bodleian copy was a text used for purposes of collation merely; and Turnèbe would, no doubt, have several texts of the kind, each containing in its margins the collation of one MS. The scantiness of the collation of *Burn*.² made it possible, as has already been remarked, to utilize the same volume for the collation of a second MS., the fragmentary Codex Turnebi. The occasional remarks, and even (once or twice) quotations of passages of ancient authors, that are found in the marginalia, are all such as would naturally be suggested at the moment of collation; e.g. at Pseud. 962 *Quartum has aedes*. | *Quotumas aedis dr.* *Quotumus ut in 'quotimo die,' Scena,* 'malus' (with reference to v. 1173, in Act IV. Sc. vii., the scene which begins with the words 'Malus et nequamst homo'). That this is the true character of the Bodleian volume (or rather of its original) is perfectly clear. The only form in which a heterogeneous composition of these marginalia could be posited so as to square with the facts would be to say that, while the *poict*-readings are taken from an actual MS. (*Burn*.²), the *dr*-readings come from written marginalia in a copy of Plautus which did answer the description of a 'storehouse of variants and conjectures.' These readings, we should have to suppose to be taken from (1) *T* itself, (2) *B* (possibly also *C* and *D*), (3) the conjectures of contemporary scholars or of Turnèbe himself. Put in this form, an attack on the identification of the *dr*-variants with a collation of *T* is at first sight somewhat disconcerting. For undoubtedly this hypothetical triple origin will account for all the *dr*-variants. Those of them which we know to have been peculiar to *T* can be referred to *T* itself; those which are also found in *B* can be declared to have emanated from that actual MS. (i.e. from information supplied by Camerarius); while, since the possibilities of conjecture are unlimited, we can conveni-

ently refer to this source all the correct readings which now for the first time become known to us, or which have been independently stumbled upon by recent scholars or which are found in the Ambrosian Palimpsest. The intractable remnant, naturally a small remnant, namely such readings as are obviously right and yet which cannot be due to conjecture (e.g. *luful* Poen. 943) we can get rid of by allowing them also to come from the Codex Turnebi. To characterise the *dr*-variants in this way hits our theory hard, although we may comfort ourselves with the reflection that after all that is exactly the way in which a collation of *T* would lay itself open to be described. For the characteristic feature of *T* was, as indicated in the remarks of Prof. Goetz quoted above, its agreement with *B*, the best representative of the Palatine text, except in places where *B* (or more often the immediate original of *BCD*) had fallen into error. The very virtue of the *dr*-variants, their exact conformity with all that we should imagine a collation of *T* to be, is what renders them liable to an attack of this kind. On the other hand, they may be said to be saved by a defect of theirs, their fragmentariness. If they came from a source of the kind suggested, why should they begin at Pseud. 730 and end in the middle of the *Rudens*? This limited range of theirs suits the theory that they represent the collation of a fragmentary MS., but will hardly suit any other theory. No! I think we may feel ourselves justified in regarding the *dr*-variants as of the same character as their neighbours, the *poict*-variants. Both sets represent the collations of actual MSS., but the MS. whose collation furnished the *dr*-variants was a fragmentary MS., unlike *Burn*.² And since the appearance of the collation of this fragmentary MS. is heralded by the entry *Ex fragmentis*, etc., the true form of which, though somewhat obscured in Duaren's transcript, can be recognized as *Ex fragmentis monasterii S. Columbae Senon. urbis Adriani Turnebi*, we may reasonably conclude that in this entry we have the heading with which Turnèbe prefaced his collation and that the fragmentary MS. collated was the Codex Turnebi itself.

The knowledge of the meaning of these symbols, *poict*. and *dr*., would certainly be welcome. At the same time it is not indispensable. It is enough to know that the one symbol indicates a collation of *Burn*.², the other a collation of *T*. In my articles in the *Classical Review* I suggested

that *dr.* might mean 'Duaren.' That suggestion was made under the mistaken idea that Duaren might have been the transcriber of the original of the Bodleian marginalia and not of these marginalia themselves. In my book I have suppressed this guess at the meaning of *dr.* and also my former explanation of *poict.*, for I came to recognize the uncertainty of these hypotheses. In an Aldine text of Plautus in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, about which M. le Breton wrote in the *Revue de Philologie*, xix. 255, a heterogeneous mass of marginal readings is found, a small fraction of which has come ultimately from the Bodleian marginalia. The *poict.*-symbol of the original has been whittled down to *P.* in the copy;¹ and M. le Breton was very naturally misled by a reference to Pithou (in a prefatory note in the volume) into the erroneous idea that *P.* stood for 'Pithoei' or 'Pithoeanus.' What *dr.* (or, for that matter, *poict.*) may have been in Duaren's original, I cannot say with certainty; but since Prof. Sonnenschein has specially asked for it, I will not abstain from mentioning what seems to me at least a possible explanation.

In one of the earliest occurrences of the symbol (p. 488, ad Pseud. 745) we have what looks like *co dr.*, which may be *co(dex) dr.* Now, in the entry-heading the new variants are characterised at length as 'ex fragmentis, etc., Adriani Tornebi.' This description is obviously too lengthy to be repeated after each variant. It would be reduced, perhaps gradually reduced, by the collator. A natural form of compression would be 'ex codice Adr. Tornebi,' or, with omission of the superfluous preposition and with the use of contractions for the other words, 'co. a. tr.' the 'a. tr.' being indicated by a monogram, *dr.*, which had the appearance of *d* with a cross-stroke above followed by *r*, and which was so read by Duaren. Sooner or later even this symbol would be found capable of reduction and *co. dr.* would be replaced by *dr.*, in which shape it was adopted by Duaren, with one relapse to the fuller *co. dr.* of his original. This provides at all events a natural transition from the full heading *ex fragmentis, etc. Adriani Tornebi* to the symbol employed by Duaren in all subsequent variants, *dr.*

To continue on the same ground of con-

¹ The Duaren entry at Pseud. 738, quoted above, appears in this misleading and incomplete form:

hircum ab aliis
Is cum ab aliis
P. sed ab aliis

jecture, rather than of certain inference, let us see what can be made out regarding the history of the Duaren marginalia. Since it was Turnèbe who was in possession of the MS., and since there is no record of any other scholar having been allowed access to it, it is natural to suppose that the collation must come ultimately from Turnèbe himself. Further, since Duaren was a friend of Turnèbe and in 1548 was for a time resident in Paris, where Turnèbe was Professor, the conjecture (for it is nothing more) is suggested that he received the collation from Turnèbe himself on that occasion. Still there is no reason why Turnèbe may not be supposed to have procured for Duaren for copying purposes, not his own collation, but a copy which had been made by, let us say, a pupil of his. If we suppose Duaren's transcript not to be an immediate copy of Turnèbe's collation, we may absolve Duaren from at least a portion of the errors of transcription. For my own part, I see no reason why we need posit an intermediary transcript. Prof. Sonnenschein's argument that Turnèbe would not talk of his MS. as the MS. 'Adriani Tornebi' does not appeal to me. MSS. were habitually designated after the scholar who owned them or who first utilized them, e.g. *MS. Langii*, *codex Cujacii*, etc. Turnèbe would naturally name his foundling 'codex Adriani Tornebi.' Nor does the fact that the collation does not cover the whole of the fragments (for the *Adversaria* contain references to their readings in the *Casina* and elsewhere) indicate that this was not the collation made by Turnèbe himself. Why should it not be his first collation, made perhaps before he had received the full number of the fragments or possibly discarded before completion in favour of a collation made with some difference of method?²

Apart from 'a priori' considerations, however, we have some definite trace of Turnèbe's hand in these marginalia, as

² The scattered readings in the Oxford marginalia from the *Bacchides* in addition to the continuous collation of Pseud. (latter half), *Poen.*, *Pers.*, *Rud.* (first half), are a curious feature. In the 'variorum' marginalia of the Paris Aldine mentioned above, there is a set of variants for the *Bacchides* alone. They come from a collation, made by J. Corbinelli, of *D* for this single play. Corbinelli chose the *Bacchides*, I fancy, because this was the opening play of the recently discovered portion of Plautus, viz. the last twelve plays. In what order the 'membranae' stood when they came into Turnèbe's possession, we cannot say. Certainly the Duaren-marginalia make us imagine the leaves containing Pseud. 730–*Rud.* 790 to have occupied the first place.

much perhaps as we could look for in marginalia which are simply and solely records of the readings of two MSS., with only an occasional remark suggested at the moment to the collator. At Rud. 63 where the Gryphius text has *auēhit*, while the Palatine Archetype had the corruption *auenit* (omitted by Duaren), there is a curious entry, so written as to give the impression that Duaren could not decipher his original and had to fall back on the resource of imitating as well as he could the 'ductus litterarum.'¹ The entry looks like 'M pro S ut chodax pro cardax (cur-?) et ehigens [second letter doubtful] pro Lingens.' It puzzled me for a long time till I noticed in Turnèbe's *Adversaria* a note on a passage of Vitruvius, where he emends *chodaces* of a MS. to *cnodaces* ('pivots'). The true form of the first half of the entry is certainly *N pro h ut chodax pro cnodax*. Possibly a search through the *Adversaria* would reveal the true form of the other parallel quoted for the confusion of N and H in MSS. (perhaps *lihgens pro lingens*); but at all events the coincidence that a note of this trivial kind, the mere record of an isolated manuscript corruption, should be found both in the *Adversaria* and in these marginalia is significant. Again at Rud. 753 the two readings *offerrimentas* (the *dr*-reading) and *ferrimentas* (the *poict*.-reading) are followed by a note which justifies the former by an appeal to Festus' account of *offerrumenta* as called so '*quod offeruntur*.' Turnèbe (*Adv.* xvi. 12) appears to have been the person who brought the line into connexion with this passage of Festus. I might add as another piece of evidence the note at Rud. 122 *esicasque harundinem*, where the change of *e* to *i* in compounds of *seco* is maintained to be the old Latin spelling; for this is a characteristically Turnebian remark, repeated a surprising number of times in his printed writings.² An expert in handwriting might perhaps find more convincing evidence of Turnèbe's authorship of the original of Duaren's marginalia. Certainly Duaren's confusion of *o* and *r* is easily understood from Turnèbe's penmanship; and I have noticed other features of the kind. But I prefer to content myself with the negative statement that, so far as I could see, there was no feature of Turnèbe's

writing that would not suit this hypothesis.

Another matter for which some scraps of evidence can be picked up is the form of Duaren's original. A transcript of collations that were entered in the margins of the printed text with which the MSS. had been collated would be most suitably made in the margins of the same edition of text; for a discrepancy in the printed text would distort the marginal collations. The transcript of the Bodleian marginalia which I found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a transcript completed in the year 1557, is entered in the margins of a Gryphius text (like the Bodleian); not, however, of the 1540 edition, but of the almost identical edition of 1535. Where there is a divergence of text, at all events where it forced itself on the recognition of the transcriber, owing to the nature of the marginal variant which he was transcribing, the printed variety of reading is recorded by him as well as the written marginal variant of his original; and even though he had not expressly informed us, as he has done, that his original was an 'alter Gryphius' 'excussus an. 1540,' we might have managed to infer this from these notices of its readings. Now in the Bodleian marginalia we have one or two variants recorded which can hardly be supposed to have come from *Burn*.² (for a list of them see my *Introd.* p. 5). They are readings which characterise the Gryphius text of 1535 and 1537 in distinction to the edition of 1540. No other edition of Plautus, so far as I know, will suit the requirements of inference, so we may perhaps allow ourselves to infer that Duaren's original was a Gryphius text either of three or of five years earlier than the text which he himself employed.

The Paris transcript does not furnish us with any information about the Duaren marginalia, except that their date cannot be later than 1557. There is a second transcript, or rather partial transcript, of them in another copy of Plautus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which was brought into notice by M. le Breton. In an Aldine edition of 1522, formerly owned by Passerat, that scholar has entered a limited selection from both the *poict*.-variants and the *dr*.-variants, a selection which can be proved to come ultimately, if not directly, from the Bodleian volume. With regard to the immediate source of this set of variants, he gives us this information: Petrus Pitheous [this can only mean the famous P. Pithou, born 1539, died 1596] nobis commodavit

¹ I fancy the same thing occurs elsewhere, e.g. at Rud. 534 *arcrem*. The Paris transcriber often adopts the same method with illegible entries of Duaren, e.g. this very entry at Rud. 63.

² Lambin has clearly borrowed his note on this passage from Turnèbe.

Plautum emendatum a capite ad calcem comparatione trium veterum librorum. These words I believe to refer to the Oxford volume itself, though they may point to some transcript of it. If I am right, they raise anew the question of the possibility of the *dr.*-variants not being derived from a single source, the Codex Turnebi. The *poict.*-variants we now know, thanks to the discovery of the Codex Burneianus, to be taken from one, and only one, MS. (*Burn.*²) 'a capite ad calcem.' If then this statement of the triple origin of the whole body of Duaren variants be true, it is the *dr.*-variants that must account for two of the three sources. The two sources to which these *dr.*-variants could be plausibly referred would be (1) *T*, (2) *B*. Here again we have an attack on our theory which hits the theory hard, for, as we have seen, that is precisely the description which suits the *dr.*-variants. They agree with *B*, the best representative of the Palatine text, except in cases of deflection on the part of *B* (and of course also on the part of *T*) from the readings of the Palatine archetype. So far as the emendation of the text of Plautus is concerned, we might be contented to acquiesce in this rival hypothesis; for, after all, it matters little whether those readings of *B*, which are clearly the correct readings, or at any rate the readings of the Palatine archetype, gain the additional support of *T* or rest on the single testimony of *B*. The important contribution to the text of our author lies in the new readings in the Bodleian marginalia, the readings not attested by *B*; and these readings would, even according to this rival hypothesis, be referred to *T*. Still, for the history of the transmission of the Plautine text and for a number of kindred questions, it is important to get at the actual truth of what *T* contained and did not contain. Let us for the moment admit the truth of Passerat's account and see what it would involve. We should have to suppose the *dr.*-variants, since they are plainly entered as variants from a single source, to have come from marginalia which combined a collation of *B* and of *T*, and which are indicated in Duaren's transcript by the symbol *dr.* That is the only form in which the hypothesis of a double origin of the *dr.*-variants could stand.

How then are we to explain the fact that the *dr.*-entries contain single readings, not pairs of readings? At *Poen.* 1033, for example, where *Burn.*² had *nundilia* and *T* *midilia* (*mid-*), while *B* has *midilia*, why

is it that beside the *poict.*-reading *nundilia* we have as the *dr.*-entry merely *midilia*? When we have pairs of readings, why is the one always a *poict.*-reading? Why should we not as often find a pair of *dr.*-readings, one the reading of *T*, the other the reading of *B*? And why should the entries go in pairs rather than in trios? The only way in which a supporter of this rival hypothesis could get out of the difficulty would be, I fancy, by the supposition that only one of the two MSS., *T* and *B*, was collated systematically, while the other was merely drawn upon for occasional readings. It might be said that *T*, being the fragmentary MS., would have the lesser part assigned to it. On the other hand we might reply that in France, the home of *T*, we should look for a full collation of so important a MS., while the difficulty of getting information about anything more than isolated readings of *B*, a German MS., would be very great. Though *T* was fragmentary, it can be shown on Turnèbe's authority to have contained 'inter alia' the whole of the *Poenulus*. We may fairly infer this from his express statement, 'aliquando in aliquot membranes pervetustas incidi in quibus scriptus erat *Poenulus*,' coupled with the number of citations he has made of *T*-readings throughout the play (vv. 19, 30, 47, 55, 137, 231, 245?, 319, 371, 413, 471, 478, 530, 580, 770, 778, 977, 1033, 1312).¹ The limited range of the *dr.*-variants (from *Pseud.* 730, through the *Poenulus* and *Persa* to *Rud.* 790) points rather to the collation of *T* having been the main factor in the marginalia and to readings from *B* having been adopted only here and there where the testimony of *T* was wanting. The only form in which any credence could be gained for the hypothesis that the *dr.*-variants include readings of *B* would thus reduce the part played by these *B*-readings to the very smallest. But, I fancy, most readers will agree that the hypothesis is impossible in any form. If the *dr.*-entries were taken from two sources, we should inevitably find the *dr.*-readings in pairs, at least in a sufficiently large number of cases to make their double origin evident.

On the other hand a moment's glance at the Oxford marginalia will show how readily a false theory of triple origin would be suggested. For they comprise (1) a large number of variants unmarked by any

¹ His citations for the *Pseudolus* begin with v. 738 and for the *Rudens* end either with v. 767 or with v. 724, in striking agreement with the range of the *dr.*-variants in these plays.

symbol (*i.e.* all the variants for the earlier plays and all for the plays after the *Rudens*, besides a large number in the remaining part), (2) a set marked *poict.*, (3) a set marked *dr.* No one who had not accurate knowledge on the subject would imagine that readings followed by the symbol *poict.* in these four plays (*Pseud.*, *Poen.*, *Pers.*, *Rud.*) came from one and the same source as the large number unprovided with any symbol in the earlier and later plays. If I am right in supposing the Paris Gryphius (of 1535) to be the transcript made by Passerat (but the handwriting cannot with certainty be ascribed to him) of the book lent him by Pithou, then this book must have been the Oxford Gryphius itself. Since the transcript was made in 1557, Pithou would be only eighteen years old at the time, and his ignorance of the composition of the volume which he lent would be very excusable. There are difficulties in this path of reasoning; but no difficulty so great as the difficulty of supposing the Oxford marginalia to be the collation of three, and not two, MSS.

This article is unduly long; but I should like to touch on one other point. We have seen that a great defect in the Duaren variants is the accidental mistakes made by Duaren in copying. Must we add to this that occasionally a reading has been deliberately set down not in the actual form in which it occurred in the MS., but in a corrected form, or (still worse) that an emendation suggested by the actual reading of the MS. has now and then been substituted for the reading itself? I should not like to affirm that there is absolutely no danger of this having happened; but everything points to such deliberate mistakes, if they did occur at all, having occurred very seldom. There is normally a careful distinction made between the actual reading of the MS. and the 'doctored' reading; *e.g.* ad *Poen.* 1355 *AG. had uerbum quidem, app(arenter) haud uerbum*; ad *Pseud.* 738 *hircum ab aliis dr. Is cum ab aliis poict. sed ab aliis un[sic] i, axillis*; ad *Poen.* 501 *profectos festos dr. | sed profestos legendum satis constat*. And minutiae of spelling are carefully noted: *e.g.* ad *Pseud.* 814 *alium dr. uno l*; ad *Pers.* 659 *redduco dup. d.* I cannot find in these marginalia much support of Lambin's charge of carelessness against Turnèbe.¹ The cases are very few

where one is at a loss regarding the proper appreciation of a marginal variant.

W. M. LINDSAY.

I WILL not trespass far upon the space of the *Classical Review*; for I do not think it is possible at the present moment to say the last word about this curious and important literary problem. Every editor of Plautus will have to examine the evidence for himself and draw his own conclusions. But I will very briefly indicate the impression which Mr. Lindsay's statement has made upon my mind, and add a few comments on it, and a few new points which claim consideration.

Mr. Lindsay seems to have stated his own position at length rather than to have answered my criticisms. I do not complain of this; but it has the disadvantage of leaving the argument very much where it was. Mr. Lindsay's order of proceeding seems, by his own admission, to have been a strange one. First he publishes these readings in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* as a collation of the Cod. Turn. without much discussion of evidence; then, in his published volume, he proceeds on the tacit assumption that no one questions their identity; finally, in reply to criticism, he offers evidence. Is not this 'sentence first, trial afterwards'? The difference between me and Mr. Lindsay is mainly this: I demand proof; he is content with an inference based upon *a priori* probability or possibility. He may be right; but I am inclined to think that before an inference of such importance to the future of Plautine criticism can be accepted, it must emerge from the region of the 'not proven,' and stand forth clear of all reasonable objection. Otherwise our critical apparatus will be complicated to no purpose, and our reconstructions of the stemma of MSS. will rest on no better foundation than the baseless fabric of a vision.

(1) The difficulty of Mr. Lindsay's position is well illustrated by the fact that in the list of readings which he has published in the *Philologus* (Supplem. vii. p. 117 ff.) he is often driven to put down *two* different readings to the Cod. Turn., with a query after one of them. Why, too, has he there mixed

in 1564, was probably in reality this. He made emendations of the current text with the help of *T*, and when the time came for publication of these emendations in his *Adversaria*, he omitted the duty of striking out all of them which had been later made independently by Camerarius with the help of *B*, a MS. very similar to *T*.

¹ What Turnèbe did to lay himself open to the charge of publishing as new emendations of his own those that had been already made by Camerarius or others before the first appearance of the *Adversaria*

up together T-readings derived from three different sources, and so confused the evidence?

(2) I have never denied that these marginalia are by the hand of Duaren, whoever he was (it does not much matter who wrote them), or that they are a *copy* of some original. On the contrary I entirely agree that they are.—So too with some other points on which Mr. Lindsay dwells at such length.

(3) Some of my main points are not touched on at all; e.g. that the entry *ex fragmentis*, etc. refers only to a single line. My figures remain unchallenged.

(4) 'The excellence of these new variants ... is happily beyond dispute.' All of them?

(5) The reading *Punicust guggast homo* (Poen. 977) is expressly attested by Lambinus as found 'in nostris libris'; and of the reading *haud verbum quidem* he says 'sic perspicue scriptum est in nostris libris veteribus.' It is in vain to argue, as Mr. Lindsay does, that these were not MSS. but printed editions with marginalia. It is impossible to get over the fact that Lamb., in his note on Cas. 414, *enumerates seven MSS.* as at his disposal in the unmistakable words 'sic habent omnes libri et mss. et impressi quos quidem viderim, septem mss., totidem impressi.' Comparatively few indeed are the good readings of the Bodleian volume which were unknown before on MS. evidence. As to the symbol *C* (Canticum) in the heading of Pseud. IV. ii., it appears in all the Palatine MSS. in this very place!

(6) It is out of place to appeal to the authority of Prof. Goetz, whose statement of 1884 may possibly be modified, if he reads the evidence I have now given against it.

(7) The discoverer of the Ambrosian was not Cardinal Mai, but an obscure assistant in the Ambrosian Library in the eighteenth century (named Branca), unless indeed Turnèbe discovered and used it in the sixteenth century. Mr. Lindsay ought not to have waved my argument on this point aside by his *ipse dixit*. My distinction between *schedae antiquae* and *liber vetus* he wholly ignores. Yet it is to *B* (not to the Cod. Turn.) that I think the entry on the fly leaf ('ex veteri libro') refers. What

evidence is there that the home of the Cod. Turn. was France?

(8) My interpretation of *alta manus* is 'not to be taken seriously.' Let Mr. Lindsay look again at Ducange, under 'Scriptura,' and the authorities there quoted.

(9) My argument as to 'Adriani Tornebi' not being a natural way for T. to describe himself in *his own copy of Plautus* does not 'appeal' to his mind. Perhaps it will appeal to others.

(10) I am glad, however, to see that one of my arguments does possess weight in his eyes, though he does not agree with me. To discuss this point fully would carry me beyond the limits of my space.

(11) *New points.* (a) The entry on Pseud. 732, which ought on Mr. Lindsay's theory to have come not in the middle of the book but before the Bacchides, *encloses* the entry *Caristo dr.* The latter, then, may well have been an *earlier* entry than the first mention of Turnèbe's name. [Parenthetically, Mr. Lindsay's amended theory that *dr.* is a monogram representing *a. tr.* (Adr. Turnèbe), however ingenious, does not 'appeal' to me. Till the meaning of *dr.* is settled, I repeat, there will be no solution of the problem of this book.]

(b) Does the long entry on Rud. 776, beginning *forte occentari* and containing a quotation from Festus (mutilated at the end) come from the *Burney*? I do not gather so from Mr. Lindsay's p. 49. If not, it throws new light on my suggestion that these marginalia come in some cases, directly or indirectly, from Lambinus. The quotation is followed by the words *peto hic Persa scena Satin Athenae*, etc., in which the first person sing. (*peto*) arrests attention. Who is the 'I'? Turn to Lambinus' notes on this passage and on the scene of the Persa beginning *Satin Athenae* (l. 569, pp. 958 and 915 of his ed. of 1577) and there is the reading *occenari* and the whole content of this entry reproduced. Is this a mere coincidence? It would be well worth while if Mr. Lindsay would report more fully on the marginalia of Lambinus' copy of Plautus in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. p. Y. c. 235).

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

THE NEW FRAGMENT OF JUVENAL.

A paraphrase will save more than its own bulk of notes :—

‘Wherever a cinaedus is kept he taints the household. Folks let these fellows eat and drink with them, and merely have the vessels washed, not shivered to atoms as they should be, when such lips have touched them. So even the lanista’s establishment is better ordered than yours; for he separates the vile from the decent (and similarly the retiarus’ net is not kept along with his tunic, nor does he put his galerus in the same cupboard as his trident): in the training-school and even in the gaol such creatures herd apart: but your wife condemns you to drink out of the same cup as these gentry, with whom the poorest trull would refuse to sip the choicest wine. Them do women consult about marriage and divorce,’—verse 18 I do not understand, so I must leave it out,—‘from them do they learn lascivious motions and whatever else the teacher knows. But beware: that teacher is not always what he seems: true, he darkens his eyes and dresses like a woman, but adultery is his design. Mistrust him the more for his show of effeminacy: he is a valiant mattress-knight: there Triphallus drops the mask of Thais.’—Now he addresses the cinaedus himself:—‘Whom are you fooling? not me: play this farce to those who cannot pierce the masquerade. I wager you are every inch a man: do you own it? or must we wring the truth out of the maidservants?’

1-3. Write and punctuate (*Athenaeum*, May 13)

in quacumque domo uiuit luditque professus obscenum, tremula promittit et omnia dextra, inuenies omnis turpes similesque cinaedis.

quacumque is relative. I have moved *et*, which the scribe transferred to its natural place because he knew no reason why he should not: he has done the same with *qui* at xiii 86. *et* in the third place does not seem to be found in Juvenal, but *promittens* would be rough and *omnia* is too apposite to lose: he is παντοπαθής, as the sequel will show. *tremula dextra* is partly explained by 24.

6. *colocyntha* = σικία = os quale est Sex. Clodii apud Ciceronem. The use of the σικία in women’s ailments is described by Hippocrates ed. Foës. p. 263 16 ταύτη χρῆ

σικύην ἐμπούησαι ἐς τὴν μήτρην, 581 37 ἐνθέσθω ἐς τὸ αἰδοῖον τὸ ἄκρον τῆς σικύης ὡς ἐσωτάτω, 680 43 ἡ γυνὴ ἀμφικαθεζέσθω περὶ τὴν βάλανον τῆς σικύης, τὸ αἰδοῖον ποιήσασα ὁκοῖον δέι.

barbata chelidon = pudendum muliebre = os quale est Gellii apud Catullum. Suidas λέγεται χελιδὼν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ μόριον, Priap. 12 13 sq. ‘qui tanto patet indecens hiatu | *barbato* macer eminente naso.’ Mr Platt refers me to Ar. Lys. 770-7 ὅποταν πτήξωσι χελιδόνες... ἀπόσχονται τε φαλήτων... ἦν δὲ διαστῶσιν καὶ ἀναπτῶνται περὶ γέσσω (see περὶ γύρωμα Pollux ii 174)... σαφὴς γ’ ὁ χρῆσμός ἐν Δί’.

8 sq. ‘longe migrare iubetur | *psillus* ab *eupholio*.’ The change is so slight and the verbal antithesis so perfect that I suspect this should be written ‘*psellus* ab *euphono*’ (*euphono* has occurred also to Mr Platt). It is conceivable that ψελλός, like βάταλος (Aeschin. Timarch. 131), signified ἀνανδρος: Plat. Gorg. p. 485 C ὅταν ἀνδρὸς ἀκούσῃ τις ψελλιζομένου... φαίνεται... ἀνανδρον, Phaedr. append. Perott. 8 2 sq. ‘fracte loquendo... famam cinaedi traxerat certissimam’: and that the poet playfully uses εὐφωνος, the opposite of ψελλός, as the opposite of ἀνανδρος. The Greek adjectives are less surprising than the Greek participle *chironomuntia* v 121.

11. *pulsatum* would be grammar, and either *pulsantem* (Postgate) or *pulsurum* would be sense into the bargain, but none of the three would have been altered to *pulsatam* (feminine): I conjecture therefore that *arma* is a metrical interpolation and that the verse ran

munimenta umeri pertusa hastamque tridentem,

i.e. *ptusa astamque*: Val. Fl. i 641 ‘*trifida Neptunus in hasta*.’ Thus *galerum pertusum* matches *turpi tunicae*: each noun has its disparaging epithet, and each epithet is also applicable to a cinaedus. The whole digression 9-12 is absurdly frivolous.

12 sq. Write and punctuate (*Ath.*, May 13)

pars ultima ludi

accipit has animas *aliusque* in carcere neruos.

‘these beings are consigned to the lowest corner of the training-school and to a separate cell in the very prison.’ The scribe mistook *neruos* for acc. plur., but see xiii 50 *toruos* P, iv 120 *laeuo* P, i.e. *laeuom*: in

the best MSS of Martial these forms are frequent.

15. *recusat* MS, *recuset* Platt rightly: 'would refuse,' if the proposal were made, which is very unlikely, since Alban and Surrentine are not often offered to a 'lupa ruinosi sepulchri.'

26. This sham weakling is compared to a Triphallus who *saltat Thaida*, plays the part of Thais in a mime. Either *Thais saltata Triphallo* stands for *Triphallus qui Thaida saltavit*, as *devictam Asiam* stands for *devictorem Asiae* at Verg. Aen. xi 268; or else *exiit personam Thais* means *Thais, quae persona est, exiitur* (deponitur), as *altera maternos exaequat turba Libones* (Scipionibus paternis) means *altera turba, materni Libones, exaequatur* at Prop. iv 11 31.

27. Punctuate (*Ath.*, May 13)

quem rides? aliis hunc mimum!

I suppose I need not illustrate the omission of the verb: Plaut. capt. 551 'ultra istum a me.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE fragment of Juvenal discovered by Mr. Winstedt should probably be placed after vi. 345. It must have dropped out of the text of the archetype of most MSS. at an early stage. I think it genuine, and not an alternative draft. Line 346 (*audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici*) in the ordinary text, seems to have been patched up to make sense of the curtailed text. These recovered 34 lines formed a page in a MS. which was lost, as a page seems to have been lost, containing scholia, at the beginning of sat. vi. in *P* (Friedländer *Juv.* i. 117). Lost pages in Juvenal MSS. contain generally about 30 lines on a page; thus of Hosius' MSS. Monac. 23475 omits vi. 269-302 (33 lines), viii. 1-63 (31+32 lines), x. 9-70 (35+35) lines; and Voss 18 omits xiii. 169-224 (27+28 lines). The presence or absence of scholia may account for the variations in the number of lines. Though the Bodleian MS. must descend from a MS. of early date, being anterior to the loss of this page, there seems no reason to doubt that the MS. itself represents generally the Cornutus recension of the ω group of MSS.

I suggest that lines 1-3 should run:—

In quacumque domo uinit luditque professus obscenum, et tremula promittit <ibi> omnia dextra,
inuenies omnis turpes similesque cinaedis.

In whatever house there is a profligate, he will make all the rest like himself. *Omnia* seems right: cp. iii. 77 'omnia novit Graeculus esuriens.' xi. 174 'omnique libidinis arte.'

In line 6 *Colocyntha* and *Chelidon* seem to be names of *cinaedi*, feminine, like Catullus' Attis, on account of their feminine habits. The form *κολόκυνθα* is found in Dioscorides 2. 162 (*κολόκυνθα ἐδώδιμος*) and 4. 178 (*κολόκυνθα αἰγός*). *Chelidon* (the name of the mistress of Verres) appears as one of Cleopatra's eunuchs in Seneca *ep.* 87, 16 'Chelidon, unus ex Cleopatrae mollibus, patrimonium grande possedit.' The name *Eupholio* (line 9) is probably wrong. Perhaps it should be *Euphronio*: a Euphronius was the teacher of the children of Antony and Cleopatra, Plut. *Ant.* 72.

Line 17 should run *accipit has animas aliosque in carcere neruus* (or *neruos* as nom.). 'Such creatures and others are visited with the stocks in prison': cp. viii. 254 'plebeiae Deciorum animae.' Lucan 5, 322 'imbelles animas.'

S. G. OWEN.

6 It is obvious to conjecture that 'Colocyntha' and 'Chelidon' are the names of 'molles': and the guess is confirmed by Seneca *Epist. Mor.* xiii. 2 § 16 *Chelidon, unus ex Cleopatrae mollibus*.

11 I think that we should read 'pulsatum,' and take it a supine. My first thought was to translate: 'Nor does the gladiator who fights barefaced deposit his trident in the same closet to knock against the shoulder-pieces and the arms [of the mollis].' But Professor Ridgeway and Mr. Lendrum point out that it is possible to translate: 'Nor does the gladiator who fights barefaced deposit in the same closet his shoulder-pieces and his trident to knock against the arms [of the mollis],' and I gladly accept the correction.

H. J.

26 May, 1899.

MR. WINSTEDT wishes me to state that in line 5 of the new passage the MS. reads 'permittunt,' as I had already printed from conjecture: and that in line 9 'et' is an erratum for 'ab.' Besides this there should be stops at the end of lines 3 and 5.

I am glad to find that the passage which I exhibited in the May issue 'properanti falce dolatum,' should already have received the finer touches from the hands of other English scholars. I should accept Messrs.

Housman and Owen's punctuation of the first three lines and the same scholars' *has* and *neruus* (or *neruös*) in 13 though with Housman's *alius*, and withdraw my interpretation of 6. I should think Mr. Platt's *recuset* in 15 little less than certain and Mr. Housman's punctuation of 26, 27 well-deserving of consideration. As the last-named scholar has referred to *pulsantem* which I conjectured in my note on 11 (where for *quassatam* read *quassatum*: the sense would be 'crazy,' 'battered'), I should like to say that, if I am right in this suggestion, I should regard the corruption as due to accident: and that the meaning of these lines is 'not even (nec) will retiarii associate with the molles among their number (*turpi tunicae*);' and the same idea is carried on in the next line (*nec cella ponit eadem*, etc., i.e. as the *molles*); and so Mr. Duff understands the passage. In conclusion I would refer to the biting jests of Claudian on the eunuch Eutropius in *Eutrop.* i. 359 sqq. which lend some support to omnia and illustrate *dextra* (2 and 24).

'*nil negat et sese uel non poscentibus offert* (364)—*quidquid amas dabit illa manus. communiter omni | fungitur officio gaudetque potentia flecti—accipit et trabeas argutae praemia dextrae.*'

J. P. P.

POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Duff sends me the following:—

'I believe that *pulsatam* is corrupt, and has taken the place of some adjective agreeing with *arma*, which is in apposition with *tridentem*: *arma* is used often enough of offensive weapons. Such an adjective as *Sempronia* would give the sense of what I think Juvenal may have written.

It seems that in l. 28 (*purum—pergula*), the husband is apostrophising the *cinaedus*. The apostrophe is abrupt, but hardly more so than others in the satire: cf. ll. 214, 219.

I take *omnis* to be feminine, and the unexpressed subject of *permittunt* to be *mulieres*.'

J. D. D.

MÜNZER AND KALKMANN ON PLINY'S SOURCES.

Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, von F. MÜNZER. Berlin, 1897, pp. xii. and 432. 12m.

Die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius, von A. KALKMANN. Berlin, 1898, pp. viii. and 260. 9m.

DR. MÜNZER has here undertaken a very useful piece of work. While Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* has always been a storehouse of matter for the writer on any branch of Roman history or civilisation, the multifarious facts found in any compilation of the kind must obviously depend for their value rather on the weight of the authorities from whom they were originally drawn than on the writer to whom we immediately owe them. It is not possible to consider Pliny's statements all of equally great or small value as coming from Pliny, while it is frequently possible by close examination to trace them back to the original fount, or to the intermediary to whom Pliny owes them, even in many cases in which he does not name his authority. Dr. Münzer is already known as a student of Pliny's sources by his essay, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des Plinius* (*Hermes*, xxx. 1895); this special enquiry

he has now followed up by an examination into Pliny's methods of work and use of his authorities throughout. Beginning simply with the desire to examine the sources for statements referring to Roman republican times, and so help to determine their value, he has been led to extend his work by realizing the tendency of any such enquiry to become one-sided when not based on a scrutiny of the general system on which Pliny can be seen to have worked. Such a scrutiny he has carried out in the most thoroughgoing way, arguing partly from comparison of different passages in the *Naturalis Historia* one with another, partly from comparison of Pliny either with extant works and fragments of authors cited by him, or with other writers who can be shown to have drawn from the same sources. Incidentally he gives from a wider outlook some good criticisms on different smaller treatises on Pliny's authorities for particular books. Pliny has often been accused of mere unintelligent copying of passages from other authors to make a patchwork of his own, but Dr. Münzer, while enquiring into his way of comparing and arranging his facts, has to a considerable extent vindicated

his author in the same way that Freeman did Diodoros. In the positive results which he tries to establish Münzer shows as a rule much moderation, though occasionally his learned enthusiasm carries him away, and he is led to build up a personality out of too slight materials, as in the pages (167—172) which deal with Annius Fætialis, an author once quoted by Pliny in the body of his book. It is difficult in a limited space to do justice to the mass of small cumulative proofs on which Münzer bases his conclusions, but a few general results may be given. On the whole he brings into strong relief the part played by Varro among Pliny's direct authorities, who were as a rule the writers of the generations immediately preceding him, the contemporaries of Julius Caesar and Augustus. The name of Varro meets us at every turn in the pages of Pliny, and the younger writer's debt to the older proves even greater than he acknowledges it to be. In some cases Pliny's Greek or early Roman authorities were only known to him through Varro; in other cases he combined this indirect use with occasional direct reference to an earlier writer: *e.g.*, both direct and indirect use of Herodotus can be shown (pp. 17, 419). Of the indirect use of the elder historians xxxvi. 107 is a good instance. Pliny gives an account of the punishment of suicides which is found again in Servius, *Aen.* xii. 603, where Cassius Hemina is quoted as the authority, and Varro named immediately afterwards. Pliny does not even name Hemina among the authors for xxxvi. and Münzer (p. 184) argues with great probability that he here drew on Hemina through Varro. He is less convincing when he proceeds to infer the same indirect use of Hemina for xiii. 84, where Pliny is quoting him to confute Varro. A large number of instances are examined where analogies between Pliny and some other later writer can be explained better by the existence of an older common authority for both than by assuming that one drew upon the other. Thus Valerius Maximus 8, 13, ext. 1—7, gives the same instances of longevity as Pliny vii. 154ff, but with numerous small differences, which can best be explained by supposing the use of a second source by Pliny, who moreover, in vii. 85, quotes Varro as his authority for facts found also in Valerius Maximus 1, 8, ext. 14. Again, where a group of facts drawn from different authors occurs in very much the same connexion in Pliny and other writers, it is natural to suppose that the quotations in each case have come through the

same channel. In pp. 189 ff. Münzer traces a good instance of this in a quotation, xiv. 89, from Fabius Pictor; and so in many other cases. Many questions are doubtless still left open to discussion, and some weak points may be noted. In xxxiv. 7 Münzer can hardly be right (p. 124) in basing an argument on Pliny's placing the fall of Corinth in Ol. 156, when the reading of Bamb., *chuli*, so clearly points to Ol. 158 as the date really given by Pliny. On p. 175 the passage from Columella brought forward doubtless shows that Cicero is the authority for vii. 75, but Münzer is over subtle in trying to prove that Pliny drew on Cicero through Varro. Again, Columella vii. 1, 3 would seem to make against rather than for the supposition (p. 356) that Pliny's very similar statement (viii. 206) is drawn from Nigidius. In so wide an enquiry it is natural that some parts should be less fully worked out than others, for example the chapters on Juba and the value of facts for which Juba is the channel, and on Nepos, whose position as a source for facts of Roman history is important. In conclusion Dr. Münzer gives an index to the passages of Pliny quoted in the book. A second index to the other authors would be a helpful addition.

Dr. A. Kalkmann in his present treatise has confined himself to a study of Pliny's ultimate sources for the history of art. In doing this, he is necessarily dealing with matter which has been already worked over by other scholars, but he has much that is new and suggestive of his own to add. The most prominent feature is an effort to show (pp. 1—64), that the chronological tables of Apollodoros were in the hands of Pliny, who drew upon them largely. While recognising Xenokrates as the writer to whom the kernel of art criticism in books xxxiv. and xxxv. is due, Dr. Kalkmann believes that much of what has recently been assigned to him or to Antigonos, notably the chronology of bronze workers (xxxiv. 49 ff.) and painters, should be attributed rather to Apollodoros. He supports this view by a number of arguments. The chronology of Apollodoros ended with Ol. 159, after which year Pliny gives no dates, his latest (xxxiv. 52), being Ol. 156. The occurrence in Pliny's chronological list of names of artists who are not discussed later on, is to be explained by the use of an independent authority for dates, as are also other difficulties, in particular Pliny's discussion of the dates of the early painters (xxxv. 54—58). Here Pliny confutes his

first authority, a Greek chronicler, presumably Apollodoros, who gave Ol. 90 as the first date in the history of painting, by facts drawn from another source, probably Varro based on Xenokrates, where an account of the earliest artists *quorum aetas non traditur*, was given without dates. Kalkmann sets forth very fully these and other reasons for thinking that Pliny's dates are drawn directly from Apollodoros, but fails, I think, to shake the one argument that seems conclusive against his theory. The dates given by Pliny assume a gap between Ol. 121, and the renaissance ascribed to Ol. 156, and, except in the case of Pyromachos, they do not include the Pergamene school at all. This omission and the date at which the break in the history of art begins, accord perfectly well with the theory that Xenokrates and Antigonos are responsible for the earlier chronology, and Kalkmann assumes that Apollodoros has simply followed them. The neglect of the Pergamene artists, however, remains alike inexplicable and impossible, as Robert has well shown, in the case of a writer whose residence in the country must have given him every opportunity of becoming acquainted with their style, and who dedicated his own work to the kings of Pergamon.

In his later chapters, Kalkmann discusses the part that may, with a fair degree of probability, be assigned to Pliny's other authorities. He follows other writers in ascribing to Mucianus a large part of the history of marble sculptors, and displays

much ingenuity in hunting for further traces of him in the other books, *e.g.* the statement (xxxv. 50), as to the four colours used by the earlier artists. To rhetorical sources he would refer some of the scattered artistic criticisms, particularly such as have an ethical tinge about them like that on Nikophanes in xxxv. 111. In the very discrepant judgment passed on the same artist in xxxv. 137, the phrase *solī artifices* points, as Münzer believes, to Xenokrates and Antigonos. At p. 184 ff. is given a good analysis of the alphabetical lists, principally useful as showing at a glance the element drawn from Roman catalogues. In xxxv. 108 ff. a new genealogy of the painters is suggested. In § 108, Kalkmann (pp. 57 ff.) would read: *Nicomachus, Aristonis filius* (Voss. *ariste*; Ricc. *aristichēimi*; Bamb. *aristiāci*). This Ariston he believes to be identical with the one mentioned in § 111, and son of the elder Aristēides, while in § 110 he reads (*Nicomachus*) *discipulos habuit Aristiden fratrem et Aristonem filium*. Thus, by assuming two artists called Ariston, he makes the two contemporaries of Apelles, Nicomachos, and the younger Aristēides, belong to the same generation as grandsons of the elder Aristēides. It is impossible to follow Dr. Kalkmann in many of the conclusions that he draws; at the same time, his candour and thorough methods of research are apparent throughout, and the book must be of interest to all students of the sources of Pliny.

K. JEX-BLAKE.

BALY'S EUR-ARYAN ROOTS.

Eur-Aryan Roots with their English Derivatives and the Corresponding Words in the Cognate Languages, compared and systematically arranged. By J. BALY, M.A., Worcester College, Oxon., Fellow of Calcutta University, sometime Archdeacon of Calcutta. Vol. i. pp. xxviii., 781. Royal 8vo. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1897. 50s. net.

THIS large and handsome volume is the first part of a work intended, as the author tells us in his Preface, 'to present to English readers in as popular a form as the subject admits, and with an especial reference to the English language, the results recently obtained by German philologists.' It contains, in fact, a careful summary of the

results of research as given in a large number of works, of very unequal value, which are cited in the Preface. The author has not apparently grappled with more recent work contained in the numerous philological journals. This is a pity, because a certain amount of his material is somewhat antiquated. The book has also had the misfortune to appear contemporaneously with the new edition of Brugmann's *Grundriss*, vol. i., which could not therefore be utilised in its preparation. The frequent references to Brugmann thus represent not that scholar's most recent deliverances on questions of phonetics, but those views, sometimes widely divergent, which he held eleven years before.

The name — Eur-Aryan — which the

author applies to the group of languages with which he deals is a strange formation and certainly does not bear its meaning on its face. It is undoubtedly true, as the author asserts, that Indo-Germanic and Indo-European are cumbrous terms; it is not so clear however that Eur-Aryan is, as the author claims it is, more exact than either. Indeed, if a shorter word for the group of languages be wanted, Eur-Aryan cannot compare favourably with the late Mr. Wharton's *Celtindic*.

It may also be doubted whether the author has not carried the reduction of all forms to original roots somewhat farther than existing evidence warrants. There are a considerable number of noun-forms which are clearly descended from a period before the separation of the languages, though no 'root' exists with which they have any strong claim to be connected. The reduction of such forms to roots, or rather the placing of such forms under a general root with which they have no obvious connexion of meaning, is a practice taken over with doubtful advantage from the grammarians of India. The author, however, goes sometimes still further. It is possible, for example, that the Greek *ἥδύς*, the Latin *suāvis*, come from a pronominal element with a suffixed element and that the meaning of the word corresponding to *ἥδουαι* in the original language was 'makes one's own,' 'suits one's self' (p. 526). But it is impossible with our present knowledge to prove this, and, in any case, our present knowledge certainly does not warrant our placing such forms under the root *dhē*. For most purposes it would have been more convenient and more accurate to keep such words, as Fick does, in the stem form and to have assigned the adjective *suādī-s* to the original tongue. Further analysis of the root *suād-* can be merely speculation, the truth or falsity of which cannot be tested.

Subject to this limitation the work will be found useful, particularly by those who wish to find all the important cognates of any English word under one head. The method of the author will be best illustrated by one example.

Eur-Ar.: √*UĒR*, a man, hero, husband.

Sanscrit: *vīra*, a man, hero, *vīryu*, strong, manly.

Zend: *vīra*, a man, *vīrya*, manly.

Greek: *ἥρ*- for *ἥρ*- in *ἥρως*, a hero (given after Curtius but marked in a note as not established).

Latin, *vir-* in *vir*, a man, *virilis*, manly, strong, — *itas*, manliness, *virtus*, courage,

virtue, *virago*, a masculine woman, decem-*virī*, a committee of ten, trium-*virī*, of three.

This is followed by the Low Latin and Romance forms under which is explained amongst other words *loup-garou*. Then come the Balto-Slavonic, the Teutonic and the Celtic forms.

A separate heading is formed in each case by the English Derivatives. In this instance these include:—

Greek: hero, heroine, -ism. heroic.

Latin: virile -ity, virago, decemvirate, triumvirate.

L. Latin and Romance: virtue, vertu (*taste*), virtuoso, virtuous.

Teutonic: werewolf, wergild, world, -ly, -liness.

It might be objected that, though it is desirable to have the Zend forms, they are not entitled to a separate section for themselves if the Baltic forms are not separated from the Slavonic. It might also be urged that the Romance forms are not quite on the same level historically as the other sections. But these points are of little importance. A more serious matter is a certain looseness with regard to important phonetic principles. In the instance just cited, what evidence is there to warrant the assumption that the root is *uer* and not *uēr*? The author himself considers that *ἥρως* does not really belong to this root. The *e* of the Irish *fer* and of the Teutonic forms can be shown by parallels to be a change within those languages of an original *i*. The root or, as I should prefer, the stem, in this case should therefore have been given as *uēr-o*, or if the author had chosen he could have followed Uhlenbeck and others in connecting the form with the root *uēr-* of Latin *vi-s*, &c.

The statements about vowel-gradation also are not always so precise as could be desired. For instance, in the example (p. ix.) given as typical—the root *tel-*, *tll-* —, it is impossible to explain forms like the Sanskrit *tola*, which in the *o* contains a *u-* diphthong, without assuming that the influence of analogy, starting from forms in *tul-*, has carried over the root from one series of gradations to another. Similarly there is no authority for an original *ē-* as a parallel form to *ai-* (p. 19) even if the equation of Skt. *ek-a-* with Lat. *aequ-o-s* be admitted.

Phonetic laws are discarded without explanation in such derivations as *ōphus* from an original form with *gh*, Lat. *annus*, connected with the root of *Féros* 'at-standing for an older *vat*' (p. 3 n.), an explanation which must be erroneously attributed to Brugmann. So also whatever

the origin of *ponti-jew* (p. 527 and elsewhere) it cannot be *phonetically* connected with the original *Latin* numeral for 5; the equation 'Lat. *pompi* : *ponti* : = *πέμπε* : *πέντε*' is impossible, and the name Pontius is not Latin at all but Oscan as, apart from other considerations, its occurrences in history prove.

Statements of this sort, which are somewhat numerous, must cause the connexions which are made between various series of

words to be received with caution. There is, however, a vast amount of useful learning in the work, and there are many valuable contributions to the history of the meaning of English words and proper names which are illustrated with an historical and antiquarian knowledge too often conspicuously lacking in works of this sort.

P. GILES.

NOTES.

BACCHYLIDES, *Io* (xix. Ken., xviii. Bl.), 33, 34 ;

ἦ ῥα καὶ [~ ~ ~ ~
ἀσπετοὶ μερίμν [~

Jebb supplies ἐς τέλος σφ' ἔτειρον, Jurenka αἰνὰ γυν' ἔλυσαν, in 33, and both read μέριμναι in 34. Professor Jebb's σφ' ἔτειρον seems exactly what is wanted; but, as the papyrus marks with an accent the second syllable of μερίμν, it seems hazardous, in the case of a supplement which must be more or less conjectural, to neglect this indication. I propose to read

ἦ ῥα καὶ εὐφρόναι σφ' ἔτειρον
ἀσπετοὶ μερίμναις;

Compare *Od.* xv. 392 αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι, and xi. 373 νύξ δ' ἦδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος. For the plural of εὐφρόνη cp. e.g. *Hdtus.* vii. 56. The meaning is: Did he fall asleep, worn out by long night watches? For the transformed Homeric phrase, compare Pindar's θάλλοντος συμποσίου (*Isth.* v. 1), suggested by δαῖτα θάλειαν.

J. B. BURY.

* * *

A CURIOUS PARALLEL.

λαῖνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα. *Il.* Γ. 57.

In a lately published novel, 'Two men of Mendip' by W. Raymond, 1898, one of the characters says:— 'If ever day should come, an' no welcome in Charterhouse, let John Winterhead put on the green waistcoat, by which he meant lie under the graveyard sod.'

Is this (as seems implied) a genuine Somersetshire country phrase? If so, it is a remarkable parallel to the Homeric expression, and to the Aeschylean χιτῶνός τρίμορον χλαῖναν λαβών.—*Ag.* 870.

W. C. GREEN.

* * *

ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* 1266.—The MSS. read ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον ΠΕCONΤΑΓΑΘΩΔ ἀμείβομαι (corr. to ἀμείβομαι), for which editors give

ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ'. ἐγὼ δ' αἶμ' ἔψομαι (Hermann), or

ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντα θ' ᾧδ' ἀμείβομαι (Verrall).

Neither of these emendations is satisfactory. Apart from minor objections, every one must feel that πεσόντα is painfully weak and otiose. I suggest

ἔτ' ἐς φθόρον· κάτω γὰρ ᾧδ' ἀμείβομαι

'Off, cursed things! even thus (without adornment) I pass to the world below.'

It is not difficult to see how the corruption may have arisen. ΚΑΤΩ would readily be lost before ΓΑΡΩΔ, and πεσόντα, perhaps at first a gloss, would make good the deficiency. Hence ΠΕCONΤΑΓΑΡΩΔ, which is very near the MSS. reading. If this is not simply a further depravation, it may be, as Dr. Verrall conjectures, a *lapsus calami* for ΠΕCONΤΑΘΩΔ, which was likely enough to be hit upon by some early enthusiast for metre. As to the sense, κάτω γὰρ ἀμείβομαι takes up πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς of the preceding line. ᾧδε is emphatic. 'You,' cries Cassandra, 'you, rich emblems of my ruin, shall not accompany me to the shades. My death breaks the curse in which you bound me: ἄλλην τιν' ἄτην ἂντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.'

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

* * *

ON οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον.—A curious parallel to this well-known construction occurs in the *Divān* of Hāfiz (*Ed.* Rosenzweig, iii. 204, 5):

man nagūyam kih kanūn bā kih nishīn ū chih
binūsh.

'I will not say with whom now you are to sit and what you are to drink' (literally, in Greek: ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐρῶ ὅτι νῦν παρ' ᾧ καθίσον καὶ ὃ πίο). The parallel is incomplete in so far as Persian makes no formal distinction between the relative and interrogative pronouns, but the imperatives—and this is the main point—are clearly subordinate. Dr. Postgate, who has examined the subordinated constructions of the Greek imperative in a very interesting paper (*Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. iii. p. 53 *seqq.*) quotes analogous usages in Old and Middle High German. In Persian the construction is exceedingly rare: it seems not to have been noticed by grammarians, and I am unable at present to supply a second example of it.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

* *

PLAUTUS, 'PSEUDOLUS,' I. 3. 117 (l. 351).

'Quid ais, quantum terra <m> tetigit hominum per-
iurissime.'

It has been established from the Ambrosian Palimpsest, by Geppert (followed by Studemund, Ussing, Goetz, etc.), that tetigit is the true reading in this passage, in place of tegit of the later MSS. As re-

gards the meaning of the expression *terram tangere*, Ussing says that it means *nasci*, and, as far as we can gather from his note, Geppert seems to take the same view.

But is there not a reference to the custom of laying the hand upon the earth in solemn oaths and adjurations, to avert the displeasure of the nether gods? Cf. *Il.* ix. 567:

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία
κικλήσκουσ' Ἀῖδην κ.τ.λ.

Also Bacchylides viii. 3:

γᾶ δ' ἐπισκῆπτων χέρα, κομπάσομαι.

And with *χέρα* omitted, v. 43.

γᾶ δ' ἐπισκῆπτων πιφαύσκω.

c.f. also Varro on Macrobi. *Sat.* iii. 9, 12.:

Tellus mater, teque Iuppiter obtestor. Cum Tellurem dicit manibus *terram tangit*; cum Iovem dicit manus ad caelum tollit.

And also Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 10, 21:

Huic deae sedentes vota concipiunt, *terramque* de industria *tangunt*.

We might also compare Cic. *De Har. Resp.* xi. 23 (where the MSS. rightly read *terram*).

The expression also occurs elsewhere in Plautus, *Most.* 471.

Aedes ne attingatis. *tangite*
vos quoque *terram*.

Thus we see that touching the ground was a common formality in taking oaths; and as in this passage of the Pseudolus we hear that Ballio had taken a formal oath—*conceptis verbis*—it is not unlikely that we have a reference to this custom in the expression *terram tangere*, which would thus somewhat correspond to our expression, 'kissing the Book.'

The passage might then be translated:

Cal.—'You, I say, most perjured knave that ever kissed the Book! did you not swear that you would sell the girl to no one but me?'

Ball.—'I confess it.'

Cal.—'And in set form?' (*conceptis verbis*).

Ball.—'Ay, and subtle likewise.'

It may be remarked that Ussing does not attempt to give any authority for *terram tangere*=*nasci*; while A. Palmer, in order to avoid this interpretation, preferred to read *terra tetulit*.

F. A. LONGWORTH.

* *

ON HORACE, 'SATIRES,' II. 2, 89-93.—In the second *Satire*, 'an essay on the advantages of simple fare,' we have four lines which so perplexed Prof. Palmer that he suspected that they were spurious.

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus illis nullus erat; sed credo hac mente, quod hospes Tardius adveniēns vitiatum commodius quam Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter

Herocae natum tellus me prima tulisset!

I suggest the following paraphrase: 'Even putrid pork men would eat contentedly in old days and say it was very good, not that they had no sense of smell (though, practically, I dare say, they had not so nice a sense as we have), but I suppose they felt that if a stranger came to a house some time after the pig-killing he could eat it with greater propriety and decency, though it was tainted, than the master of the house could when it was fresh, for *that* would have meant gluttony (*edax*). I wish I had lived in those days, when none over-ate himself, none refused fare however coarsely putrid.'

We may note in favour of this:—

(1) *laudabant*: we must not make this mean that primitive people preferred pork high. The wish at the end proves that Horace is attributing some virtue of simple taste to them. And we may remember the use of *laudo* and *ἐπαινῶ* in the sense of 'I decline with thanks.' (2) *rancidum* is not to be minimized here as Comm. Cruq. suggests. The stronger its sense, the greater the virtue of the ancients. Hence the sense is not widely different from the passage Palmer quotes, Lucr. vi. 1155. (3) *erat* may very well stand. Horace does not deny that the ancients had noses, but 'gives a possible hypothesis' certainly—that they had no nice sense of smell.¹ (4) *tardius*: there is no question of 'arriving late for dinner'; and the whole point of the passage is that 'the household' had been obliged to 'leave the boar untouched so long'—not 'on the chance of a guest arriving,' but because they could only consume it at once by gluttonous over-eating. A pig-killing would be an event to send word of to all the neighbours, who would drop in for some days after. (5) *commodius* seems most apt for the sense 'more harmoniously with the fitness of things and the rules of abstemious eating.'

In conclusion, no difficulty would have been raised had Horace said simply 'I suppose they felt that it was fitter to eat it tainted than to over-eat in order to finish it when fresh.' His playful opposition of the *hospes* and *dominus* seems to have misled.

T. NICKLIN.

* *

ON VERGIL 'AEN.' VIII. 359.—In the *Classical Review* for 1894, p. 300, discussing Verg. *Aen.* 5, 359,

'et clipeum efferrī iussit, Didymaonis artes,

Neptuni sacro Danaïs de poste refixum,

hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat,'

I suggested that the shield was a consecrated shield taken down by the Greeks from one of their own temples, and given, on account of its supposed sanctity, to some chosen champion, from whom it had been won in battle by Aeneas. Such a shield would probably be of great beauty, while its history would give it special interest as a trophy, so that it would fitly form a 'surpassing reward' for a 'peerless youth.'

I quoted several instances of consecrated arms being taken from temples for use in emergencies (to which add Eur. *Heracl.* 695), but could find no instance of deliberate selection of them. Mr. A. G. Peskett, however, referred me to Tac. *Ann.* 15, 53, where it is said that the conspirator Scaevinus, with a view to the assassination of Nero, specially wore a dagger which he had taken from the temple of Salus in Etruria *velut magno operi sacrum*, and I lately came by accident across a passage of Arrian which is still more important. It relates (*Anabasis* 9, 6) how, in the attack on a town of the Malli in India, Alexander himself seized a scaling-ladder and mounted to the assault, followed by Peucestas *ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἀμὰ οἱ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις*. This quotation seems to me decisive and to remove this passage, about which much rubbish has been written, from the still considerable list of Virgilian puzzles. T. E. PAGE.

¹ The Editor, doubting the validity of this exegesis, kindly points out however that Horace may well have used the same syntax as Propertius, and he quotes Prop. i. 11, 17. But Martial, i. 41, 18, writes *non cuiusvis datum est habere nasum*, i.e. satirical wit; is it incredible that *nasus* might also mean not sense, but nicety of smell?

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE TOLEDO MS. OF THE AGRICOLA.

ALL students will be disappointed to hear that there appears to be no present probability of our obtaining any collation of this MS. As long ago as Jan. 26 I received information from Dr. R. Wuensch, of Breslau, respecting his visit to Toledo in 1896. It was only with difficulty that he obtained permission from the Bishop even to look at the MS., and no examination of its readings was allowed, on the ground that any publication of its contents would lessen its value. He was only able to note as follows. It is entitled 'Codex bibliothecae capitularis Toletanae No. 49, 2; chart. s. xv. fol. min., about 200 pages of 29 lines: fol. 1-15 contain the Germania, beginning, 'Cor. Taciti de vita moribus et origine Germanorum opus elegantissimum feliciter incipit,' and ending 'τέλος. Fulginie scriptum gerente me magistratum pu. scribae, Kal. Jun. 1471.'

The Agricola then follows on fol. 16-36. Afterwards comes Joannis Antoni Campani oratoris oratio,' with the subscriptio: 'scripta per me M. Angelum Crullum (Trullum?) Tudertinum Fulginii pu. scribam noñ Decembr. 1471.' Then follow letters of Plin. mi. (Books 8 and 9) with occasional signature of M. Angel Tuders, 1468. The MS. ends with an incomplete letter.

I should have long since communicated to the *Review* this information so kindly sent by Dr. Wuensch, but have been hoping from time to time to hear that the efforts made by Professor Gudeman to obtain a collation had been more successful. As no news to that effect has arrived, I fear we must conclude that his friend has also been stopped by an episcopal 'non possumus.'

May 18, 1899.

H. FURNEAUX.

THE REVISED LATIN PRIMER.

THE announcement of a new revision of the Latin Primer raised many hopes: its publication has dashed them to the ground.

Some improvements have been made, but they are few. The book still remains thoroughly unsatisfactory. How unsatisfactory only those who have had to teach from it for years can adequately realise, and it would take many pages to show with any completeness; but the following are a few samples of its quality.

The last edition gives, what was much needed, lists of exceptions to the regular formation of the Gen. Plur. of the 3rd Decl. (Appendix IV. p. 225). The heading runs thus: 'Nouns not increasing in Genitive Singular which have Genitive Plural in -um.' This is the first and only intimation in the book that there is any connexion between increase in Gen. Sing. and the formation of Gen. Plur. Then there follows under 'I Stems'—

'In the Plural Genitive
vates (bard) does *vatum* give:
And generally agree with this
panis, apis, volucris.'

Now leaving out of consideration the late forms *caedum, cladum, subolum*, Cicero uses

mensum, sedum, and vatium, Ovid *ambagum* there is no known instance of *volucrium* as a substantive; the only authority for *panum* is a grammarian, and *apium* is decidedly the better prose form.

Therefore each of the four statements is inaccurate in varying degree, while three words are omitted altogether.

The lists of 'Nouns increasing in Genitive Singular, which have Genitive Plural in -ium' are not more successful. Here under 'Consonant Stems'—

'*ium* in Plural Genitive
os (*ossis*) and *as* (*assis*) give:
mas, mus, dos and *cos* and *lis*,
nox and *nix*, and *sol* and *glis.*'

To class *as, os* and *nox* under Consonant Stems is, to say the least, doubtful doctrine. *Cos* and *sol* are usually believed to have no Gen. Plur. in use: the authority for *dotum* is as good as for *panum*, while no mention is made of *fraus, laus, lar, strix, vis, fauces, renes, penates, optimates*, the 'civitas' class, nor of the patrilial in -*as* or -*is* (e.g. *Arpinas, Quiris*). To sum up, the lines omit more than they insert, and of what they do insert more than half is incorrect or doubtful.

The second list under this heading runs thus: 'I Stems,'

'In the Plural Genitive

frons (*frontis*) does *frontium* give:

so *frons* (*frondis*), *stirps*, *ars*, and *dens*,
mons, *urbs*, *ars*, *bidens*, and *parens*.'

This is an even more curious production than that which precedes. There appear *frons* (*frontis*) and *mons* but not *fons* or *pons*; *frons* (*frondis*) but not *glans*; *dens* but not *gens* or *mens*; *ars* but not *pars*; *parens* is bereft of *infans*, and such words as *sors* and *cohors* are ignored altogether.

Of course no sensible master would dream of letting his boys learn such erroneous and misleading lines. Their only use could be, like the drunken Helot, to serve as a warning of what a Grammar ought not to be; but it raises a blush to think that this is published *urbi et orbi*, under the special patronage of the great Head Masters of England, as the ripest fruit of our academic scholarship, matured by the experience and revisions of thirty-three years. Let us only hope that few foreigners see it.

In such fashion have the latest additions to the Primer been compiled. The revisers have not been more successful in dealing with the mistakes and omissions of the earlier edition.

Mare still remains declined in full as a type of its class in spite of its Gen. Plur. *marum*.

The Future Imperative, after long banishment from other conjugations, still keeps its unintelligible footing in *edo*, § 140. Including this erratic survival there still are found four different methods of printing the Imperative Mood, a large discretion having, it would seem, been left to the printer's devil.

Tulisse still figures as derived from the Supine-stem of *fero*, amid a confused mass of Infinitives and Participles, Active and Passive, without order, name or meaning, *inops inhumatque turba*.

There still stands the brazen assertion in § 55 that *acus*, *tribus*, *lacus*, *partus*, *portus*, *artus*, 'have always -*ubus*.'

In defiance of Vergil *glacies* is still classed as 'singular only,' and *veru*, without reserve, as 'dat. abl. plur. *ubus*.'

The rules for Gender still gape with omissions in well-nigh every part. The few lines given to the important subject of defective comparison of adjectives remain as before erroneous, misleading, and miserably inadequate.

Even in the 'Shorter' Primer the beginner cannot get beyond the 1st decl. without being taught that *terrac* is the ordinary Latin for 'on the ground.'

In the above remarks I have confined myself to a few points out of many in the *Accidence*. Some consider the Syntax even more faulty.

The comparison in this case would be particularly odious, and it is perhaps well that limits of space forbid it.

If the Primer stood upon its own merits, it would not be worth criticising and would long since have given way to a better book—even under the present discouragements at least one such has appeared—but, as it is, nearly all the great Head Masters use it and the small Head Masters must perforce follow suit, so that practically the whole Latin education of the country is based upon a work for which 'unsatisfactory' is a euphemism.

What harm has been and is being done to British scholarship it would be hard to estimate. Many of those who really have to teach the book have long been exasperated or depressed by the inferiority of the tool with which they are condemned to work. Not a few, it is to be feared, have never recovered the effects of being educated upon it themselves.

Of those who have, some in their bitterness of heart affirm the 'great' Head Masters to be like careless gods—

'For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurled

Far below them in the valleys,'

and it must be admitted that to be bombarded by bad grammar in a foreign tongue from a coign of vantage is trying.

Such, however, is not quite the writer's view. He believes those exalted personages to be not so much indifferent as simply ignorant of the facts of the case. Great Head Masters do not teach the Latin Primer to little boys. Their duties are multifarious and concerned with higher things. Naturally, therefore, they do not know the details of the book; and if perchance a voice of lamentation should now and then reach their ears, trusting to the author's honoured name, but forgetting that as a great Head Master himself he was little fitted by practical experience to write a working grammar for junior boys, they deem the cry 'like a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong.'

Monopolies and vested interests are no doubt hard to deal with. But surely the matter is one of such importance, both for the credit of the scholastic profession and the future of British education, that those who are responsible for these difficulties ought to grapple with them promptly, and, let us hope, effectually.

A. SLOMAN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

FOUGÈRES' *MANTINÉE ET L'ARCADIE ORIENTALE*.

Mantinee et l'Arcadie Orientale, par GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES, ancien membre de l'École Française d'Athènes, chargé du cours d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art à l'Université de Lille. Paris, Fontemoing, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi, and 623, with 10 plates. 20 fr.

In the centre of the northern half of the eastern (and higher) Arcadian plain, more than 2,000 feet above the sea, is the site of the ancient Mantinea, the scene of excavations conducted by MM. Fougères and Bérard on behalf of the French School at Athens in 1887-9. Some chapters of this monograph are based directly upon those excavations, while the remainder contain a *résumé* of the history, constitution and customs of Mantinea itself, and the topography of the immediately surrounding country. It is rare that such elaborate study has been devoted to a town and territory of dimensions so modest; but even second-rate Greek states possess an individuality and a separate history of their own, and Mantinea is one of the most interesting of all second-rate Greek states. Partly from her strong democratic tendencies, and partly from her neighbourly quarrels with Tegea on such matters as the control of the water-system of the plain, she was generally anti-Spartan; Tegea, unable (as Fougères puts it) to exist with an enemy on either hand, was commonly on the Spartan side. But political combinations in the Peloponnese shift like the figures in a kaleidoscope; and Fougères, who has a natural partiality for Mantinea as the principal scene of his own labours, claims for her, not without some justice, that she was, in all her vicissitudes, on the side of liberty as against the successive attempts at domination of the Peloponnese made by Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Sparta again (Agis and Cleomenes), and the Achaean league; while she had, for herself, neither the will nor the power to dominate at any time.

It will only be possible in this short notice to touch on a few details of so extensive a treatise; so it may be well to begin by saying that M. Fougères' work appears to us to have been very well done, combining a considerable amount of research

with the lucidity and order which generally mark French scholarship. The chapter most open to criticism is perhaps that dealing with Mantinean cults, where the writer has fallen into the common error of attempting to explain everything, where much is necessarily fortuitous. An example of this will be found in the paragraphs on the relations of Maira (representing the solar principle), to Poseidon and Demeter, and their respective spheres of influence in the Mantinean plain (pp. 251-3).

Of the historical part of the work (Book III.), perhaps chaps. vii. and viii. are the most interesting. They cover the period from B.C. 387 (Peace of Antalcidas) to 362 (Battle of Mantinea). The former chapter recounts the razing of the city by the Spartan Agesipolis, the exile of the democratic party, and the enforced 'dioecism' (*i.e.* dissipation of the inhabitants into a number of separate villages); and the latter includes the rebuilding of Mantinea, with its 'modern and elaborate fortification-wall (still in great part extant), and the Arcadian revival under Theban influence. Among Mantinean institutions (Book II, chap. vii) the most characteristic are the systematic cultivation of music and dancing, for which the town was famous, and the custom of *ὄπλομαχίαι* and *μονομαχίαι*. Fougères' theory that the latter, invented by the legislator Demonax in the 6th century B.C., were intended as a mitigation of a pre-existing system of vendetta, can hardly be correct. The organised duel would be as repugnant to Greek ideas in historical times as the gladiatorial combat, which Fougères rightly discards. The term *μονομαχία* clearly denotes, like *ὄπλομαχία*, a military exercise, though apparently a dangerous one—see Herod. vi. 92, '*μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει.*' Other references will be found in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* "Hoplomachia."

We must not linger long over the archaeology (in the narrower sense), which occupies Book II, chap. iv and Appendix II. By far the most important work of art discovered in the course of excavation is the series of bas-reliefs (Apollo, Marsyas, and the Muses), which adorned the base of Praxiteles' temple group of Leto and her children. The contemporaneity of these reliefs with the group itself is now very generally admitted. It is curious that Fougères,

while comparing them with the mourners ('Pleureuses') on one of the Sidon sarcophagi (date probably about 370 B.C.), omits all reference to the 'Pyrricist' base in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The bas-reliefs on this base contain two figures almost identical, in posture and drapery, with two of the Mantinean Muses; and the date is fixed, by the archon's name, to either 366 or 323 B.C. (see Beulé, *Acropole d'Athènes*, vol. ii. pl. 4 and 5, and *C.I.A.* II. 1286). As regards the arrangement of the Mantinean plaques, the author holds to his original theory (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1888, p. 106) that the base was a square one, with one plaque on the front, one on each of the sides, and possibly a fourth (no longer extant) at the back. His reasons for discarding Dr. Waldstein's proposed arrangement (*Americ. Journ. Arch.*, vol. vii. pl. 1)—a continuous frieze of four plaques decorating the front only, the ends and back being plain—are based partly on the probable dimensions of the group and partly on aesthetic grounds. Dr. Waldstein's arrangement also necessitates the change of reading in Paus. viii. 9, 1 from *Μοῦσα* to *Μοῦσαι*, a change which seems to us (though not, apparently, to Fougères—see pp. 544–5) to be unjustifiable. It is very unlikely that, if *Μοῦσαι* had been written, it would have been changed to *Μοῦσα*, since the Muses are nearly always spoken of collectively, and the plural would therefore have been more familiar to the transcriber than the singular. But it is still possible that a minute examination of the plaques in every detail may decide the much-debated question of arrangement on material rather than on aesthetic or textual grounds.

On topographical questions M. Fougères generally exercises a sound judgment. In his identification of the two roads from Mantinea to Orchomenus M. Fougères (pp. 121–3) defends the generally-accepted theory, as against the contention of the present writer (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xv., pp. 84–5) in favour of the earlier view taken by Col. Leake. He explains the inversion of Pausanias' order of description (E., S., W., N.) by reference to the Temple of Artemis Hymnia, which lay on the westernmost route and was common to the Mantineans and Orchomenians, thus forming a natural transition from the account of Mantinea to that of Orchomenus. The question must still be regarded as an open one. In the case of the so-called 'Πρόλις,' i.e. the site of the original Mantinea, abandoned in historical times,

Fougères and the present writer are at one. The hill of Gourtzoûli, conspicuous from the later site, is not Πρόλις but the 'Tomb of Penelope,' Πρόλις being represented by a lower hill about a mile further north. The expression *πεδίον οὐ μέγα καὶ ὄρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* (Paus. viii. 12. 7)—or even the proposed emendation of it, *πεδίον καὶ ὄρος οὐ μέγα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ*—is otherwise unintelligible (*J.H.S.* vol. xv. p. 84).

The great battle of 362 B.C., always known as the battle 'of Mantinea,' is rightly described as taking place just over the border, in Tegean territory, though nearer in point of distance to Mantinea than to Tegea, and fought as an attack on, and in defence of, the former town (cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xv. p. 87). And the correct explanation is given of the name Σκοπή, which is not really derived from, but rather gave rise to, the legend that Epaminondas, when wounded, was carried to this point of vantage to witness the termination of the battle. Remains of a fourth century *watch-tower* have, in fact, been found on a spur of Mýtika, about 400 feet above the plain, commanding a fine view of the territories both of Mantinea and of Tegea.

Fougères definitely, and very wisely, abandons the tradition supported even by his colleague Bérard (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vol. xvi. p. 534) that the river now known as Sarandapotamós, which at the present day turns eastward after entering the Tegean plain, and disappears down the Katavóthra of Vérzova, formerly flowed westward to that of Táka (whose waters, according to the erroneous theory of Pausanias, reappeared at the springs of Frankó-vrysi, and ultimately found their way to the Alpheus). This tradition is clearly disproved by a careful study of the levels and of other natural features of the ground. Our author's counter-theory that, by the excavation of a short and shallow canal to the eastward of Tegea, the river was at times, and for hostile purposes, diverted into the bed of the stream which flows northward towards Mantinea (see Plate IX.), and that the name Λαχᾶς (Herodian, *Fragm.* iii. 26) belongs to this partly artificial stream, is plausible, and even probable, but necessarily incapable of proof.

The map of the Tegean plain, and that of the Mantinean territory and surrounding country, (Plates IX. and X.), well illustrate the topographical portions of the book. In the former, which is specially designed to show the levels of the ground, with reference

to the course of the Sarandapotamós, the current error is repeated of identifying the 'Xôμα,' (Paus. viii. 44-5) which marked the boundary of the Megalopolitan territory as against the Tegean and Pallantian, with the causeway which still exists near the village of Birbáti; an error which has been corrected in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xv. pp. 34, 35 (cf. Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. iv. p. 419). The latter—a more general map, but on a smaller scale—is well designed and executed; but the modern parts of it are not quite up to date. For example, of six carriage roads radiating from Tripolitsá, only two are marked; and the new road from the Khan of Plátsas to Kapsiá is omitted, while the old track (not a carriage road) to the same place from the point of Mýtika is shown. The ancient boundaries of the Mantinean territory are very rightly inserted, though necessarily conjectural in part.

We take leave of this conscientious and exhaustive monograph with a hope that, what M. Fougères has done for Mantinea, other scholars may by and by undertake in connection with other Greek cities and territories. Such studies, involving much labour in the library, are a fitting sequel to the more romantic task of excavation and exploration in Greece itself.

W. LORING.

FURTWÄNGLER'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL PAPERS 1898-1899.

- I. *Neue Denkmäler Antiker Kunst*: von A. FURTWÄNGLER, aus den Sitzungsberichten der philos.-philol. und der histor. Classe der K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1897. Bd. II. Heft I. 6 m.
- II. *Zu den Tempeln der Akropolis von Athen*, von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER: aus den Sitzungsberichten, etc. 1898. Heft III.
- III. *Griechische Original-Statuen in Venedig*, von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER (mit 7 Tafeln und mehreren Textbildern): aus den Abhandlungen der K. bayer. Akademie Munich 1898. 5 m.
- IV. *Neuere Fälschungen von Antiken*: von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER (Giesecke und Devrient, Berlin und Leipzig, 1899). First read as a paper before the Bavarian Academy, November, 1898. 5 m.
- V. *Ueber Kunstsammlungen in alter und neuer Zeit*: Festrede gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der K. bayer. Akademie am 11. März 1899 von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. 1 m.

ACADEMIES may be reckoned among the best abused of institutions. We are all familiar, mostly on the authority of those outside them, with what they have ignored, suppressed, or omitted; and there are obviously many reasons why it might be difficult at the present day to defend institutions which by their nature must be exclusive, aristocratic, and, as a general rule, unpractical. But so long as there are any regions left unsubdued to the common sense of the average man, academies will find room to flourish. They serve to employ and to dignify activities which might otherwise fail to find an outlet in commoner channels. At least will it be instructive to note the results achieved in some fifteen months in one department of the Bavarian Academy by a single savant.

I. The first monograph, quoted above, makes known, with the help of twelve well-executed plates, some unpublished objects, of which the most interesting are a bronze head from Sparta and of Spartan workmanship (Museum of Boston) of the period about 460 B.C., an archaic statuette of a youth of the type of 'Apollo,' from Olympia, now in the rich collection of Mr. E. P. Warren at Lewes. The text to three further bronze statuettes of youths, which served as supports for mirrors, constitutes an elaborate disquisition on this class of figures. An analogous female figure of great beauty, from the early years of the fifth century, now in the collection of Mr. Charles Loeser at Florence, is known to the present writer.

II. In the second monograph Professor Furtwängler brings fresh detailed argument to show, versus Professor Dörpfeld, why the 'old temple' discovered on the Akropolis by Dörpfeld and the Greek excavators in 1885 cannot possibly have been left standing after the building of the Erechtheion. We note that Furtwängler has again abandoned a view he passingly adopted in the English edition of the *Masterpieces* (p. 425), that the *opisthodomos* of the inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 32) was a separate building. He now reverts to his former opinion that it was simply the large back chamber of the Parthenon. In a second article he reverts by way of answering the objections raised to it, to the restoration he proposed in his *Intermezzi*¹ for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, maintaining that the Athena Medici is the lost central Athena, a view to which the present writer strongly inclines,

¹ See *Class. Rev.* 1896, p. 444 ff.

since seeing the cast of the Medici torso, placed in the new museum of casts at the Louvre, in that relation to the Parthenon sculptures which Furtwängler claims for it.

A third article discusses afresh the date of the little temple of Athena Nike: Furtwängler combats the view of Kavvadias that the now famous inscription of the years 460-450 B.C., discovered in 1897, refers to the building of the temple we know. According to Furtwängler, who, relying on the character of its sculptures, still maintains that the temple is contemporary with the Propylæia (*i.e.* first period of the Peloponnesian war), the inscription must refer to a plan projected but never put into execution.

III. In hunting through the Italian museums in search of Roman copies after Greek statues, Professor Furtwängler has had the signal good luck to find not a few Greek originals which had passed unheeded at least by the public. In the monograph before us we have a first instalment of such originals, from the Venetian *Museo Archeologico*, which has lately been rearranged by Dr. Mariani. These statues, which are well reproduced, are purely Attic works of the fifth century, not perhaps of the highest order of merit as works of art, but pleasantly reflecting the excellencies of their period. Curiously enough they nearly all represent Kora and Demeter, so that Furtwängler conjectures that they probably came as a group from the same 'find spot,' *i.e.* from some shrine of these goddesses. The beautiful figure on Plate I. is very close indeed to Parthenon work. Owing to this fact as well as to its excellent preservation (the head is original) it should, together with one of its companions, a lovely Demeter with veil and kalathos, soon find its way into our handbooks of Greek art. Our author himself rises to great enthusiasm in describing these figures, wisely forgetting for the moment his own dictum in the preface to the *Meisterwerke* that, where the great originals are lost, copies after these are better worth one's study than originals by minor masters. Historically perhaps, yes,—but aesthetically, no. Besides this charming group of figures we get a new type of Athena of the Pheidian period also in the Doge's palace, and a very pretty early Praxitelean Artemis with her dog, now in the Museo Civico Correr. In a note Furtwängler states that he has examined the glorious relief of Herakles (*not* Theseus) in the Doge's palace, probably the only antique in Venice which is familiar to the layman,

and has ascertained that the realistic details of trees and architecture which clash with the Pheidian character of the personages are due to a working up in the Renaissance.

IV. This book is the expansion of a paper read before the Academy on November 8th of last year; a notice of Professor Furtwängler's attack on the forged head acquired by the Museum of Berlin appeared, I believe, in the *Times* of Nov. 18th, 1898. As the Berlin management have since then acknowledged the head to be modern and withdrawn it from exhibition, it would be ungracious to dwell further upon their error. The book contains, however, a number of important criteria for the detection of forgeries. These criteria Furtwängler applies to various examples, chief among which are a clumsy copy of a head of the Aeginetan Athena that haunts the Roman market, the Hera of Girgenti in the British Museum and kindred heads with their long noses and weak chins, and a *Doryphoros* recently acquired for *Ny Carlsberg*. This collection, indeed, while owning so much that is precious and beautiful, contains, alas, too many examples also of the forger's art. A valuable section deals with forged Roman portraits, and to many it will come as a blow to learn that the popular bust of Caesar in the British Museum (Bernoulli i. Pl. 15) is nothing but a modern forgery.

If forgeries too often pass as antiques, it also sometimes happens that a genuine work which does not fall into any known class has been too readily labelled as a forgery. So Professor Furtwängler claims as genuine a beautiful bronze female head with turreted crown in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, to which he at last gives the publicity it deserves. It had lately been suspected by several French savants, who were misled no doubt by the unusual shape of the turreted crown; I had already ventured in the pages of this review,¹ in a notice of M. Reinach's *Bronzes de la Gaule Romaine*, to assert the genuineness of this bronze, though the date there put forward would, according to Furtwängler who considers the head Augustan, be too early. In dealing with the forgeries of vases and of terra cottas we note that Furtwängler maintains that a vase in the Louvre moulded in the form of two heads back to back is a forgery.² M. S. Reinach on the other hand in his review of

¹ *Class. Rev.*, 1894, p. 138.

² He already put forth this view in *Cosmopolis*, 1896, p. 579.

the 'Fälschungen' ¹ inclines to defend the authenticity of the vase. I can only say that on careful examination of the vase the breakages certainly seemed to me singularly suspicious, nor is M. Reinach's argument derived from the Hermes of Olympia convincing; the whole head of the Hermes was intact, having lain in a bed of soft earth, while in the Louvre vase what is suspicious is that the actual features are untouched while all the surrounding parts of the heads have been violently broken. Forged bronzes and gems are also discussed at length. Perhaps the only flaw in this illuminating book is the ironical tone adopted towards the Museum of Berlin, who certainly are not as fortunate in their acquisitions as when Furtwängler was the honoured head of the *Antiquarium*. One could wish also that Furtwängler had allowed to drop, as finally settled, the question of the *tiara of Saitaphernes*. I fancy that, even in France, to attack the tiara will soon be looked upon as flogging a dead horse.

V. If the Munich professor can thus, while preparing his huge *Corpus* of gems, find time to pour out monograph upon monograph dealing with special theories arising from more or less isolated facts, the last paper before us shows him to be equally alert in the realm of general ideas. His paper, which is this spring's annual address at the open or public meeting of the Academy, deserves to be translated and freely circulated; it is not only a learned disquisition on the contents of the temples, the Pinakotheks and treasure-houses of antiquity or an historical essay on the formation of our modern museums; it sketches their possibilities of development into a future which we hope may not be too distant, though to some it will doubtless appear Utopian. The architectural character of the Museum (Furtwängler advocates a simple almost neutral environment for works of art that these may work their full and undisturbed effect upon us), its arrangement, its organisation—larger staffs, whose members shall expound the works of art to the public—its aim, and above all the spirit of science that should reign there are all dwelt upon. So far as architectural reform is concerned, we shall not altogether wish it to be retrospective. No one who in the Louvre has strained his eyes in studying the ill-lit collection of vases, or tried to appreciate correctly, in spite of the cross lights, the modelling of a statue, will wish for

museums built as palaces. We may also regret with Furtwängler the step taken by Vienna, where the palatial plan of the New Museum, with its gorgeous decorations, reduces the works of art exhibited to mere insignificant detail; where, as our author puts it, 'the loud tones of a powerful orchestra drown the silent music of the works of art themselves, which reaches us at the most only as a plaintive melody.' Still, although many old collections need wise rearrangement, one cannot deprecate too strongly moving them altogether from their time-hallowed seats. Those will appreciate my meaning who, at Florence, miss the *Idolino* in the Uffizi, where harmonious surrounding only enhanced the loveliness of the bronze youth. Now we have to look for him in a sort of dismal one-windowed closet in the new *Museo Archeologico*, whither, if report says true, more of the Uffizi statues are to be ultimately transferred. There is some danger, I have often thought, lest the desire for scientific museums *versus* the picturesque grouping of antiques put in fashion at the Renaissance, become a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant and inartistic curators anxious only to enrich some petty museum they govern at the expense of older and wealthier collections. Professor Furtwängler himself shows that the scientific method is not altogether admirable when it results in giving equal relief to the good and to the insignificant relics of the same epoch; such an arrangement is mostly the cause of the *ennui* so often felt by the general public when they visit museums. Rather, if we understand him rightly, should each period have its 'Salon Carré' or its 'Tribuna' where its best achievements will be grouped together.

Museums in our modern sense of the word were practically unknown to antiquity. The temples of Greece had only accidentally assumed that character, owing to their crowd of votive offerings which were so many precious works of art. Again, when these had made their way to Rome as spoils of war to adorn the public temples and the private villas of the conquerors, the formation and arrangement of galleries were governed by the accidents of conquest rather than by public spirit or scientific intention. True, the great Agrippa had 'urged that all pictures and statues should be made public property,' and Asinius Pollio had thrown open his own galleries to the people; *spectari sua monumenta voluit*, but these attempts were isolated and therefore abortive.

The idea of a public Museum for the en-

¹ *Revue Critique*, 1899, p. 246.

joyment and instruction of the people as opposed to the private gallery intended primarily for the pleasure of its owner was reserved for our century and, as Furtwängler points out, is of Napoleonic origin. It was the genius of Napoleon which planned and realized for the first time in the Louvre, as our own Hazlitt saw it in the year 1806,¹ a representative collection of the best art of the world, entrusted indeed to the nation then most powerful to protect it, but generously thrown open to the whole of civilized humanity. The events of 1815 caused the re-dispersion of the Napoleonic Louvre, but the idea fructified, and to it we owe the great representative collections which soon adorned every great capital, and which were thrown open without restraint to the public of all nations. In reviewing the history and the development of these various museums, the German savant pays a high and well-merited tribute to the British Museum, which, as he quotes from the words of the foundation, was established from the beginning 'for the general use and benefit of the public,' and he continues: 'a collection thus supported by the scientific spirit could contain within itself the beautiful or even the most beautiful—and the good fortune which accompanied this foundation, soon brought to it in the sculptures from the Parthenon, the greatest marvel of pure beauty which antiquity has left us—but it could also afford to receive what was outwardly insignificant and mutilated, though to the eye of the scholar priceless; nor did it need to rest content with showy and decorative objects worked up or restored in modern times. The British Museum was a free state—for a long time the only one—for original works of art from Greece and the East which were left unrestored and untouched by any modern hand. Here were soon gathered together all the most significant works, which have enabled us to build up by degrees out of Greek and Oriental originals a history of art such as Winckelmann in Rome scarcely dreamt of.' We cannot pretend to give even a summary of the wealth of ideas and of facts contained in the speech which crowns the year's archaeological contributions of the Bavarian Academy—but we would emphasize the spirit of liberality towards foreign achievements as evidence that the author practises what he preaches for the ideal Museum.

The five papers before us are an example of that breadth of knowledge of all the branches of archaeology, which is the only true or sure foundation for our aesthetic enjoyment of ancient art. In the Essay on Museums, Furtwängler deprecates the silly notion that knowledge can destroy or cramp our feeling for art, and he adds in a passage which students of his subject should ponder, 'only knowledge can lead to real understanding. The feeling for art which is based upon understanding will deepen in proportion as the necessary steps to knowledge are conquered, and our outlook becomes freer. Pure realization of the work of art is the art scholar's most precious reward for his labours.'

EUGÉNIE STRONG (née SELLERS).

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome. The excavations in the Via Giulia for the recovery of the fragments of the Forma Urbis have come to an end; 451 new pieces have been found, making a total, with those found elsewhere, of 1,034. In the Forum, remains have been found of two earlier temples of Saturn, and of an altar, which preceded them. The first temple was built in 497 B.C., and to this belong the remains of a platform of tufa; the second, by L. Munatius Plancus in 42 B.C., to which belong the travertine platform of the existing one and fragments of the *antæ* and architrave of the door. A stone wall at the lowest level may possibly belong to the primitive altar. Six more steps of the front of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina have come to light, showing that the original level of the Via Sacra was about four feet below that of the paved road which dates about A.D. 600.¹

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassos (i. 87) the site of the grave of Faustulus was marked by a stone lion of archaic workmanship near the Rostra, within the Comitium. Varro, on the other hand, mentions two lions guarding the grave of Romulus in the same corner of the Comitium. The pedestal of one of these lions has now been found, and is clearly the work of an Etruscan stone-cutter; the other pedestal is probably to be found on the opposite side of the 'black stones.' It is four feet below what had been supposed to be the level of early Rome, and measures 6 ft. by 3 ft. Near it was found an archaic bronze statuette of an augur carrying a *lituus*, with head bent backwards as if scanning the sky.

The drainage-system of the Via Sacra has been thoroughly explored and cleared. The drains are of three periods: (1) *opus quadratum* covered with flag-stones, of early Roman date; (2) *opus reticulatum* of the Augustan age; (3) *opus latericium* of the Empire. The latter are paved, and covered with stamped *tegulae bipedales*.²

¹ *The Louvre*, in *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*.

¹ *Athenæum*, 1 April.

² *Athenæum*, 22 April.

GREECE.

Epidaurus. The excavation of the Stadion has thrown much light on the question of the form and arrangement of the older Greek stadion. Firstly, it had not a semi-circular, but a rectangular termination. Secondly, the starting-line and the winning-line were in Greek times marked simply by a line, and not as later by stone paving. The course was marked out by small columns every hundred feet, rendering it possible to shorten it if necessary, e.g. for boys' and girls' races. Thirdly, the places of the competitors at the start were marked out by iron pegs, and not, as in Roman times, by half-columns. Fourthly, light has been thrown on the expression of Pausanias, i, 26, 7, γῆς χῶμα. In his time the Stadion had stone seats, as now existing, but the γῆς χῶμα refers to Stadia which had no stone foundations or walling. It was spoken of as a 'stone' stadium, not because of the stone seats, but because the wooden framework or supports were replaced by stone foundations and supporting side-walls. The I form of the iron clamps on the seat of the Ἀγανοδίκαι shows the early date, this form being characteristic of the fifth and fourth centuries, but not of a later period. A base was found inscribed Θρασυμήδης ἐποίησε. The total length of the stadium has been shown to be about 197 yards.³

ASIA MINOR.

Priene.—A statuette has been discovered which appears to be a portrait of Alexander the Great. It is of rather rough, yet skilful workmanship, and probably dates from the life-time of Alexander, who was a great benefactor to Priene. The marble is that commonly used in works found here. The head is described by Kekulé as having a strongly-modelled lion-like brow, indicating a strong daring will, the eyes imperious in expression, the lips full of disdainful pride.⁴

AFRICA.

Carthage.—Recent excavations have been carried on by Dr. Gaukler, on a part near the shore that was

always inhabited. A large shaft was sunk right down to the living rock. The first graves encountered were Byzantine; below these were late Roman buildings, then a Roman house of the time of Constantine containing a marble head of M. Aurelius, and two rectangular rooms with very fine mosaic pavements, meriting a detailed description. The larger measures 12½ ft. by 15½ ft., and represents sea-scapes: about twenty figures boating, fishing, and walking by the sea; Venus adorned with jewellery and holding a mirror, rising out of a large mussel-shell held by two sea-monsters; and on either side, a medallion with the bust of a Triton blowing a conch-shell. The smaller represents mounted hunters with javelins and double-headed axes pursuing lions and panthers. They date from the fourth century after Christ, but are entirely pagan in character. Adjoining these rooms is a large hall with painted stucco decorations and a row of niches, with a partition-wall across it. In the further part were found pottery, Christian lamps with the fish, palm, and cross emblems, and fragments of painted stucco in Pompeian style. Among other finds are: statues of Venus with dolphin, seated Jupiter with eagle, Bacchus giving drink to panther, seated youth in chlamys, and head of Cupid; masks of Seilenos and a goddess; a lion's head water-spout; two terracotta figures of Mithras; part of a statuette with the head of a Carthaginian horse; and a realistic portrait of a woman. In the corner of the hall, fastened to the wall, was a marble plate inscribed IOVI HAMMONI BARBARO SYLVANO, with a dedication by the twelve priests of the god and the *mater sacrorum*; below it was a marble bull's head with crescent and an inscription to Saturn, also twenty *baclyli* of granite and various votive balls of stone and terracotta, such as have been found before in Carthage. Also a marble statue of a veiled goddess, and a group of Ceres, a Canephoros, and a veiled woman. Below all these were Punic tombs of the sixth century B.C. containing gold and bronze objects, scarabs, etc.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 11 March.⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 April.⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 29 April.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 3. Part 1, 1899.

Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung der griechischen Taktik, E. Lammert. As democracies superseded oligarchies, the cavalry—the weapon of the aristocracy—came to be of less importance than infantry. So tactics were nearly confined to hoplites. It was Alexander who brought to perfection the tactics of horse and light-armed troops. *Neuestes aus Oxyrhynchos*, F. Blass. (1) Fragments of Aristoxenus which B. attributes to his ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα, (2) some lines of a lyric poem which he conjectures to belong to Alkman, (3) lastly a piece which comes from Sappho or more probably from Erinna. *Griechische und römische Bildnisse*, O. Rossbach. Seeks to show that in two cut stones portraits of Horace and Aris-tippus are to be recognised. By a comparison with coins the result is that in busts of the so-called Papyrus-villa of Herculaneum the following seven princes

are represented: Ptolemy I. Soter, Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, Antiochus II. Theos, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, Demetrius I. Soter, Seleucus I. Nikator, and lastly Cassius the murderer of Caesar.

Part 2. *Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungs-idee*, Th. Zielinski. The two new truths of the Apollo-religion in the field of morality were (1) the murdered man has his right to be avenged secured to him, and (2) the avenger is justified by the declaration of the Delphian god. The case of Orestes shows the paramount necessity for the avenging of blood, because the slaughter of a mother puts the case at the highest. *Neuere Kommentare zu lateinischen Dichtern*, C. Hosius. As examples of recent philology the following works are criticised: Heinze's *Lucretius*, Book III., Rothstein's *Propertius*, Sudhaus' *Aetna*, Palmer's *Ovid's Heroides* with the Greek translation of Planudes, Vollmer's *Silvae* of Statius, Langen's *Valerius Flaccus*, and Francken's

Lucan. He who sees such fruit, he concludes, can set his mind at ease about classical study; it still bears the stamp of immortality in spite of 'Americanism' and 'Realismus.' *Aegyptische Einflüsse im römischen Kaiserreich*, E. Kornemann. This influence is considered under four aspects (1) The insertion of the Augustan principate into the Roman constitution and the arrangement of certain dynastic questions in the new monarchy of Rome, (2) the organisation of 'nichtstädtisch' territories and the dispossession of the city of Rome (the local government of Rome was now based on that of Alexandria), (3) the formation of an imperial civil service and a bureaucratic control, (4) the new regulation of the system of taxation and financial control in the empire.

Part 3. *Die Orchestage und die Rechtfertigungs-idee* (concluded), Th. Zielinski. The triumph of the Delphic oracle would have made Apollo the

master of the conscience of all believing Hellenes, and the history of Greek culture would have taken a theocratic colour. The judgment of Pallas in the Eumenides shows that the final justification of man lies in the opinion of the best of his own kind. *Griechische und römische Gewichtsnormen*, F. Hultsch. The Greek-Roman weights stand in the closest relationship to the Egyptian-Babylonian. The rules of the Babylonian system with the fixed ratio of value between gold and silver and the special weights partly for the precious metals and partly for goods, constitute a group by themselves in the east. Further to the west we find the circle of the Aeginetan, Phoenician and Euboic standards, which were essentially silver standards. In Italy copper prevailed. Generally for Egypt, Greece and the West the rule held good, that a given standard served as a measure of value in copper, silver, or gold, as well as in traffic.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Aeschyli Choephoroi, cum annotatione critica et commentario. Ed. F. H. M. Blaydes. 8vo. vi, 196 pp. Halle, Waisenhaus. 4 Mk.

—Dornseiffer (D.) Quaestiones Aeschyleae criticae. 4to. 11 pp. Linz.

Archer-Hind (R. D.) and R. D. Hicks. Cambridge Greek and Latin Compositions. Crown 8vo. 508 pp. Clay. 10s.

Aristoteles. Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca, edita consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae borussicae. Vol. IV. Pars 6: Ammonii in Aristotelis analyticorum priorum librum I. commentarium. Ed. M. Wallies. 8vo. xiv, 100 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 4 Mk. 40.

Bauer (Ad.) Die Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte 1888-1898, verzeichnet und besprochen. 8vo. iv, 573 pp. München, Beck. 15 Mk.

Botsford (G. W.) History of Greece for High Schools and Colleges. 8vo. 396 pp. Macmillan. 6s. 6d.

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Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum. Codices Florentinos descripsit A. Olivieri. Acced. fragmenta selecta: primum ed. F. Boll, F. Cumont, Guil. Kroll, A. Olivieri. 8vo. vii, 182 pp., plate. Brussels, Lamertin. 6 Mk. 40.

Cicero, de officiis. Book III. with introduction and notes by A. Holden. 12mo. 222 pp. (Pitt Press Series.) Clay. 2s.

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The Classical Review

JULY 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

FOR the following observations on the new Birmingham University we are indebted to Professor Sonnenschein: 'The last day of June of this year will be a red-letter day in the annals of the Midlands, as marking the completion of the preliminary steps necessary for obtaining a charter for the new University of Birmingham. By that date considerably over £250,000, the amount originally asked for, will in all probability have been subscribed. To this will fall to be added the whole of the endowments of Mason University College, which in capital value will not be less than £220,000, so soon as the Act of Parliament for absorbing the College in the University is carried through. So there is a fair chance of the University of Birmingham commencing its career in 1900 with a total endowment of at least half a million.'

So much for the material basis of the scheme. What will be of at least equal interest to readers of the *Classical Review* is, firstly, that the new University is not to be a mere "glorified technical school," but is to teach all the main branches of a liberal education side by side with professional and technical subjects; and secondly, that in constitution and organization it is intended that the University shall follow the main

lines of the great historic Universities of Europe. In regard to curriculum, there will be Faculties of Science, Arts, Commerce and Medicine to start with; and there will be nothing to prevent other Faculties from being added hereafter, not excluding a Faculty of Theology. In regard to constitution and organization, the University of Birmingham will be a University of a new type on English soil; it will be a non-residential teaching University, like the Universities of Scotland and the Continent, not a mere examining board; and it will be governed on representative principles. At the top will come a large Court of Governors, representing the Municipalities, the County Councils, and the educational authorities of the Midlands. The central administrative body will be a Council, composed mainly of laymen, but containing also a fair proportion of academic members. The University of Birmingham will also be abreast of the age in that, like the Universities of Germany, it will make the prosecution of original research a definite part of its programme, and will thus minister to the advancement as well as the diffusion of the highest learning. In all these respects it is hoped that the youngest British University will set up a worthy model for the twentieth century.

In regard to the study of Classics in particular, the University of Birmingham may be pronounced fortunate in the date of its inception. Had it been founded ten years ago it might have been difficult to secure adequate recognition for the study of letters in general and classics in particular. But the world at large seems to be passing out of the iron age, when letters were frowned upon; and in Birmingham itself Greek and Latin have never attracted so many students at Mason University College as recently. During the last decade the numbers have gone up from 22 students of Greek and 35 of Latin, to 43 students of Greek and 145 of Latin, not counting attendances in popular afternoon or evening courses. Readers of this *Review* will watch the further development of classical studies in one of our great centres of population with interest.

There is perhaps no Latin author for whom a special lexicon is more urgently needed than Plautus. We are therefore glad to welcome the specimen of a projected one which appeared in the first issue of the *Musée Belge* for the present year.

The prediction that the genuineness of the new fragment of Juvenal would be strictly scrutinised by scholars has already been verified. Professor Buecheler condemns it as the work of an imitator, whom he would place in the fourth century, when, as we know from Ammianus Marcellinus, the satirist was read and studied with avidity. Professor Buecheler supports his view by a reference to an interpolation after VI. 614, which is known to be earlier than Probus.

In Number 12 of *Vox Urbis* the Italian scholar Prof. F. Ramorino pays a hearty tribute to the present race of editors and publishers of classical series in England and America. After doing full justice to the pre-eminence of Germany in classical erudition during this century, and referring more briefly to the publications of his countrymen and the French, he continues:

'sed meo quidem iudicio in editionibus curandis cum bonis ob ea quae continent tum propter venustatem insignibus, omnes librariorum longe post se reliquerunt Angli et Americani. quis non eiusdem mecum sententiae erit, cui semel perlecti sint vel Catullus ab Ellis curatus vel Tacitus auctore Furneaux, uterque liber in Oxoniensi *Clarendon Press* excussus vel *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, a Gudeman recensitus, quem paucis abhinc annis ediderunt Bostonienses *Ginn & Company*? Profecto ea gens omnibus rebus quae ad vitam tum corporis tum animi pertinent perquam prudenter consulere valet. utinam eos imitari nobis contingat!'

The last issue of the *Harvard Classical Studies* deserves special mention as being in large part a memorial to two Harvard scholars, G. H. Lane and F. D. Allen, whose loss we still deplore. In addition to such of their literary remains as seemed intended for publication, it contains a brief biographical sketch of each illumined by a portrait. The chief contribution by Prof. Lane, whose valuable Latin Grammar, edited after his decease by Prof. Morris H. Morgan, is by this time probably in the hands of many students of Latin, is upon 'Hidden Verses in Suetonius.' His biographer, Prof. Morgan, adds a companion exercise in the same fascinating subject upon 'Hidden Verses in Livy.' Prof. Allen's fragments, edited by Professors Goodwin, Greenough (his biographer), and Seymour, are not less interesting intrinsically and are drawn from a wider field. We may mention notes upon Euripides and the Duenos inscription, and new etymologies of *κυβιστᾶν* and *salvus*. The volume includes papers written by English scholars or under their auspices; one on the Nonius Glosses by the late T. H. Onions, with a preface by Mr. W. M. Lindsay, and a number of 'Studies in Plautus' by pupils in the latter scholar's class at Harvard, which makes one regret that the 'seminary' has not yet been naturalized as an English institution; and concludes with a careful paper on the 'Versification of Latin Metrical Inscriptions' by Mr. A. W. Hodgman.

HOMERICA (V.) *IL.* 2, 291.

ἦ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνιθέντα νέεσθαι

There are two main interpretations of this difficult verse. The first, 'Verily it is a hardship to return in vexation,' or 'after so much suffering,' seems to come readily enough from the words, but is practically excluded by the context. The other, 'In truth there is hardship enough here to make a man go home disheartened,' affords a far more satisfactory sense, if it could be read into the words with any facility. Unfortunately it cannot.

The situation is this. Odysseus is speaking. He has just remarked with some severity, that the Greeks are whining and whimpering like women and children to return home. Then comes the line under discussion: 'our sufferings are enough to excuse a man, if he were to abandon the enterprise in sheer disgust.' After this he proceeds thus: 'for a sailor, who has been detained by bad weather even for a single month, becomes impatient to return to his wife. We have been here nearly nine years. Impatience is therefore not unnatural; but after persisting so long it would be a disgrace to return empty-handed.' To discuss version No. 1 would be a waste of words. It has no supporters.

Version No. 2 may be traced to Schol. BLV πολλὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ πόνος ὥστε λοιπὸν ἀκηδιάσαντά τινα νείσθαι, and is supposed to be that of Aristarchus, who held that πόνος in Homer means 'labour,' not 'vexation.' This dictum is in the main correct, but not absolutely so, as appears from:—

Z 355

δαερ, ἐπεὶ σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν.

The objection to the rendering is the intolerable harshness of ἀνιθένται νέεσθαι without some such adjective as τοῖος to introduce it and without an expressed subject. Still most commentators acquiesce in this version in default of a better. L. Meyer essays to get rid of the objections by a slight, but not unimportant, modification: 'A man who is wearied out *struggles hard* to get home,' 'Freilich ringt ja wohl, wer belästigt ist, darnach nach Hause zu kehren.' This gives a new turn to πόνος ἐστὶ, but the rendering is neither natural nor satisfactory, and such as it is, may be found, I see, in Voss, who wrote:—

Freilich ringt wohl jeder, wer Trübsal duldet, nach Heimkehr.

No tolerable emendation has been suggested. Perhaps the best of the failures is Spengel's ἀνιθέντ' ἀνέχεσθαι, which has been admitted into the Cambridge *Homer* by Mr. A. Platt: but his own comment is conclusive, though brief, 'displacet aoristum.' The same remark applies to Heyne's ἀνιθέντα καθῆσθαι. Freytag offers ἀνίη τ' ἔνθα κέεσθαι. All these futile attempts tend to show that in all probability νέεσθαι must not be tampered with, much less reversed.

At one time it occurred to me as a possibility, as it may have occurred to others who have considered the line, that the construction might be made a little less liable to misunderstanding by dividing the letters of ἐστὶν thus:—

ἦ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἐς τιν' ἀνιθέντα νέεσθαι,

'to the point that many a man would go home in despair.' But there is nothing in Homer to justify such a use of ἐς (= ὥστε) with the infinitive. The use of πρίν and πάρος affords the best analogy attainable, but is altogether insufficient. The required sense, the sense so aimed at, could only be conveyed by some such wholesale and utterly indefensible alteration as this:—

ἦ μὴν καὶ πόνος, ὅς κεν ἀνείη πάντα νέεσθαι,

'verily we have hardship, which would impel anybody to return home.'

But after all is this precise sense really demanded by the passage? Is an allusion to the hardships of the siege indispensably necessary? I trow not; but before discussing this point I will offer my solution of the main difficulty, which may be traced to the simple corruption of one letter or two letters at most in the received text. The original, I am persuaded, and I hope to give some reason for my conviction, stood thus:—

ἦ μὴν καὶ πόθος ἐστὶν ἀνιθέντι νέεσθαι.

This affords a meaning at once simple and adequate: 'Truly indeed a man weary with waiting hath longing to return to his home,' or in plain words, 'Long-deferred hope is enough to cause home-sickness.' Odysseus is thinking of the malady known as *nostalgia*, which he calls πόθος νέεσθαι, and it could hardly be expressed by a happier or more concise phrase. *Hardships* are here out of the question. Odysseus never touches the subject; never makes the slightest allusion to anything of the kind. We may search the whole of his speech in

vain for any commiseration with the people on the score of their *discomforts*, such as we read of in the well-known passage of Aeschylus (*Agam.* 553–66). As for actual *hard fighting*, there was none. There was, at most, an occasional expedition in quest of forage and plunder, *e.g.* to Chryse. Those who took part in these forays—a small detachment only—might have a little healthy excitement: but the main body had nothing to do except to gaze idly at the unassailable walls and to wish that the Trojans would come outside. Such was the state of affairs—a deadlock. The Greeks were positively ‘spoiling for a fight’: they suffered, it may be, but only from the deadly dull monotony of camp-life, while waiting for the enemy to show himself. If there had been any hard fighting, there would have been less home-sickness (*πόθος νέεσθαι*), which indeed could hardly have attacked men engaged in active service.

It is precisely the same with the sailor or trader in the illustration that immediately follows:—

292. καὶ γάρ τίς θ' ἓνα μῆνα μένων ἀπὸ ἧς
ἀλόχοιο
ἀσχαλάα σὺν νηὶ πολυζύγῳ, ὃν περ ἄελλαι
χειμέριαι εἰλέωσιν ὀρινομένη τε θάλασσα.

Let no one suppose that the man is on ship-board battling stoutly and unflinchingly against howling winds and sweeping seas. Not he. He is snug in harbour at the other side of the water, sauntering about, waiting for the clouds to roll by, and meantime dreadfully at a loss for something to do to kill time. He is *ἀνηθείς* in short. The picture is neither imaginary nor exaggerated. We have it outlined in ι 138 f.

ἀλλ' ἐπικέλσαντας μείναι χρόνον, εἰς ὃ κε
ναυτέων

θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃ καὶ ἐπιπνεύσωσιν ἄηται.

In this speech of Odysseus the question of time, of waiting, is kept persistently to the fore. Notice ἓνα μῆνα (292), εἵνατος ἐνιαυτὸς μινυόντεσσι (295–6), ἀσχαλάαν (297), δηρὸν τε μένειν (298), μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον (299), μίμνετε (231).

It is noteworthy also that *ἀνηθέντα* is specially applicable to the weariness of waiting and not to the disappointment of baffled hopes, except so far as regards the expectation that the particular business would have occupied a much shorter time, as in the case of one who listens to an interesting but over-long narrative, *e.g.* γ 117:—

πρίν κέν ἀνηθείς σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἴκοιο.

The alteration of *ἀνηθέντα* to *ἀνηθέντι* is trifling. If needful, it would be easy to point to similar changes of a dative to an accusative. Here is one, apparently deliberately made; but revealed unmistakably by the presence of an unsuspected digamma, ζ 60:—

καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔοικε μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἔοντα.

This complies with the acute distinction laid down by Mr. Monro *H.G.* § 240: but for all that it is clear that the original must have been in this form:—

καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔοντι μετὰ πρώτοισι *φέφοικε*,

for when the participle is restored to its proper position beside αὐτῷ, it is quite impossible that it should be in any case but the dative.

So, I suggest, it has fared with our participle *ἀνηθέντι* and possibly this may account for the corruption of *πόθος*. For it is obvious that the idea conveyed by the combined *ἀνηθέντα νέεσθαι* does not admit of being described as a *πόθος*, but has a superficial appearance of being all right with *πόνος*. In fact it is only by a consideration of the whole context that the superficiality is revealed. On the other hand, of course it is by no means impossible that the corruption started with the substitution of *πόνος* for *πόθος*. It might very well be thought at the outset that *πόνος* was a stronger and better form of statement than *πόθος*. Home-sickness might seem more effectively and graphically described as a ‘pang’ or ‘pain’ than as a mere ‘longing’ or ‘desire.’ This would bring us very nearly to the stage reached by the rendering, already mentioned, of Voss and Meyer, ‘a hard struggle to get home.’

Either of these accounts satisfies to some extent the conditions of the problem as to the origin of the vulgate. But even if the appearance of *πόνος* were an unsolved mystery, where is the advantage of ‘translating through a stone wall,’ and extracting by a shocking *tour de force* from *πόνος κτλ.* a meaning which, apart from the connection, no one would ever dream of finding there; one moreover, as I have shown, largely alien to the speaker's intent, and this when we have an alternative both syntactically simple and entirely in harmony with the sequence of thought? Even on the ground that Homer at least knew his own mind, and was one in whom we may recognise the truth of Horace's precept:—

rdinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,

Ut jam nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici,

we may assume that the true reading is:—

πόθος ἐστὶν ἀνιηθέντι νέεσθαι.

‘Home-sickness is the lot of him who wearily waits.’ ‘He who tires with long waiting yearns for home once more.’ It is the general statement, of which καὶ γὰρ τίς κτλ. is the particular illustration.

T. L. AGAR.

ON PLATO, *REPUBLIC* IX. 585 c-d.

PLATO, *Republic* ix. 585 c-d: τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενον καὶ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον ὂν καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ γιγνόμενον, μᾶλλον εἶναι σοὶ δοκεῖ, ἢ τὸ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου καὶ θνητοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ γιγνόμενον; Πολύ, ἔφη, διαφέρει τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου. †Ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; † Οὐδαμῶς. Τί δ', ἀληθείας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας; Ἀνάγκη. Οὐκοῦν ὅλως τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν γένη τῶν γενῶν αὐ τῶν περὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπείαν ἦττον ἀληθείας τε καὶ οὐσίας μετέχει; Πολύ γε.

It is obvious that there is something wrong with the sentence ἢ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου... μετέχει; But none of the corrections hitherto proposed, of which I am aware, carries conviction. The first thing needful is to mark out clearly the line of the argument; whence we may be able to deduce the point that, logically, *ought* to be made in the sentence suspected.

The main thesis which ‘Socrates’ desires to ‘prove’ is the superiority of mental to physical pleasures in point of *truth*. Now since pleasure has been defined as ‘replenishment’ (πλήρωσις), in order to prove this superiority it is necessary to show that the mental ‘replenishment’ is more ‘true’ (ἀληθεστέρα) than the corporeal ‘replenishment.’ But there are two elements involved in the process of ‘replenishment,’ the objective (τὸ πληροῦν) and the subjective (τὸ πληρούμενον). Hence, in order to prove more ‘truth’ (ἀλήθεια) in a mental than in a bodily πλήρωσις, it is needful to prove more ‘truth’ both (α) in the mental πληροῦν, or object of knowledge, than in the bodily πληροῦν, or object of appetite, and (β) in the mental πληρούμενον, or soul, than in the bodily πληρούμενον, or stomach.

The steps of the argument by which the superiority, in point of ἀλήθεια, of the mental affections to the bodily affections on both these sides is demonstrated may be, roughly, summarized somewhat as follows:—

(1) As hunger and thirst are κενώσεις of

the corporeal state, so ignorance or folly is a κενότης of the psychic state:

(2) the corresponding πληρώσεις consist in the μεταλήψεις of τροφή and of νοῦς respectively:

(3) the ‘truth’ (ἀλήθεια) of a πλήρωσις depends upon the degree of ‘reality’ (οὐσία) in its objective element—a ‘true’ filling can only be by a ‘real’ food:

(4) hence, in order to decide the respective degrees of ἀλήθεια in the mental and bodily πληρώσεις, we must first determine the respective degrees of οὐσία in their objective elements (or foods); *i.e.* we must enquire whether it is the γένη σίτου κ.τ.λ. or the εἶδος ἐπιστήμης κ.τ.λ. which μᾶλλον καθαρὰς οὐσίας μετέχει:

(5) by introducing a new (and higher) category, we may state this question in another form and ask, Is there more οὐσία in τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενον καὶ ἀθανάτου, which arises in a similarly constant and immortal sphere, or in its opposite τὸ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου καὶ θνητοῦ (ἐχόμενον), the sphere of which is similarly mortal and inconstant? To ask such a question is to answer it; beyond a doubt substantiality goes with permanency, τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου μᾶλλον ἐστίν:

(6) the next step is that stated in the sentence under discussion:

(7) we conclude that the γένη of foods for bodily maintenance, as a whole (ὅλως), compared with the γένη for soul-maintenance, ἦττον ἀληθείας τε καὶ οὐσίας μετέχει.

This ends the argument in so far as it concerns the comparative ‘reality’ of the objects of psychic and corporeal πλήρωσις. After this, the superiority of the psychic subject to the corporeal subject is summarily affirmed, whereby both lines of the main argument are brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

We are now in a position to determine what *ought* to be stated in the suspected sentence, and that which immediately follows it. What has been shown in the preceding sentence (5) is that τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου (ἐχό-

μενον) exceeds its opposite in οὐσία: while what is concluded in the succeeding sentence (7) is that the γένη of body-foods are inferior in οὐσία to the γένη of soul-foods, as a general rule (ὅλως). Thus it would seem that the intervening passage should express in some way the relation which subsists between τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου (ἐχόμενον) and τὸ ἐπιστήμης (κ.τ.λ.) εἶδος, or that between τὸ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου and τὰ τροφῆς γένη. Moreover the form in which that relation must be expressed follows from the form of the final sentence—οὐκοῦν ὅλως τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν γένη τῶν γενῶν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπείαν ἦττον ἀληθείας τε καὶ οὐσίας μετέχει; From this we infer that some particular bodily food has been already mentioned as ἦττον οὐσίας μετέχον than some particular mental food.

Hence in the original question, now corrupted into the form ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου...μετέχει; and answered by οὐδαμῶς, we should expect to find both (α) a connecting link between the notions of constancy and mentality or between those of inconstancy and corporeality, and (β) the selection of a particular case of body-food as inferior to mind-food. Such a question might be framed, for example, in the form 'Does bread partake of constancy more than science partakes thereof?' Accordingly, the textual problem, as I conceive it, is precisely this—how to emend the words ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; so as to render them capable of bearing some such sense. For solution I

venture to suggest—ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου σιτία μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμη μετέχει; The corruption, we may suppose, arose in the following way:—ὁμοίου σίτια became, by dittography, ὁμοίου οὐσιτία; and this, in turn, was corrected to ὁμοίου οὐσία τι. But such a sentence leaves μετέχει out of relation; hence, the needs of grammar suggested both the intrusion of οὐσίας and the change of ἐπιστήμη to the genitive. Lastly, the position of οὐσία after αἰὲ ὁμοίου naturally led to the initial H being mistaken for the article. For the collocation ἡ οὖν, followed by a negative, one may cite such a passage as *rep.* ii. 374B ἡ οὖν τι σκυτικῆς δεῖ μᾶλλον κήδεσθαι ἢ πολεμικῆς; οὐδαμῶς.

In conclusion, with reference to all previous attempts at restoring this passage, I venture to repeat that none is wholly satisfactory inasmuch as none succeeds in satisfying the conditions of the problem, which are (1) to provide a connexion between the notions of mentality and constancy, or their opposites; (2) to avoid any anticipation of, or inconsistency with, the inference drawn in the later clause εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον οὐ καὶ οὐσίας; (3) to account for the use of the emphatic ὅλως in the concluding clause. Having regard to these fundamental requirements, it can scarcely be argued that the restoration adopted by the latest editor, Mr. J. Adam, (*viz.* ἡ οὖν αἰὲ <ἀν>ομοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ <ἢ> ἐπιστήμης μετέχει) is one whit more successful than the conjectures of earlier critics.

R. G. BURY.

NOTE ON ARISTOTLE'S NICOMACHEAN ETHICS VII. 4.

THE solution of a long-standing controversy with regard to a well-known passage in Aristotle, *E.N.* vii. 4, 2, comes at length from Oxyrhynchus. The best text of the passage in question is: τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα (*sc.* sources of pleasure which are not ἀναγκαῖα, but αἰρετὰ καθ' αὐτά) παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ὑπερβάλλοντας τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπλῶς μὲν οὐ λέγομεν ἀκρατεῖς, προστιθέντες δὲ τὸ χρημάτων ἀκρατεῖς καὶ κέρδους καὶ τιμῆς καὶ θυμοῦ, ἀπλῶς δ' οὐ, ὥς ἑτέρους καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα λεγομένους, ὥσπερ Ἀνθρωπος ὁ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νενικηκώς· ἐκεῖν γὰρ ὁ κοινὸς λόγος τοῦ ἰδίου μικρῷ διέφερεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἕτερος ἦν. The early commentators agreed in explaining Ἀνθρωπος here as a proper name, and Alexander Aphrodisiensis supports this view with the

explicit statement that Ἀνθρωπος was a πύκτης; see *Top.* 61 . . . ἄνθρωπος· ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἴδιον ὄνομα τοῦτο τοῦ Ὀλυμπιονίκου πύκτου οὗ ἐν Ἡθικοῖς ἐμνημόνευσεν, and *cf.* the same commentator's *Top.* 22, *Soph. Elench.* 53a, *Suidas s.v.* ἄνθρωπος, *Eustath. ad Il.* xii. p. 847, *Mich. Eph. ad E.N.* v. *init.* 56b, *Ald. Schol. ad E.N.* vii. 4, etc. Modern critics have, with some few exceptions, declined to credit this story, and have preferred to regard ἄνθρωπος as a general term. But if ἄνθρωπος is not a proper name, the perfect νενικηκώς loses its point; and Prof. Bywater prefers νικῶν, a variant found in K^b and another MS.

The ancient view of the passage and the reading νενικηκώς (unless νικῶν has here the

sense of the perfect) are however completely vindicated by an important papyrus, which will be published at length in our forthcoming second volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. This is a fragment of a list of Olympian victors, written in the third century A.D., and referring, with some lacunae, to a period of about thirty years in the first half of the fifth century B.C. According to this list, the general trustworthi-

ness of which is proved by its agreements with Pausanias and other authorities, the name of the winner of the boxing-match at Olympia in the year 456 B.C. was Ἀνθρωπος. It was doubtless on the evidence of a similar list that Alexander Aphrodisiensis made his statement that Ἀνθρωπος was a πύκτης.

B. P. GRENFELL.

A. S. HUNT.

ON SOME MISINTERPRETATIONS OF GREEK ASTROLOGICAL TERMS.

EVEN those who may consider the correct definition of astrological terms in a Greek dictionary a matter of slight intrinsic importance, will allow that it may be discussed with profit if it serves to draw attention to the necessity of bringing the chief Greek-English lexicon to a level with the philological requirements of the day.

The purchaser of the last edition of Liddell and Scott's monumental work, issued from the University Press in 1897, may be surprised to learn that, except for three and a half pages of additions and corrections at the end of the volume, he is hardly better off than if he had bought a second-hand copy of the edition of 1883, since which date, these meagre addenda excepted, scarcely any improvement has been made. It is nevertheless understood that up to the close of his long life Dean Liddell was intent upon the revision of his work.

The posthumous fruits of Dean Liddell's revision, however valuable, must notwithstanding be scanty in comparison with the augmentation of our Greek vocabulary by the discovery of lost authors, papyri, and inscriptions which have been continually made ever since the first publication of his lexicon. It is not possible to read far in Bacchylides, and still less in Herondas, without coming upon some word used in a sense unknown to the lexicographers, or not to be found in dictionaries at all. In Bacchylides, again, the occurrence of words hitherto deemed long posterior to his time is most remarkable, and continually necessitates new lexicographical references. The amount of such material derived from inscriptions and public or private documents is probably much more considerable. To maintain that a general dictionary of a language is only concerned with the vocabulary of professed authors would be to advance a very narrow

view. The new words and the new significations are requisite to illustrate the old ones. They are, moreover, in most instances as literary as any other words, and are only absent from literature through the loss of the writers who employed them. So long as a word is Greek, it is equally entitled to a place in the dictionary whether it has come down to us upon parchment, papyrus, or stone.

Another important reason for the revision of Liddell and Scott's lexicon is the opportunity which it would afford for submitting definitions to the criticism of experts. No man's information can be sufficiently encyclopaedic to enable him to dispense with such assistance, especially in such abstruse but essential topics as Greek law and Greek naval affairs. An amusing and instructive example of error from the want of special knowledge may be given. Μέλασμα γραμμοτόκον (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 63) is defined by Liddell and Scott as a *lead pencil*. If they had been acquainted with the history of pencils they would have been aware that black lead was unknown, or at least unused, until the middle of the sixteenth century (Beckmann, *History of Inventions*). By μέλασμα is really to be understood 'a leaden plummet for drawing lines, made out of a small round plate instead of a long pipe' (Anthony Rich, *Dictionary of Antiquities*; see also Sir E. M. Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*). In the article γραμμοτόκος this word is rendered 'mother of ink'; as, however, the μέλασμα was not used for writing but for ruling, the meaning must be 'mother of lines.'

The misconceptions of astrological terms in Liddell and Scott's and other dictionaries proceed chiefly from the omission to note the astrological significance of the word ὥρα, which in Manetho and similar writers

means neither an *hour* nor a *season*, but the *degree of the zodiac ascending at any nativity*. Manetho uses the term perpetually, and never in any other sense. Whether his Latin translator understood him or not is uncertain, but unquestionably he invariably renders ὥρα by *hora*, which, if taken literally, involves sheer absurdity. Where Manetho, for example, says (vi. 321)

εἰ καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐν τετραπόδεσσι καθεύροις,

the translator makes him say

Si etiam horam in quadrupedibus reperias.

The occurrence of an hour in a quadruped must be highly exceptional, but what Manetho means is, 'should the degree ascending be in a quadrupedal sign,' such as Leo for example. That ὥρη denotes the degree ascending here and elsewhere is patent from innumerable passages. Great part of Manetho's third book, for instance, is occupied with the description of the supposed effects of planets when occupying the angles (κέντρα) of a nativity, *i.e.* rising, setting, culminating, or opposed to the meridian. In every case the ὥρη is named first, and is distinctly stated to be the place occupied by the planet when rising, as in iii., 90.

Ἐρμῆς δ' ἀντέλλων μὲν ἐφ' ὥρης.

Here, the statement that Mercury rose at some undefined hour would have no point, but if such had been the poet's intention he would have said ἐν ὥρῃ. The words ἐφ' ὥρης, upon the ὥρη, indicate that the ὥρη was something upon which something else could stand; not, therefore, a division of time, but a division of space, and hence the degree of the zodiacal circle occupied by the planet as he emerged above the eastern horizon. This would be proved, if any further proof were necessary, by the circumstance that, after stating the supposed effect of the planet when rising with the ὥρη, Manetho proceeds to describe its influence when on the other angles of the figure, the meridian, the lower heaven, and the occidental horizon. Ignorance of the astrological meaning of ὥρα has misled even so acute an editor as Koechly into a corruption of his author by a conjecture which he has deemed so certain as to insert it into his text. At the end of Book VI. Manetho gives his own nativity, and says (v. 747)

Ὑδροχόω δε Σεληναίη Φαίνων τε καὶ ὥρη.

Nothing ought to be plainer. The Moon, Saturn, and the degree ascending were all in Aquarius. But Koechly, not understanding the signification of ὥρη in this place, substitutes καθ' ὥρης. This is the more unfortunate as Forcellini, *s.v. horoscopari*, explains the astrological meaning of ὥρη with perfect correctness in his Latin lexicon.

Liddell and Scott's dictionary, therefore, should be improved by the insertion of the *ascending degree of a nativity* among the significations of ὥρα: and, further, by the rectification of some erroneous explanations of words compounded with ὥρα when used in an astrological sense. The most important of these are ὠρονόμος, and ὠροσκόπος.

Ὄρονόμος is explained in Liddell and Scott 'ruling the hour, of the planet which is in the ascendant.' The inaccuracy of this definition may be exposed by simply asking, 'What if there be no planet in the ascendant?' as, except near sunrise, is most commonly the case. In fact, the rule of the hour in astrology is in no way dependant upon the ascendant, or its lord; and the three passages adduced by the dictionary from Manetho to establish this signification, prove on the contrary, that ὠρονόμος has exactly the same sense as we have seen to be possessed by ὥρα, that of the degree ascending. It will suffice to cite one (iii, 120, 121).

καὶ δε Σεληναίη ὑπὲρ ὠρονόμοιο βεβῶσα
μητέρα κυδαίνει, δύνουσα δε, κ.τ.λ.

Here the poet is contrasting the effects of the moon when rising and when setting; the ὠρονόμος, accordingly, cannot be any planet, but must be the degree where she is posited when rising, *i.e.* the degree which is itself rising, the ascendant. A little further on (v. 133) the poet similarly expresses the position when Saturn rises in opposition to Jupiter:—

ὠρονόμον μὲν ὕπερ Φαίνων, Φαέθων δέ τε δύνων.

As Saturn cannot stand above himself, he clearly is not himself the ὠρονόμος, but above it, and as he is rising, he must be above the ascendant.

Ὄροσκόπος, as was to be expected, is rendered a *nativity*, *horoscope*, as though these terms denoted the same thing. In modern languages they do; but by ancient writers, except perhaps in a single passage of Porphyry, ὠροσκόπος is never employed as equivalent to a scheme of nativity, (γενέθλη) but always, like ὥρα, for the degree ascend-

ing. This usage is abundantly established by two of the very passages cited by Liddell and Scott from Sextus Empiricus's *Adversus Mathematicos* (c. 12, c. 50) in support of their translation. Sextus says, speaking of the four angles (κέντρα) of an astrological figure :—

τέσσαρά φασιν εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἅπερ κοινῶ
μὲν ὀνόματι κέντρα καλοῦσιν· ἰδιαίτερον δὲ τὸν
μὲν ὠροσκόπον, κ.τ.λ.

And again, ὥσπερ θεμέλιος τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς
ἐστὶ τὸ στῆλαι τὸν ὠροσκόπον· ἀπὸ τοῦτου γὰρ
τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κέντρων λαμβάνεται.

Manifestly, therefore, ὠροσκόπος does not denote as in modern parlance the entire natal figure, but one of its four angles, and of course, the eastern angle, or place of the degree rising at birth. The same remark applies to the adjectival signification of the word in two passages cited from Manetho by Liddell and Scott (iv. 59, 125). The first is

ἦν δὲ Κύπρις μερόπων ὠροσκόπα φέγγεα λεύσση.

It would clearly be impossible for one planet to behold a horoscope in the modern sense of the term, comprehending as this does the entire face of the heavens, below as well as above the earth. The meaning is simply 'If Venus aspects the ascendant.' It follows that ὠροσκοποῦντος (Sext. Emp. v. 70) is wrongly rendered in Liddell and Scott: it does not mean *the person who is observing the heavens*, but *the sign which is rising*.

There is a story of a Yorkshireman who, having married on the strength of the dictum of a local soothsayer, that the occurrence of this event would see him 'at the end of his troubles,' and having found himself rather at the beginning of them, went in no gentle mood to upbraid the sage. 'Ay, lad, but I did not say *which* end.' A similar obliviousness of the fact that an end implies a beginning, seems to have afflicted Koechly when he rendered βιοτέρμονος ὥρης in Manetho (iv. 77, 78)

ἀμφίκερος Μῆνη δ' ὅπ' ἂν βιοτέρμονος ὥρης
φωτὶ σεληναίῳ κρατὲρ σκολιῶν περῶσα,

Bicornuta Luna quando vitam terminanti
hora

lumine lunari potiatur curvum iter transi-
gens.

Manetho is speaking here, as everywhere, of prognostics derived from the celestial

positions at birth, and it is clearly impossible to indicate what planet may govern the hour of death in the nativity of a living person. This would be palpable even if the poet did not distinctly state two lines lower down that it is birth and not death of which he is discoursing :—

τηνίκα τοι θεόληπτος ὁ φῶς ἐν σχήματι τοίῳ
γίνεται.

Βιοτέρμων, then, denotes the initial and not the final limit of life, and ὥρη, as everywhere else, means the degree ascending, under which the native comes into the world. The word βιοτέρμων does not occur in Liddell and Scott at all. Several words, however, even among those not compounded with ὥρα, are mistranslated from unacquaintance with their signification in astrology. The most conspicuous instances are ὑψωμα and ταπείνωμα, which denote the *exaltations* and *falls* of planets, i.e. parts of the heavens in which they are supposed to be respectively strong or weak, but are most unfortunately rendered *ascension* and *declination*, with which they have nothing to do. Another misinterpreted word is κενοδρομέω, a term descriptive of the condition of the moon when she forms no aspect before leaving the sign through which she is passing, and literally translated by the modern astrological phrase *Void of course*. Liddell and Scott render it *to run alone*, and omit the companion substantive κενοδρομία.

Many other instances (such as ὁ ἀναβιβάζων and ὁ καταβιβάζων, with signification of the ascending and descending nodes of the moon) might be given of words whose peculiar astrological acceptation is omitted or misunderstood by lexicographers, but these should be the subjects of especial investigation whenever the much desiderated revision of Liddell and Scott is undertaken. We will conclude by two instances of new senses which astrological writers enable us to note in words unconnected with their mystery. The singular Byzantine word ἄσπρος, *white*, is shown to mean also *invisible* by a recipe, περὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἄσπρα γράμματα, in Olivieri's *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (p. 108). On p. 104, l. 25, the cargo of a ship arrived from Egypt is said to have partly consisted of χάρτη λιτός, which must mean *blank* paper.

R. GARNETT.

THE LITERARY RELATIONS OF 'LONGINUS' AND MANILIUS.

Now that Prof. Rhys Roberts's new and excellent translation and edition of the treatise *on the Sublime* has recalled the attention of scholars and critics to this remarkable work, it may seem not unseasonable to point out a double parallelism which occurs in the thirteenth chapter of the treatise to the beginning of the Second Book of Manilius's *Astronomica*.

περὶ ὕψους xiii. 3 (p. 80 Roberts). *μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὃ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχευσαμένους.*

Manil. ii. 8-10.

cuiusque (sc. Homeri) ex ore profusus
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit
Annemque in tenues ausa est diducere
riuos.

περὶ ὕψ. xiii. 4 ἔστι δ' οὐ κλοπὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ καλῶν εἰδῶν ἢ πλασμάτων ἢ δημιουργημάτων ἀποτύπωσις.

Manil. ii. 57, 8.

Nostra loquar, nulli uatum debemus ora,
Nec furtum, sed opus ueniet.

This resemblance of *two* passages closely following one another in each of the two writers, can hardly be fortuitous. Which was the original, which the copy? It is difficult to pronounce, but to me the poet's expansion and diffuseness suggest that he was the *borrower*, rather than the original: which would completely accord with the modern view, recently discussed by Prof. Roberts and defended by Prof. Kaibel (*Hermes* 34, 107 *sqq.*), that the *περὶ ὕψους* was really written in the first century of our era. If indeed it preceded Manilius, whose work seems to have been published at the end of Augustus's or beginning of Tiberius's reign, it would be necessary to place the date of the *περὶ ὕψους* either very early in the first century A.D. or even somewhat earlier. I do not know whether any argument of a convincing or cogent kind can be alleged against this: and it is of course possible that the two passages of Manilius were the *fons* from which the writer of the *περὶ ὕψους* drew.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

CRITICAL NOTES ON CATULLUS.

xxix. 11 *sqq.*

eone nomine, imperator unice,
fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula,
ut ista uostra diffututa mentula
ducenties comesset aut trecenties?
quid est alit sinistra liberalitas?

The received reading of the last line, if we take *alit* for *aliud* (*aliud*), undoubtedly gives a sense. But the question is weak and irrelevant. What Catullus wants to know is why Mamurra should be allowed to batten on the public revenues; cf. l. 19 'quid hunc malum fouetis?' Pohl long ago conjectured 'quid *istum* alit . . . ?' (see Schwabe's critical note); and the conjecture has lately been repeated. But I should think more probable a proposal which I jotted down in the margin of my Baehrens full fifteen years ago: 'quid *istam* alit . . . ?' In '*istā* alit' *ā* fell out before *a*. The feminine '*istam*', i.e. *mentulam*, is more biting than the mascu-

line; and the change of gender ('*helluatus* est') follows better on '*expatruuit*,' after which the reference to *mentula* is dropped.

paterna prima lancinata sunt bona;
secunda praeda Pontica; inde tertia
Hibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus.

20 hunc gallie timetis et britannie?

In this old crux Palmer writes '*habenda* Gallica ultima et Britannica,' and compares 62, 13, where O has *hunc* for *habent*. It is true that *hūt* in abbreviated minuscules is almost indistinguishable from *hūc*. But *hūda* is not so near; though we might suppose *da* to have fallen out before *gallie*. Again, in the present context '*habenda*' is not so appropriate as in 3 and 4, which Palmer would no doubt have appealed to; '*lancinata*' suggests '*destruction*' rather than '*possession*.' Another suggestion, then, may be hazarded: *Eatne*. If this were once

written *Eante*, the rest of the corruption was a matter of course. I am glad that Palmer saw his way to accepting 'ultima et.' Directly it is observed that the tradition has come from Itim(a)et, the barred *l* representing *ul*, it must be acknowledged that besides being the most logical reading, it is also the easiest to arrive at. Whether Palmer's further alterations *Gallica* and *Britannica* are inevitable is obviously a matter on which there may be two opinions.

lxviii. 135 sqq.

quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta
Catullo,
rara uerecundae furta feremus erae,
ne nimium simus stultorum more
molesti.
saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum,
coniugis in culpa flagrantem quotidiana,
140 noscens omniuli plurima facta¹
Iouis.
atqui nec diuis homines componier
aequomst
(ingratum tremuli tolle parentis
opus),
nec tamen illa mihi, dextra deducta
paterna,
fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore
domum:
sed furtiua dedit mira munuscula
nocte,
ipsius ex ipso dempta uiri gremio.

I am compelled to print this passage in its full context, because Palmer, who devotes an appendix to it, though accepting my *opus* (for *onus*) in v. 142 does not admit my punctuation, and its interpretation and emendation depend almost entirely upon the view which we take of its connexion with its context.

Palmer observes that "it is curious that two directly opposite senses of 139 seem right to different critics. Baehrens, who proposes *flagrantem concipit iram* (or *contigit*) thus writes: 'saepe Iuno ob laesam fidem coniugalem in iram exardescit si sentit (nouam) mariti perfidiam: haec sententia ut adsit omnia flagitant.' I will not go so far as to say *omnia*: the lines 135 to 137 will suit either view, but 141, 142 are absolutely inconsistent with the ordinary interpretation." Further on he paraphrases as follows: 'My mistress is not content with me alone. What of that? Even Juno has had to complain of Jove's infidelity. But she is a goddess (and has a right to complain), I am only a mortal: therefore away with complaints on thy part, Catullus.'

¹ So Palmer reads with the MSS. and it may stand.

In my text of Catullus I adopted the view which is involved in the emendations of Lachmann ('*flagrantem concoquit iram*'), Santen, Hertzberg and others: but I now believe that of Baehrens and Palmer to be right. Palmer indeed goes too far when he says that "141, 142 are absolutely inconsistent with the ordinary interpretation which is 'sheer nonsense.'" It is not sheer nonsense to make Catullus say: 'I will put up with my mistress's peccadilloes. Even Juno has often done so with Jove's infidelities. And yet [this comparison makes too much of my troubles; for] mortals should not be compared to gods and goddesses.' But this method of interpretation does not face the fact that Catullus is not likely to have fallen into the more artificial thought. If he had desired to draw an argument from Juno swallowing her indignation, he would surely have argued thus: 'Swallow then your wrath, Catullus, as Juno has done. Imitate her. As a mortal, what better example could you have than a goddess?' And if there ever was a female in the world who would not 'swallow' her anger, that female would be Juno, whose furious jealousy is a theme of all the ancient muses.

With this view of the passage Palmer struck into a new path by reading 'coniugis in culpa flagrans est questa Dianae.' The palaeographical ingenuity of the conjecture is great; but its weakness exegetically was, we may well conjecture, apparent to its author himself. "But it will be said, why should Juno complain to Diana? What help could Diana give her? I reply that she could give her consolation and sympathy, and if Juno must have a confidante, who more likely on such an occasion than the goddess of chastity." This is plainly sheer hypothesis, and one might well rejoice: Who less likely than the goddess whose ears she had clouted with her own quiver? Homer, *Il.* 21. 491. It seems only too clear that Palmer's ingenious fancy that Diana lurked in the concluding letters of the line has blinded him to the *ira*, which every previous critic had seen was demanded by *flagrantem*. In considering how we should restore the line we must start with the reading of O, '*flagrantem cotidiana*'; for G's *quotidiana* is obviously a further corruption. *na* is letter for letter the equivalent of *ira*, the *m* of '*flagrantem*' has come from *z*, i.e. *et* (which has come from *ex*)² and *cotidia* is not far from *canduit*: for the codices of Catullus

² For the confusion of *et* and *m* see Prop. 4, 11, 21, cited in *Silvia Maniliana* p. 21. The confusion of *et*, *ex* and *c* is discussed *ib.* pp. 63 sqq.

often confuse *a* and *o* (e.g. 63-43, 81; 64, 328) as well as *u* and *a* (14, 19; 29, 17). We thus get 'flagrante¹ excanduit ira'; incanduit would indeed be somewhat nearer to the MSS., but it is doubtful whether in the age of Catullus it would have been employed in a metaphorical sense. The word, if used at all by him (for at 64, 13 *incanuit*, the correction in *O*, may be right) is quite differently used, whereas for 'excanduit' compare Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 43 'nisi ira excan-

¹ Some may prefer *flagranti*, and there is exactly the same doubt at Prop. 4, 7, 48, 'ardente (or ardentē, MSS. ardentē) nostro dotem habitura rogo.'

duerit fortitudo' and, of slighted women, Juvenal 10, 327 'nec Sthenoboea minus quam Cressa excanduit.' The connexion of the whole passage is then as follows: 'I must make allowances for the occasional lapses of a usually faithful mistress. Juno herself has to put up with infidelities which make her blaze with indignation. And yet (unlike me) she is no mere mortal (nec 141) and (unlike me) she is after all said and done (tamen) not bound (nec 143) to Jupiter by unsanctioned ties.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTES ON SILIUS ITALICUS.

I.-IV.

THERE are a few points in connection with the textual criticism of Silius Italicus which I hope will be borne in mind by those who may read these notes. The first is that our poet wrote, if not with *ingenium*, at least with *cura*, so that slovenliness that is pardonable enough in more inspired writers is in the case of Silius's text more likely to be due to corruption. Secondly, of the four MSS. LFOV, LF occupy an entirely superior position, and where OV offer a better reading I believe it has generally been arrived at by conjecture. This is a point I hope to examine at some other time. Again the whole question of the importance of the readings of the lost Cologne manuscript is extremely difficult. Our chief authorities are Modius and Heinsius. The difficulties attending the use of Modius's statements for this purpose have been clearly shown by Blass (*Textesquellen*; pp. 189 *sqq.*) and Thilo (*Jahrbücher für cl. Phil.* 1891, pp. 591 *sqq.*), and an example may be found in my note on ii. 614. Heinsius's statements, though definite, are also liable at times to grave suspicion (Blass, *l. c.* pp. 205 *sqq.*, Thilo, *l. c.* pp. 595 *sqq.*): of the various causes for this I wish two specially noticed. In the same edition in which H. entered his collation of this MS., he also entered notes from two other MSS. and some old editions (e.g. Parma and Aldine) and emendations of other scholars and himself: it is extremely probable, as Thilo shows, *l. c.*, that he sometimes confused the reading of an edition with that of C. In the second place, Drakenborch no doubt edited Heinsius's critical notes—as he cer-

tainly has his extracts from Modius. Perhaps the best example to show how doubtful we must be as regards assuming a reading of C is iv. 4. Here S have wrongly *iactatur fama*, the right reading being undoubtedly *iactantem facta*. Heinsius's note in Drakenborch runs 'scribe *iactantem facta* ex Coloniensi libro.' But, as Bauer notes, since Blass pointed out the fact that *iactantem facta* was a conjecture made by Livincius, it is generally assumed that either Heinsius or his editor made a mistake in the matter. But apart from the uncertainty as regards C's readings, even where we feel confident of having a reading of that MS., both Blass (*l. c.* p. 249) and Thilo (*l. c.* p. 612) agree that if it differs from that of S it must be judged by its intrinsic merits. This is too generally forgotten. Bauer certainly pays too much respect to the lost MS. In iv. 773, for example, he has excluded from the text the reading of S which Blass rightly preferred to that of C.

322 *sqq.*

aut hydro imbutas, bis noxia tela, sagittas
contendit neruo, atque insultat fraude
pharetrae,
Dacus ut armiferis Geticae telluris in oris
spicula, quae patrio gaudens acuisse ueneno
fundit, etc.

Bauer adopts Heinsius's conjecture 'qui' for 'quae' in 325. I think it is unnecessary, if we put a comma after 'neruo' and take 'atque'—'pharetrae' as parenthetical and so equivalent to 'insultans fr. ph.': 'spicula' is then the object of 'contendit.' Silius is

bold in the matter of parenthesis, as xvii. 255 *sqq.* will show. So in xvi. 125 *sqq.* I believe 'sic sic' belong to 'duret,' the words 'portentaque...condite' being parenthetical.

373 *sqq.*

surgebat cumulo certatim prorutus agger
obstabatque iacens uallum ni protinus
instent
hinc atque hinc acies media pugnare ruina.

The wall of the Saguntines has just fallen. In 373 S read 'certantem,' LF correcting to 'certantum.' This Bauer reads, but in vol. ii. pref. p. vi. he follows Thilo in reading the vulgate 'certatim' which, according to Heinsius, was also the reading of the Cologne MS. But with regard to this reading, (1) Heinsius is practically at variance with Modius on the point, for the latter in Novant. Lect. ep. xlv. deals with this passage, draws attention to the Cologne reading 'prorutus agger,' but says not a word to show that the MS. did not read, as his vulgate did, 'certantum.' (2) To describe men as vying with each other in pulling down a wall or a tree is natural enough (cp. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 628), but to apply the expression to the object when once it has fallen seems to me quite out of place. On the other hand, I quite agree that 'certantum' is impossible: it cannot = 'eorum qui certantes occubuerant,' and the thought occurs further on (418 *sqq.*). I think the reading should be:—

surgebat cumulis etiam tum prorutus agger.

I imagine 'setiamtum' was read 'certantum,' 's' and 'c' being not rarely confused, and such readings as 'facta, flecta' for 'fata, freta' (xiv. 514) make it quite possible for 't' to become 'ct' or 'rt.' 'Cumuli' would soon be altered to 'cumulo.' The whole idea is, of course, from Lucan, iii. 508 'procubuit maiorque iacens apparuit agger.' Silius's 'etiam tum' corresponds to the 'maiorque' of Lucan, with less exaggeration.

386 *sqq.* This passage has not received the attention it requires. The difficulties are these:—

(a) 386-8. Murrus slays Hiberus. That he is slain is shown not only by 388 ('ora singultantia leto') but by the nature of his wound 'in inguine': cp. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 569, Ov. *Met.* v. 133, 'letifer ille locus' and many other passages. In Verg. *Aen.* x. 786,

the addition 'sed vires haud pertulit' is important.

(b) 389-90. Murrus exclaims in triumph, 'hac iter est vobis.' Of course 'vobis' can easily = 'you Carthaginians': still, it seems to me the plural would be better after more Carthaginians had fallen. Cp. 400 below.

(c) 391 *sqq.* Hiberus reappears (!) 'instaurans pugnam,' and, as if now mentioned for the first time, receives his biography from the poet, and is then once more slain!

(d) 397 *sqq.* Ladmus comes to avenge him, but Murrus slays him also, saying, '(haec dextera) iam post uulnera uulgi Hannibalem vobis comitem dabit': in spite of which he continues slaying the masses until 419. Contrast with this the natural order of the similar passage iv. 265 *sqq.*

(e) Then, at 420, we have the abrupt 'tum ductorem—poscit.'

Point (c) troubled Barth. Drakenborch, however, explains: 'Murrus hastam quidem in inguine eius defigit et ora leto singultantia calcat non vero plane occidit.' (The italics are mine.) Ruperti seems to have accepted this (though his conjecture 'caede' for 'leto' = 'sanguine' betrays uneasiness) and so, I imagine, Bauer. The other points do not seem to have occurred to any one, and of course the importance attached to them will depend somewhat on our estimate of Silius's powers.

As regards the matter of Hiberus, it seems to me that some corrector must have misunderstood 'instaurantem pugnas' (a Vergilian phrase, denoting the renewal of fighting after a pause) and so imagined 'Hiberus' had been described as fighting before. He accordingly altered the name which originally stood at the end of 387. Even if 388 really belongs to this man, it is just possible the corrector did not understand the full force of 'singultantia leto' as we have seen Drakenborch miss it.

I believe, however, that originally after 387 followed 403-419—a description of Murrus's victorious career, at the conclusion of which the ruins 'smoke with slaughter.' Then came 388 *sqq.*: Murrus trampled on the dead and uttered his triumphant words. Hiberus then rallied his companions (observe that 'instaurantis pugnam' is now much more intelligible) and resumed the attack. He is slain and Ladmus follows. Murrus slays him, saying, 'Now I will send Hannibal to accompany you.' 420 *sqq.* then follow on 402—to my mind very smoothly.

This, I imagine, was the order the corrector had before him. On finding

'Hiberum' he at once looked back to see if he was previously mentioned. Only two names which suited the metre offered themselves: the name at the end of 387 and 'Hiempsal' and 'Hiarba' in 408 and 417. The first was preferred as the other two are clearly killed. The transposition of the lines may have been made afterwards so as to join the two notices of Hiberus.

II.

299 *sqq.*

an nunc ille novi caecus caligine regni
externas arces quatit? haud Tirynthia tuta,
(sic propria luat hoc poena nec misceat urbis
fata suis) nunc hoc, hoc inquam tempore
muros
oppugnat, Carthago, tuos teque obsidet
armis.

So the lines stand in Ruperti and Bauer. The older edd. read 'ut' in 300 (as LF) with impossible interpretation. 'Haud' is the reading of C according to Heinsius, who wished to adopt it, altering 'an' in 299 to 'haud' also. It seems to me probable that S had 'aut' (so OV) and this seems preferable. The mark of interrogation will therefore be moved to the end of the line. By this means (1) we avoid the marked division of the line into two metrically equal halves (a blemish not uncommon in Sil., but not to be forced upon him); (2) the 'sic' clause seems much less awkward, coming as it now does directly before the emphatic 'nunc' clause with its repetitions 'hoc, hoc, tuos, te.'

374 *sqq.*

ut deinde resedit
factaque censendi patrum de more potestas
hic Hannon reddi propere certamine rapta
instat et auctorem uiolati foederis addit
tum uero attoniti, ceu templo irrumperet
hostis,
exsiluere patres, Latioque id uerteret omen
orauere deum.

Lines 375-377 were not in C, which elsewhere omits lines, though not more than one at a time: certainly the mere fact of the omission is of no great importance, and as Dr. Postgate has pointed out to me, the similarity of the endings of 374 and 377 is quite enough to explain it. As regards their intrinsic merits, they seem to me to suit their context perfectly. The Senate of Carthage has met to consider what answer must be made to the Roman embassy sent

thither to complain of Hannibal's siege of Saguntum. Hanno delivers a violent attack upon that general, pointing out that he is really besieging Carthage itself, and that the Romans are invincible, concluding with the remark that if they give up the war much bloodshed will be saved. To this speech Gestar makes a scornful reply, concluding with the words 'nostrique solutas ductoris seruate manus.' These words seemingly refer to the surrender of H. to the Romans: if so, it is the first mention of the proposal, for Hanno's speech contains not a word to this effect. If we keep the doubtful lines the sense is that on Gestar resuming his seat the senate is called on to make definite proposals and Hanno advocates the restoration of all captures and surrender of H. The Carthaginians are as amazed as if an enemy burst into their midst.

As for those who simply omit the lines and join 'tum uero' to 'ut resedit,' one may note (1) 'tum uero' in Sil. always introduces a fresh sentence (592 below, iv. 615, 806, vi. 514, ix. 644, x. 247, xii. 741, xv. 146, xvi. 434, 695, xvii. 558), (2) the outbreak of the senate is absurd after Gestar's speech, whereas after Hanno's definite proposal it is perfectly natural, (3) 'id omen' can hardly, as Bauer thinks, refer to 370 *sqq.* or 373. Thilo's assumption that lines describing a special portent have fallen out is better than this, but to my mind quite unnecessary.

In passing, I may observe that I believe 383 is also perfectly right. Fabius is probably outside the senate house during this debate (Ruperti assumes his presence, but I see no proof of it: 368 certainly is none), and 'sensit' may refer simply to information, etc. received by him. He sees the general feeling and demands an audience. Bauer adopts Koch's 'consilium,' but I do not believe it could be used thus for 'decision' and 'uocatis' has absolutely no force, with this reading.

435-6

iuxta triste decus pendet sub imagine
poenae
Regulus.

This reading is intelligible, 'decus' being in apposition to the sentence, but I cannot help thinking 'pendit' better. 'Decus sub im. p.' will then stand for 'poenam decoram.' Stat. *Th.* v. 322 seems very similar, 'solio considere patris supplicium datur,' where 'supplicium' = what is meant

for an honour but is in reality a punishment. Compare also vi. 114 where R.'s son speaks of 'poenae nobilitate paternae.'

614-615

princeps Tisiphone lentum indignata parentem
pressit ouans capulum, etc.

The subject is the slaying of their families, etc. by the Saguntines when unable to hold out against H. Thilo (*l. c.* p. 616) takes 'parentem' to be singular for plural and to include *relatives*. This is perhaps possible, as Sil. is fond of the collective singular. Would it not be better to read 'pauentum'—'the reluctant sword of those who trembled at the horrible deed they were doing?' Cp. V. Fl. iii. 264 where the Maenad 'pauet ad ora Pentheos' on coming to her senses. If once 'pauentum' was read 'parentum' (which L¹ has over 'parentem') the change to parentem might easily occur: cp. iv. 410 where LF have 'parentem' for 'parentum.' As for the change of 'pauentum' to 'parentum' compare *e.g.* vii. 497 where we have 'fauorem' in S for 'furorem.' Misreading of 'indignata' would help matters, such endings as V. F. ii. 229 'nata parensque,' Luc. iv. 563 'natusque parenti' being common in such context. I must call attention to Modius' words which are generally assumed to testify to C here. He simply quotes the lines with 'parentum' and (618) 'aduersa,' and says, 'quae parua omnino mutatione ita scribendum putabam' and then alters to 'parentem' and 'auersa.' Of MSS. he says not a word; his words certainly *suggest* an emendation of his own.

625-626

nec tamen euasisse datur: nam uerbera
Erinnys
ineutit atque atros insibilat ore tumores.

'Tumores' is generally explained 'iras,' *Aen.* vi. 49 'rabie fera corde tument' and 'tumida ira' being quoted. The nearest parallel would surely be *Aen.* viii. 40 'tumor omnis et irae' imitated by Sil. xv. 689 'iram tantosque...tumores.' However, in the latter place 'tumores' has certainly in part its common meaning of 'pride,' and Vergil by adding 'irae' explains the special force of 'tumor' in the other passage. Sil. has tumor=pride, iii. 246, viii. 545, xiv. 117. I doubt if he would use the word to mean *anger* unless the context helped. The epithet 'atros' seems very strange also. It

is, however, only O that has 'tumores,' LFV having 'timores.' Of course LFV may have made a mistake, as all four MSS. have done in reading 'timore,' viii. 545. But I think 'timores' much more suitable here, with the meaning 'cause for fear,' which is found elsewhere. The epithet 'ater' is applied to fear by Lucretius and Vergil, and Silius himself writes 'atram' ('mentem') in 355 above in the sense of *cowardly*. A slight point in favour of 'timores' is to be found in the similar description of the Lemnian crime in Val. Fl. ii. The similarity of the two passages may be seen from the following quotations. Both poets borrow from Ovid, *Met.* iv. 481 *sqq.* in describing the attendants of the Fury or Venus (Sil. 549 *sqq.*, Val. 204 *sqq.*), both levy upon *Aen.* v. for the disguise which she assumes (Sil. 553 *sqq.*, Val. 141); with Silius' description 558 *sqq.* 'uultus induta, disiecta crinem, lacerata genas,' compare Val. 102 *sqq.* 'neque alma uultum, crinem subnectitur, suffecta genas.' There is a close resemblance between Sil. 562 and Val. 219—extending even to the slight enallage whereby S. after writing 'meum' writes 'nostras noctes' for the same person, and Val. has 'me' and just after 'nostras noctes.' In 609 *sqq.* Silius's Fury plunges all in gloom with the smoke of her torch, Valerius's Venus does much the same. With Sil. 615 'cunctantemque impulit ensem,' compare Val. 215 'cunctantibus inuenit enses.' Val. has two parallels to the lines now before us: in 214 Venus 'uerbere uictas in thalamos agit,' and then 224 he writes 'SED TEMPTARE FUGAM PROHIBET METUS.' Just as Sil. mentions 'uerbera,' so I believe he mentioned 'metus,' or 'timores.'

III.

72-73 iamque aegra timoris
Roma tuos numeret lacrimandos matribus
annos.

So the vulgate, but as S. has 'numera,' Bauer reads 'numerat' (V.'s correction). I think a wish or the like is necessary, and would suggest

Roma, tuis numera lacrimandos matribus
annos.

The sudden apostrophe to Rome is awkward, after H. has addressed his son in 70 *sqq.*, and this may have led to the misinterpretation of 'tuis' and emendation. That it is not too awkward for S. will, I

think, be clear on inspection of iv. 125–28: here the poet in four consecutive lines writes ‘tibi, te, tibi’ referring respectively to Hannibal, Jupiter, and Scipio. The change of ‘i’ to ‘o’ or vice versa is common in these MSS.: in particular, I would refer to vii. 528 where for ‘ualli...munimine’ S. have ‘nullo m.’ and viii. 270 where for ‘pelli Libyas Romamque leuari hoste’ LFO read ‘bello,’ etc.

328–329

*mirus amor populo cum pigra incanuit actas
imbelles iamdudum annos praeuertere saxo.*

Bauer adopts Bentley’s ‘fato,’ but I cannot see how ‘fato’ was likely to be altered in favour of the much less obvious ‘saxo,’ and it seems a very unfortunate word to use absolutely for suicide. In ii. 142 Mopsus seizes the ‘saxum’ which has slain his son and tries to commit suicide with it: cp. Tac. *A.* iv. 45. I should, however, prefer to take ‘saxo’ in the sense of ‘by hurling themselves from a rock’: cp. the Roman use of ‘saxum’ (the Tarpeian rock): Cic. has ‘proposita cruce aut saxo,’ Tac. ‘robur et saxum minitantum.’

463–4

*at gregis illapsu fremebundo territus acris
expauit moles Rhodanus.*

‘Gregis’ refers to Hannibal’s elephants crossing the river. As regard ‘acris’ Rup. takes it with Rhodanus. In xiii. 345 Sil. has ‘uolucris’ masculine and perhaps also x. 351, though there I am inclined to take ‘uolucris’ with Heinsius as accusative. Drak. asks what ‘tenebrae uolucres’ can mean, but I think Sil. had in his mind Vergil’s ‘celeris auras,’ *Aen.* iv. 270, in a similar context. Anyhow I see no reason to suppose Sil. wrote ‘acris’ here for ‘Rhodanus’: it is simple to refer the word to ‘gregis’ or ‘moles.’ But with Thilo (p. 617) I much prefer Heinsius’s ‘atras’: no one seems to have noted its support by ix. 570: ‘appellitur atra Mole fera’; Heins. himself only citing ‘nigranti dorso’ iv. 618, and Drak. only adding passages that, at most, show that the Romans applied the epithets ‘niger’ or ‘nigrans’ to them.

IV.

131 *contra laeta Bogus Tyrio canit omina regi.*

So the vulgate. O has ‘omnia,’ and though I do not give the MS. any great credit for

the reading, which is no doubt accidental, I believe that Sil. probably wrote ‘omnia,’ as he wrote ‘omnia dura,’ vii. 577 ‘omnia magna,’ xvi. 33, and his authority Livy has ‘dei mihi laeta OMNIA portendere,’ where Weissenborn makes no change. In ix. 262 on the other hand V.’s *omina* seems desirable.

140 *sqq.* A spear is almost spent when Catus gallops in its way:

*sic elanguescens et iam casura, petitum
inuenit uulnus caedemque accepit ab hoste
cornus et oblatae stetit inter tempora frontis.*

In 141 F reads ‘sedemque.’ Stat. *Th.* x. 656 ‘omne sedet telum: nulli sine caedibus ictus’ shows that either is possible. ‘Sedem,’ however, seems to me ‘exquisitius’ and so preferable in a silver poet. Sil. uses ‘sedeo’ of a weapon several times (e.g. i. 540 ‘femine aduerso librata cuspidē sedit’). Ov. *M.* iii. 88 (a man retires from danger, just as here he rushes into it) ‘plagamque sedere Cedendo arcebat.’ ‘Sedem’ also seems to me to give more variety after ‘vulnus’ and to suit ‘iam iam casura.’ I must admit, however, that in iv. 735 below S. has ‘sedibus’ for ‘caedibus’ (and possibly also iii. 617).

179–180

*hasta uiri femur et pariter per nuda uolantis
ilia sedit equi.*

In 179 ‘nuda’ is the reading of Ch. LOV have ‘anhela,’ F has ‘unda.’ Thilo (p. 605) from the latter fact assumes that the St. Gall MS. had ‘nuda.’ But in the first place ‘anhela’ is surely a very remarkable emendation for a simple word like ‘nuda.’ And if ‘anhela’ was spelt ‘anela’ it is quite conceivable that F should read it ‘unda,’ el and d being the commonest of confusions. If C really had ‘nuda’ it may simply have misread ‘anela’ in the same way and then transposed. The man is spurring his horse and the spear goes through his thigh and the horse’s flank: we may compare Stat. *Theb.* xi. 509, where the rider ‘laxato genu’ avoids the wound in his ‘femur’ which the horse receives in the ‘ilia’: also Val. Fl. vi. 259 where ‘ilibus’ has been suggested by Dr. Postgate for ‘frigidus.’ ‘Anhelus’ is used of horses at least twice by Sil.: the force of it here is similar to that of ‘extentum’ in Ov. *M.* xii. 477—‘extentum cursu latus eruit hasta qua uir equo commissus erat.’ [After writing this note I see Bauer is now in favour of ‘anhela;’ the possibility of ‘anela’ and

'unda' being confused has occurred to him also.]

186 *sqq.*

tum Remulum (sternit) . . .

et Clanium dubia meditatus cuspidē uulnus.

So MSS. and all edd. The meaning can only be that he paused a moment, uncertain whom to wound, and then chose Clanius. But it seems more natural to suppose Sil. meant that Cl. was poisoning his weapon in doubt at what part of his foe to aim it when Crixus killed him. Barth therefore conjectured 'meditatum,' but 'meditantem' is surely better. In 4 of this book S have 'iactatur' for 'iactantem.' Cp. in particular xvii. 438 'Silarum meditantem in proelia telo Praevenit,' and ii. 125 *sqq.*, vii. 659 for similar episodes.

756 *sqq.*

non cetera membra moratur
in pretium belli dare, si uictoria poscat,
satque putat lucis Capitolia cernere uictor
qua petat atque Italum feriat qua comminus
hostem.

The vulgate here is 'queat' (Basle ed. of 1522) for 'petat' of the MSS. Bauer keeps S without any explanation. Lefebvre explained 'petat cernere = eat cernere' and is justly censured by Ruperti: I think the meaning is 'he thinks it sight enough if he can see the way by which he is to make for the Capitol in the hour of victory, if he can see where he can meet his foes at close quarters.'

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

NOTES ON TACITUS'S *AGRICOLA*.

ix. 3 and 4, *tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat*. These words break the connexion of ideas, and Furneaux sums up that "the balance of argument is strongly against their genuineness." If we put them after 'deminuit,' we shall get a continuation to 'ubi officio,' etc., and also an introductory clause to *integritatem—fuerit*. (I would also accept Bähren's 'amaritiam' for 'avaritiam,' as the sense of the latter with 'exuerat' is given in 'abstinentiam.')

For clearness, then, I transcribe the whole passage:—

"iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nullam ultra potestatis personam: [sc. 'egit' with Gudeman]. Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Tristitiam et adrogantiam et amaritiam exuerat: integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit."

xliv. 3 & 4. Gudeman puts '*opibus—contigerant*' (C. R. Oct. '97) before 'quippe' and attaches 'filia—superstitibus' to 'po-terat.'

I believe this sense is the right one, but it certainly is open to Furneaux' objection that we should expect 'tamen' rather than 'quippe.'

If we read the words in their old place as a parenthesis (and these are not uncommon in the *Agricola*), and perhaps put 'enim' before 'nimiis,' we shall be able to keep Gudeman's sense: thus:

"Et ipse quidem...aevum peregit, quippe et vera bona quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat (opibus [enim] nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant), filia atque uxore superstitibus?"

xv. 3. "*alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere*."

My suggestion here is merely one of interpretation: 'manum' is, as far as I know, always translated 'band': e.g. 'the attendant troop, his centurions' (Furneaux): 'suite and centurions' (others). I would render 'hand' i.e. the 'heavy hand'; cf. Cic de Imp. Pomp. xiii. 39. 'ut non modo manus tanti exercitus sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur.' The explanation seems to me simple and natural and it makes the centurions responsible, as in Ann. xiv. 31, 2, for oppression.

Then 'manum...vim et contumelias miscere' is by zeugma for 'manum inicere' 'vim...miscere': moreover there is a chiasmus, much beloved of Tacitus.

W. C. F. WALTERS.

DID AGRICOLA INVADE IRELAND?

TAC. AGR. xxiv.: quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit in spem magis quam ob formidinem.

A German writer, Prof. W. Pfitzner, was, I believe, the first to suppose that in the passage just quoted *ignotas gentes* means Ireland. Pfitzner's reasons were foolish and his conclusion generally rejected, but new reasons have lately been adduced by an American scholar, Prof. Gudeman, who has published them in the 'Proceedings' of the *American Philological Association* for July, 1898 (vol. xxix., pp. xxxvi.—ix.). He brings forward nine points. I propose to consider these new reasons, and I trust Prof. Gudeman, if he ever reads these lines, will pardon a criticism which rejects all of his nine points, and maintains that *ignotas gentes* has no reference to Ireland.

(1) It is urged that *ignotas gentes* cannot well denote the Caledonians, since, in ch. xxii., *tertius annus novas gentes aperuit*, and as the Caledonians are there meant, they cannot be here meant. But not all the Caledonians were discovered in xxii. And if there is awkwardness in the use of *ignotas* after *novas* when both words refer to the Caledonians, there is equal awkwardness if they refer to different tribes. Besides, it is hard to see what Tacitus could have done to escape Mr. Gudeman's criticism. He had to say that the campaigns of chs. xxii. and xxiv. were advances, and that of xxiii. were limited to consolidation: he was bound somehow to say the same thing twice.

(2) It is urged further that the fleet was first used as an integral part of the offensive forces in the campaign of ch. xxv.: therefore it could not have been so used in xxiv., but must have been employed only as transport. That is quite true, but quite immaterial. In xxiv. Agricola transported his troops somewhere; he did not then use his fleet as an integral part of his offensive forces, so the ordinary view involves no contradictions.

(3) It is urged that *transgressus* could be used of crossing to Ireland, but not of sailing from the north-west corner of Britain to the Clyde. I cannot conceive why. If Agricola sailed from Chester to Cumberland, or from Cumberland to Kirkcudbright, or from Ayr to Bute, or made any

such voyage, *transgredi* seems a good term. I know the coast and should certainly accept and use the word myself.

(4) It is urged that 'according to the fixed usage in Latin, *que*, when writing two sentences, never adds something intimately connected with the preceding,'¹ and therefore the words *eamque*, etc. must refer to Ireland, not Scotland. Mr. Gudeman's premisses here seem to me to prove the exact opposite. The sentence *eamque*, etc. is intimately connected with Ireland: therefore we should conclude that *ignotas gentes* are not the Irish. But surely the natural sense of the passage is obvious enough, that Agricola (i) conquered certain unnamed tribes, presumably Caledonian, and also (ii) set about preparing to invade Ireland.

(5) It is urged that Tacitus establishes his transitions from subject to subject with immense skill and provides clues or catch-words for the sequels. Here the clue in the end of ch. xxiii. is *summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*, where *insulam*, or *aliam insulam*, foreshadows Ireland. The adroitness of Tacitean transitions is well known, but is this an instance? *Ars est celare artem*, but this seems to conceal a good deal more: it is so subtle that it would never be noticed at all. Besides, it does not prove Mr. Gudeman's conclusion. If *insulam* be a clue, it is equally appropriate whether Tacitus meant to talk of the invasion of Ireland or of a plan to invade Ireland.

(6) It is urged that, if Ireland were not invaded, ch. xxiv. about Ireland is irrelevant. Why? The campaign of ch. xxiv., I hold, included, as a salient feature, some preparations for an invasion of Ireland. The invasion never came off, and this is a fit place for noticing its possibility.

(7) I do not fully understand the next point, which seems complicated by a misprint. But the gist is that if he invaded Ireland, Agricola was acting with wonted prudence, while if *ignotas gentes* be Caledonian, he showed improbable rashness. I do not see why.

(8) It is urged that the words *in spem magis quam ob formidinem* are senseless if

¹ This rule about *que* is usually put exactly the other way, *i.e.* that close connection *is* implied, but neither rule is at all absolute: see the exx. in Gerber and Graef., or compare the end of *Agr.* xxi. with the second sentence of xxii.

the Caledonians are meant. Of course they are. Agricola posted troops somewhere in hope of invading Ireland later, not from fear that Irish seamen might plunder the Roman coasts. The words proclaim aloud that the invasion was a *spes*, not a fact. This is, of course, the usual way of taking the words. I do not see why it is ignored and a straw theory set up to be demolished.

(9) Lastly, Mr. Gudeman meets the objection that Tacitus carefully avoids saying that Ireland was invaded. He claims to rebut it easily: I do not think he has really faced it all. He calls the invasion a fiasco, not remarkable enough to claim long notice, and so forth. The fiasco is a pure assumption, disproved by the context (*crebris ac prosperis proeliis*), but if it were fact and the invasion ever so futile, the objection would remain just the same. Tacitus might, of course, wholly omit a fiasco, or be brief over a trifle: he does neither. He says Agricola successfully attacked certain tribes hitherto unknown, and prepared for an invasion of Ireland: he goes on to point out in detail the ease of such an invasion. That seems an extraordinary and utterly unintelligible way of saying that Agricola unsuccessfully attacked the Irish or even of glossing it over.

On the other hand, the ordinary interpretation raises no such difficulties: after the pause of the fourth year (ch. xxiii.) Agricola again advanced northward, conquered some (unnamed) tribes and also took the first

steps towards invading Ireland. The whole passage is quite well explained by, for instance, Mr. Furneaux. *Nave prima transgressus* remains anyhow a difficulty: I will confess that since I printed my own view, the comments of others have seemed to me largely to confirm it, but in no case can it affect the question of the invasion of Ireland. Prof. Gudeman's own interpretation of *prima* does not involve that invasion. It may also be doubted what part was garrisoned with a view to invading Ireland. Mr. Purser has pleaded ably for the Mull of Cantire. To me *copiis instruxit* implies something more permanent than would have been possible there, and the fact that Agricola did not invade Ireland in his next campaign suggests preparation for a remote future rather than for a few months off. Hence I incline to the coast of Cumberland or North Wales. Why the invasion never came off, is not stated by Tacitus and cannot be found out now. There are indications that the central Government disliked the general progressive policy of Agricola and recalled him before that policy had gone its full length. But there is no indication that it specially forbade an invasion of Ireland or interrupted Agricola in preparations for it. Without such indication it may be safer to admit that Agricola may have himself postponed the conquest till he should have finished on the mainland.

F. HAVERFIELD.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION *SANUS AB*.

KIESSLING on Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 129, *sanus ab illis*, compares with this construction *aeger ab animo*, Plaut. *Epid.* 129, and *valere ab oculis*, Gell. 13, 30, and translates 'gesund im Hinblick auf diese grösseren *vitia*.' So too the Lewis and Short Lexicon, s.v. *sanus*, has 'sound as respects them.' Klotz and Georges on the other hand translate 'rein von,' and the Forcellini-De Vit is still more explicit, citing the example from Horace under the caption '*sanus ab aliqua re, liber, immunis, remotus*.' Kirkland, in his edition of the Satires and Epistles, apparently combines the two interpretations, for he says: '*sanus*: construed with *ab* because of the idea of separation involved in it. Plautus has even *aeger ab animo*, and Gellius uses *valere ab oculis*.' Many editors do not comment on

the construction at all, though it is in any event a rare one in Horace, and if *sanus* is taken in the sense of 'free from,' is apparently unique in the classical literature.

Although presumably all the uses of *ab* came originally from the idea of motion from or separation, we find in the earliest literature such distinct categories as, for example, that of time, and for lexicographical purposes at least the various uses must be separated and classified to a degree which to some may seem to approach hair-splitting. In the case in question it seems to me that we have a choice between two radically different interpretations, and that if *sanus* is regarded as in the same class with *liber* and *immunis*, that is, if it is to be rendered approximately 'free from,' the

examples from Plautus and Gellius should not be cited as parallel.

Aeger ab animo, to my mind, has nothing directly to do with the idea of separation, but is connected rather with the idiomatic use of ab and the ablative with verbs not implying motion from or separation, to denote 'the side or direction from which an object is viewed in its local relation.' This appears fully developed in the earliest literature. Examples are Plaut. *Asin.* 260 picus et cornix ab laeva, corvos, parra ab dextera consuadent; Cic. *ad Brut.* 1, 10, 5, firmos duces habemus ab occidente; and in the same way a meridie, ab oriente, a dextro cornu, &c.

This construction is frequently used of the parts of the human body, e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 60 doleo ab oculis; Men. 1011, eripe oculum isti ab umero qui tenet te. With this use I should connect aeger ab animo and the like. The construction was extended by analogy to such a degree that ab with the ablative came to be used with very nearly, if not quite the same force as the ablative of respect. So Varr. *L. L.* 9, 40 verbum a significatione simile; Cic. *Fam.* 10, 8, 6, ab omni re sumus paratiores; Suet. *Tib.* 68, latus ab umeris et pectore; *C. I. L.* vi. 13352, a natione Trax. The construction is not very common, being confined for the most part to early Latin and to poetry. Cicero uses it in his *Letters*, and in the *Brutus*, 63, Graecus ab omni laude felicior. Draeger is apparently right (1², 623) in saying that it does not occur in Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Horace has one example in *Odes* 2, 16, 27, nihil ab omni parte beatum, which Kiessling might have cited to defend his interpretation of sanus ab illis, though in common with many editors he makes no comment at all on this interesting and rare use of ab.

It is therefore possible to take sanus ab aliis (vitiis) in the sense of 'sane in respect to other faults,' although the rendering of Klotz and Georges seems to me a better one.

The construction with liber, unlike the one just considered, arises directly from the idea of separation, and is parallel with liberare ab, e.g. Cic. *Quint. Frat.* 3, 1, 3, 9, te ab eo vindico et libero. After the analogy of liber and adjectives of kindred meaning the usage was extended to such words as casta, mundus, pudicus, securus, quietus, tranquillus, &c. So Plaut. *Poen.* 1186, ut decet nos esse a culpa castas: Liv. 1, 44, 4, ut puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Draeger (1², 620) derives the construction from the idea of

separation, but does not cite sanus ab. Horace, *Satires* 1, 6, 82, has (me) pudicum servavit ab omni non solum facto verum opprobrio turpi, where Zangermeister, in his Index, connects ab with servavit, as do Kiessling, Kirkland, and others. Draeger, however, cites the line as an instance of pudicus ab, and this interpretation seems to me to be required by the sense of the passage, and to be probable on account of the frequent use of ab with adjectives of a similar meaning. Thus Cic. *Phil.* 13, 8 res familiaris cum ampla tum casta a cruore civili; Lucan 10, 370 a quo casta fuit (Cleopatra)? cf. Plaut. *Curc.* 51, a me pudicist. Cf. also Catull. 15, 5, conserves puerum mihi pudicum, non dico a populo, according to the reading of Bährens.

Servare ab, on the contrary, is comparatively rare. Virgil has, *Aen.* 5, 699, servatae a peste carinae; 5, 476 qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta, and Gellius, 17, 2, 14, quotes from Claudius Quadrigarius Capitolium servasse a Gallis: otherwise the construction seems to be post-Augustan. Georges and the Forcellini-De Vit do not cite it at all, except for the late and special use in Legal Latin.

But a stronger argument for this interpretation is the frequent use of servare with predicate adjectives of the class under consideration. So Cic. *Verr.* 2, 1, 68, pudicitiam liberorum servare ab eorum libidine tutam (where Georges connects ab with tutam) and without ab and the ablative, Cic. *Cat.* 3, 10, 25, urbem et civis integros incolumisque servavi; *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 30, 72, qui se integros castosque servavissent, &c. The difficulty of taking (ab) opprobrio turpi with pudicum, if there be any, is much less than that of separating pudicum from servavit. Conservare with the ablative does not seem to occur, and the verb, like servare, is frequently used with a predicate adjective of the pudicus type. See, for instance, Cic. *Fam.* 13, 50, 2, M' Curium ab omni incommodo sincerum integrumque conserves. Even if we read pudice in Catull. 15, 5, I cannot feel, with Riese, that a populo is to be detached from pudice. Cf. C. Semp. Gracch. ap. Gell. 15, 12, cum a servis caste me habuerim.

With sano and verbs of kindred meaning ab is apparently not used in Classical Latin, but we find in Tertullian, *Res. Carn.* 6, deus vivus...quaecumque materiae vilitatem non de sua operatione purgasset et ab omni infirmitate sanasset; Scap. 4, quanti viri aut a daemoniis aut a valetudine remediati sunt.

For *sanus ab* the Lexicons cite only the example from Horace, but we find Act. Mart. 642, *a cunctis (febribus) sanus*, and Aug. *Contr. Jul.* 6, 18, 55, *sanitas ab eis malis quibus eramus rei*. It is possible that *sano* and *sanus* with *ab* belonged to the language of everyday life.

Sanus non est ex amore illius, Plaut. *Merc.* 443, and *insanior ex amore*, *Merc.* 447 are not parallel with *sanus ab*, but *ex amore* denotes cause, as *ex* with the ablative often does. See Draeger, 1², 637.

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ON *EQUES* FOR *EQUUS*.

EQUUS EQUES--Gellius xviii. 5 tells us that a litterateur of the second century, Antonius Julianus, declared that Ennius and Virgil both used *eques* in the sense of 'horse' and the idea is recorded also by Servius and other commentators on Virgil. The scholarship of the Empire was acute and laborious: it was also, I am afraid, inclined to search out new views and startle contemporaries with novelties. In this it resembled the scholarship of the present day, and it is not surprising that several recent writers have backed up Antonius Julianus and provided new instances of *eques* used for a horse (Wölfflin's *Archiv.* x. 286, 452; xi. 275). The passages alleged are, in all, the following.

1. Ennius 237 Vahlen (247 L. Müller) *quadrupes eques*. For this we have only the evidence of Antonius Julianus recorded by Gellius and others borrowing from him. Nothing but *a priori* arguments are therefore possible. The ordinary editions in the time of Julianus seem to have had *quadrupes equus*. Julianus professed to have found *eques* in an ancient MS. which went back to Lampadio and the second century B.C.

2. Virgil, *G.* iii. 116, *equitem docuere sub armis Insultare solo*. Here also Julianus wished to take *eques* as 'horse.' But as Conington observes, this 'would only produce a platitude.' As in Horace's *eques sonante verberabit ungula*, the rider is said to do what the horse does.

3. No one I think has accused Horace of using *eques* for *equus*, but an instance has been detected in the *Bellum Hispaniense* iii. 6, *iubet binos equites conscendere*. The context shows that there were present an equal number of cavalry and infantry and that two men were to mount on each horse. The passage is clumsy; but I do not see that it is helped by making *equites*=horses. The writer of the pamphlet had certainly read Ennius, for he twice quotes him by name, but I think that if he had taken *eques* from

Ennius for *equus*, we should have had *quadrupes eques* in full and not the odd use uniquely introduced by itself. Elsewhere his use is normal.

4. Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. v. 31, in *prima parte leves Hispanos . . . ponerent, paulo interius scutatos, in remotissimo equites, ne fremitu eorum cogitata proderentur*. No doubt *fremitus equorum*, the reading of the worse MSS., would be a little more logical here, but the fact that the best MSS. have *eorum* does not justify us in taking *equitum* to mean 'horses,' as is solemnly proposed. The idea would land one in many puzzles. Three kinds of soldiery are enumerated, all of them having been mentioned in the sentence before. It is not credible, in such a case that a writer would say 'the Spaniards, the heavy infantry and the horses' when he meant the cavalry. *Fremitus eorum* is plainly a bit of loose writing, which has the merit of being quite lucid.

5. Minucius Felix, vii. 3, *Curtius equitis sui vel mole vel honore hiatum profundae voraginis coaequavit*. Curtius jumped in himself. It is rather unkind to say that it was the size or the dignity of his horse which did the work: besides 'the dignity of his horse' is nonsense. What Minucius wanted to say was that the size or dignity of horse and man was effective, size referring to the horse and dignity to the man: *equitis sui*, I suppose, is simply 'of himself mounted' i.e. of self and horse. It is short, and oddly put, but clear enough.

I think I am justified in saying first that none of these passages which can be tested by their sense and context, bear the weight laid on them by recent writers. Secondly, I am inclined to conclude that *eques* in the sense of 'horse' is a literary invention of Julianus or some one before him. Possibly it began with the error of some scribe who wrote *quadrupes eques* as *homocoteleuta*, and the over-subtle litterateur, lighting on the blunder, pronounced it correct. From

Julianus and Gellius it got into commentaries and glossaries and thus it came to be really used by later writers, like Gregory of Tours: see the collections of Max Bonnet,

whose own explanation, that it is due to rhetorical synecdoche, is perhaps hardly sufficient.

F. HAVERFIELD.

GREEK STEMS ENDING IN -ι- AND -ευ- AND "Αρης.

THE forms *πρεσβήιον*, apparently a derivative—at any rate in the *Iliad*—of *πρέσβυς* (strengthened stem *πρεσβεF-*), and *μαντεύομαι* (*μαντεύομαι*) suggest that *μαντήιον* is a derivative from the Epic and Ionic stem *μαντεν-* for earlier *μαντειν-* and that all forms in -ήϊο- allied to substantives in -εύς- should be similarly analysed. This conclusion is upheld by Alkaios' ἀρείοι, which contrasted with his βασιλήϊων separates the forms "Αρηα κ.τ.λ. from the -ήα κ.τ.λ. of nouns in -εύς- and supports the view that the stems like *βασιλευ-* are for *βασιλειν-* (strengthened form *βασιλειF->βασιληF-* in some oblique cases of substantives); while "Αρηα is simply for "Αρεφα, as Dr. Leaf contends. I take "Αρεφος to come from an earlier "Αρεςυος, and nom. "Αρευς from "Αρεςυς.

Thus it appears that in Epic and some Aeolic dialects the η of MSS. in the group of forms under consideration stands for -εF- (except as an accented penultimate) -ειF-, and -ειεF-, while in some Aeolic dialects -ηF- of inscriptions represents εiF and -ειεF-.

In Epic, however, -εF- and -ειF- are often represented by ε either as a poetic licence or by the use of a different dialect.

There is also a variation in the strengthened cases of πόλις.

We find in the *Iliad* πόλει, πτόλει, (cp. πόσει), once however, *Il.* 3. 50, πόλῃ, πόλῃος, not πόλεος (but more often πόλιος), πόλῃς twice, πόλεις two or three times.

Such forms as ποθήω, κυπρογενής in Lesbian Aeolic, which gives us πόλῃος, suggest strongly that the Epic η in cases of πόλις belongs to an Aeolic dialect and represents an earlier Hellenic εῖ, and not a pre-Hellenic ē or ē̃.

As for the Attic locative πόλῃ, it does not follow that because early Attic did not agree with Lesbian in representing εῖ by η before α, ε, ο, ω it did not do so before ι. I think that the combination εῖ only occurs in the locative of the -ι- declension. It is therefore permissible to assume that in early Attic, ε, that is a short ε, was in this

exceptional case lengthened by the absorption of the greater part of the ι and the glide thereto. The early Attic form πόλῃος, to be inferred from πόλεως, is accordingly to be explained as a new formation on the analogy of πόλῃ, while πόλει is on the analogy of πόλεως and the nom. gen. and acc. plural and perhaps also of forms like πήχει.

The segregation of "Αρηος, "Αρευος furnishes a likely derivation for the name, viz. that "Αρευς (for "Αρεςυς) is connected with the Skt. root *ras* 'roar.' Cf. Skt. *ru-s* 'cry,' 'noise,' 'war.'

The root *res* without the suffix *υ* might account for "Αρης, "Αρες, unless the nominative "Αρης exhibits a similar phonetic development or analogical origin to that of Arcadian and Doric *ιερής*, in which case the different place of the accent accounts for the vocalism of "Αρης being different from that of Ζεύς in Epic, Ionic, and Attic. If *ιερής* is for an earlier *ιερήFς*, this may have been a new form based on the analogy of oblique cases which superseded *ιερεύς* (<*ιερεινός*) or it may be a phonetic development from *ιερεινός* comparable with the Attic πόλῃ. The normal accusative "Αρευν would be very likely to be displaced by an analogical "Αρηα, "Αρενα as was the case. Pindar's *Ισχυς* is a proper name of similar formation to the assumed "Αρεςυς, an abstract noun used with shifted accent as a proper name. My suggestion that πόλῃ was the contracted form of a dative πόλειαi is withdrawn.

As for *Il.* 3. 50, πόλῃ τε πάντι τε δήμῳ, the words occur in Theognis 1005, and cf. *Il.* 24, 706, μέγα χάρμα πόλει τ' ἦν πάντι τε δήμῳ. I think *Il.* 3. vv. 46-51 are a late addition, but I do not dispute the existence of πόλῃ in some dialects before the time of Theognis. It is clear that Greek throws no light on the Skt. locatives exemplified by *agnāu*, *sīnāu* which seem to exhibit compensation for a lost suffix, *agnāu* here going over into the *u* declension.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

ACHILLEUS AND ERECHTHEUS.

(1) ACHILLEUS.

THE view that Achilles was a river-god has been received by mythological students with more favour than any other explanation. 'Im Sohn der Thetis und des Peleus,' says Welcker,¹ 'erblicken wir zuletzt einen Flussgott, wie in König Inachos und manchen andern.' Yet, better though this view may be than that which sees in the hero a god of light, there is really little or nothing to be said for it. It has been supported by (1) the assumption that Peleus was a slime-rolling river-god, (2) the circumstance that Menesthios, one of the Myrmidons, was a son of the river Spercheios and a daughter of Peleus,² (3) the battle of Achilles with the Scamander in *Iliad* xxi. But (1) there is not the smallest reason to suppose that Peleus was a river-god, beyond the probable etymology *πηλός*, which only involves that he was an impersonation of mud; (2) a legend of the birth of one of the Myrmidons throws no light on the origin of their chief. (3) The story of a battle of Achilles with a river-god does not imply that Achilles was a river-god himself. On the contrary. Two river-gods can be conceived as fighting only when their waters meet: the Euphrates can struggle with the Tigris, the Rhone with the Saône; but the reminiscence that Achilles was originally a river-deity, would hardly suggest, as it certainly would not justify, the battle with the Scamander.

But there is one deity whom any river-god might be conceived as encountering. That deity is the sea. And all the evidence that we have seems to show that originally the son of the sea-goddess was simply a sea-god. It is needless to insist on the fact that river-gods were usually conceived as children of Oceanos; it is more important to observe how closely Achilles was associated with his mother and the Nereids.³ The hero's storm-swift horses who were born on a meadow *παρὰ ῥόον Ὀκεανῶο*⁴ suggest a sea-god, perhaps, rather than a river-god. But it is the cult of Achilles as a sea-god, lord of the Pontos,⁵ on the shores of the Euxine,—

especially in the desert island of Leuce where sea-birds were the keepers of his lonely temple,—that testifies most clearly to his original nature. It is impossible to believe that the sole motive of this cult was his fame in the Trojan legend, however much the Trojan legend may have modified its development.

The recognition of Achilles as a sea-god seems to receive illustration from another side. Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff has shown that Acheloos was a sea-god,⁶ and it at once suggests itself that Ἀχιλεὺς was connected with Ἀχελώϊος.

The motive of the legend in making Peleus father of Achilles might be sought in a simple localisation of the sea-god to the Thessalian waters which wash the foot of Mt. Pelion. But it seems very doubtful whether Peleus was originally associated with Pelion, and we must not forget that Achilles in the Homeric poems belongs not to Thessaly but to Phthia and the plain of the Spercheios. Now in this plain there is a phenomenon which might have given rise to the legend of the birth of Achilles. For ages the sea has been retreating, the plain has been advancing, through a process of silting up; and the deposits of mud, gradually increasing to form new shores, may have suggested the fancy of making Peleus (*πηλός*) the father of a sea-god. This conjecture would furnish a reason for the bringing together of Peleus and Achilles. But the important thing to grasp is that they existed independently before they were brought together as father and son.

(2) ERECHTHEUS.

I turn now to a local name of the great Sea-god himself. The explanation of the name Erechtheus depends upon two facts: the original identity of Erechtheus with Poseidon, and his close connection with Erichthonios. It is needless to spend words over either of these points, which will not be disputed; it is enough to refer to our chief English authority on the subject of Attic mythology, Miss Harrison.⁷ There can be no reasonable

¹ *Der epische Cycclus*, ii. p. 37.

² *Il.* xvi. 175-6.

³ Their joint cult is illustrated by a stone of Erythrae: Ἀχιλλεύς Θέτιδος Νηρηίδων, Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 370, l. 51, 76.

⁴ *Il.* xvi. 149-151.

⁵ Ποντάρχης.

⁶ Euripides, *Herakles*,² i. 23: 'der herr des meeres.' I may observe that this throws light on the πόλεις Ἀχελωίδες of Aesch. *Pers.* 867.

⁷ *Ancient Athens*, xlvii. sqq. lix. Miss Harrison has shown that Erechtheus and Erichthonios were once the same, and afterwards differentiated. This view has been independently worked out by E. Ermatinger in

doubt that the names 'Ερεχθεύς and 'Εριχθόνιος belong together. The form 'Εριχθέως, which occurs twice on the Parian stone,¹ has been held to supply the link. Yet it seems very hazardous to build upon an isolated form in an inscription of that kind. It would be quite a different thing if it occurred on a stone concerning a local cult, where primitive forms may be expected to be preserved. It is safer to regard this spelling as an error, not as a survival. This however does not affect the truth of the connexion of Erechtheus with Erichthonios. But the question has been obscured by the unsatisfactory and, as it seems to me, impossible derivation which has been accepted for 'Εριχθόνιος. The old man of the sea, ἄλιος γέρων, could never have been called *ἐρι-άλιος; nor could a heavenly deity be called *ἐρι-ουράνιος. And it would be equally absurd to call a chthonian deity, or an earthborn god, ἐρι-χθόνιος: he must be either χθόνιος or not; there are no degrees. It follows that ἐριχθόνιος is not formed from χθόνιος with the prefix ἐρι-, but is formed from *ἐρίχθων. The clue to the signification is given by the identity of Erechtheus with

Poseidon; for we know the relation of Poseidon to the earth; it is expressed in the epithets σεισίχθων, ἐνοσίχθων. We can hardly doubt that the designation of Poseidon from which ἐριχθόνιος was formed had the same meaning; and we can easily derive it from ἐρεχθ<ο-χθ>ων 'earth-river' (from ἐρέχθω), one of those common lightened forms, like ἄμφ<ιφ>ορεύς, τέτρα<δρα>χμον, κελαιν<ο-ν>εφής, &c.² For the form of the compound, compare such forms as ἀρχέπολις, ἀρχέλαος, Ἀγέλαος, &c.

'Ερεχθεύς then is a Kurzname for this designation of Poseidon.³ Erichthonios, which should have been Erechthonios, got its *i* from the false and most natural derivation ἐρι + χθόνιος. Moreover, it meant originally not Erechtheus, but 'of Erechtheus'—a patronymic. And if Erichthonios was the son of Poseidon-Erechtheus, we have a new starting-point for the development of the myths. Or is it possible that the Erichthonian was, first of all, the snake of Erechtheus, who would, from another aspect, be Erechtheus himself?

J. B. BURY.

Die attische Autochthonensage, which was reviewed by Miss Harrison above, vol. xii. p. 172 *sqq.* But the conclusion of these scholars does not exclude the possibility of a stage still further back, in which Erechtheus and Erichthonios though closely connected were not quite the same.

¹ *Marmor Parium*, 24 and 27.

² In the case of these syllabic reductions it is the second, not the first, of the two similar syllables that generally falls out; and this is natural, as one can learn by vocal experiment. ἄμφορεύς is ἄμφ<ιφ>ορεύς, not ἄμ<φι>φορεύς.

³ Like Οινεύς for Οινόμαος, &c.

WECKLEIN'S *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS* OF EURIPIDES.

Euripidis Fabulae. Ed. R. PRINZ et N. WECKLEIN. *Iphigenia Taurica*. Ed. N. WECKLEIN. Lipsiae in aed. B. G. Teubneri. MDCCCXCVIII. M. 2.40.

As a record of the MSS. readings and of the sources of emendations of the MSS., this edition of the Tauric *Iphigeneia* is greatly superior to any of its predecessors, and may with some confidence be pronounced final. It is needless to say that great weight attaches also to the editor's judgment in the constitution of the text.

As in his *Aeschylus*, he puts at the foot of the page, along with the discarded MSS. readings, such variants as are either adopted in the text or have gone near to be so. In an appendix follow such conjectures as

in Wecklein's judgment are worthy of record, though '*minus probabiles*.'

As to the MSS., which for this play were collated by Prinz, the original editor of the series, Wecklein follows Vitelli (for this play, as for the *Electra*, the *Helena*, the *Supplices*, the *Heracidae* and the *Herc. Fur.*) in denying to P (as to its complementary part G) any independent authority. He says P is a copy of L. His reason is that in ten passages where P has a mistake, the right letter is so written in L as to look like the wrong one which P has. This, however, is not absolutely conclusive, for, either P may have erred (and P is very apt to err) independently of L's indistinctness, or the original from which both copied may have been indistinct too. On the other hand, to

pass over smaller points, at v. 1006 P ends a line τὰ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀσθενῇ, where L has τὰ δὲ γυναικῶν ἀσθενῇ, and after v. 1441 L alone has the line (first discovered by Musgrave in a Paris copy of L):

τῶν νῦν παρόντων πημάτων ἀναψυχάς.

Most modern editors follow Markland in pronouncing this line spurious. It is hard to believe that the very fallible scribe of P should have been able to correct L when he offended against Porson's canon, and have been so prematurely sceptical as to rival Markland's critical acumen. It is conceivable that γυναικὸς for γυναικῶν (the *ων* in an abbreviation) is a lucky accident, but chance cannot account for the omission of the spurious line. The question, however, though difficult, is of no great importance. In no passage in this play at all events would its decision one way or other affect the constitution of the text.

It is perhaps worth notice that in many instances late corrections of L (marked *l* by Wecklein) were evidently made *from* the Aldine edition. This will be clear to anyone who compares (*e.g.*) the readings of *l* on p. 21 of this edition with those of the Aldine text (*cp.* also on vv. 579, 636, 1121, 1138, and 1232).

The following readings adopted by Wecklein are among the novelties of this edition; 300 πέλανον (*p*) for πέλαγος, 355 ἐπήγαγ' (M. Haupt) for ἀπήγαγ', 364 ἔλεξα (Paley) for λέγουσα, 391 οὐδέν (Nauck) for οὐδένα, 409 ἔκελσαν (?) (Stadtmüller) for ἐπλευσαν, 444 ἐλιχθεῖσα (*l*, i.e. Ald.) for εἰλιχθεῖσα, 813 ἤκουσ' ἃ χρυσῆς ἄρνός ἦν νείκη πέρι (Mekler) for ἤκουσα and ἦνίκ' ἦν, 815 χρίμπτη (Editor) for κάμπτη (the last two emendations show that the editor does not err by being too conservative), 875 πελέκεως (Reiske) for πολέως, 943 ἐμμανῇ (Weil) for ἐνθεν μοι, 957 μεταστενάζω (Editor) for μέγα στενάζω, 1059 συννόμου (Editor) for συγγόνου, 1106 ὃ πολλὰ δακρῶν λιβὰς ἄ...ἔπεσεν (suggested, but not adopted by the Editor) for ὃ πολλὰ...λιβάδες αἰ...ἔπεσον, 1242 μάτερ' (?) (Editor) for μάτηρ, 1321 δλείζων (?) (Ed.) for σε μείζων, 1420 ἦ 'ν (Ed.) for ἦ. It may also be noticed that Wecklein writes Κλυταιμίστρα, πανταχῇ, ἱερέα (priestess), ἐξαίρετος and not ἐξαιρετός, 2nd sing. of primary midd. and pass. tenses in ἦ, εἵνεκα for οὐνεκα as a preposition, a *rough breathing* to mark crasis where the second word began with one.

The only misprint I have observed is on p. 7, 9 from bottom, where ὕδραιον *p* should be ὕδραιον *P*.

E. B. ENGLAND.

ZACHER ON THE KNIGHTS OF ARISTOPHANES.

Aristophanesstudien, von KONRAD ZACHER. Erstes Heft: Anmerkungen zu Aristophanes' Rittern. Leipzig, 1898. Pp. 147, Price 5 Mk.

IN 1897 Professor Zacher of Breslau published a second edition of A. von Velsen's text of the *Equites* with full critical apparatus. He has now issued this volume mainly for the purpose of explaining or defending his view of passages where he had altered Velsen's reading. Velsen held that even our best manuscripts give a corrupt text: his judgment, especially in making conjectures of his own, was unfortunately not very good: and Zacher's more conservative treatment will be satisfactory to most scholars. It is noticeable that in several passages he has become more conservative since 1897: for instance he now keeps in 213 ταῦθ' ἄπερ ποιεῖς, where ταῦθ' had been adopted by several editors from Lenting and Cobet. This is a minute point: but Zacher's discussion makes the manu-

script reading seem the more likely one. Again in 423 he very properly withdraws the objections he formerly had to εἰ δ' οὖν ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν: it is very strange that any objection should ever have been raised: if there is a sentence in all Greek literature where the peculiar sense of εἰ δ' οὖν is exactly in point, it is this.

The pleasure of reading such notes as those on lines 9, 66, 174, 292, 503, 872, where Prof. Zacher gives the plain and sensible explanation of the Greek which is ample defence for the old readings, is naturally mixed with some wonder at the perverseness or ignorance which has made such a defence necessary. So on 814 he gives the right explanation of ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν εὐρὼν ἐπιχειλῇ: ἐπιχειλῆς means something short of μεστός, as Pollux plainly says and as Paley pointed out on *Agam.* 790. (One is surprised to find ἐπιχειλῆς still rendered *brimful*, and ὑπερχειλῆς *running over*, in Liddell and Scott.)

In 659 and 763 Prof. Zacher rightly sees that the Ionic forms give additional point to the expression of vows and prayers: such Ionisms were certainly used in the ritual phrases of Attic religion, and *διηκοσίησι βοσὶν* is the Sausage-man's attempt at such formal phrase in 659, as *Ἀθηναίῃ* is Cleon's in 763. In 159, his objections to *τῶν Ἀθηνέων ταγέ* do not seem to me well founded: *Ἀθηνέων* is a good companion to the poetical *ταγός*, and is by a well-known rule of criticism a conjecture of the safest kind for the MSS. *Ἀθηναίων*.

Prof. Zacher shows, as he has done before, very wide reading in Greek and in the commentaries on Aristophanes: he seems ready to accord that recognition of Russian as a medium for contributions to scholarship and science which Russians must be expected to press for. His independence of judgment towards the commentators is fully preserved: he does not bow the knee too low to Cobet, and he is ready with that criticism

of 'complete failure to understand humour and irony' which is at least an improvement on the amenities which passed in former times between editors of Aristophanes.

He has often proved the needlessness of conjectures by others: I cannot think he has proved the merits, or indeed the need, of several conjectures he himself advances, as his arrangement of lines 21 *sqq.*, or his proposal of *σταῖτός* for *στόματος* in 539. His best conjecture seems to me to be *μυριάδας* for *μῶς* in 835, on the supposition that *μυριάδας* was written *Μδας* (*M = μύριοι*).

On 407 he seems to think that *τὸν Ἰουλιόν* means Simonides, surely an impossible explanation. His long discussion and defence of *εἰ* with subjunctive on 698 is careful, but hardly convincing. The present writer may be allowed to express satisfaction in finding that conservative conclusions he has himself reached have the support of a scholar of Prof. Zacher's standing.

R. A. NEIL.

ABBOTT'S SELECT LETTERS OF CICERO.

Selected Letters of Cicero, edited by F. F. ABBOTT, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. Ginn and Company, Boston.

THIS selection consists of 100 letters, well chosen as samples of the whole correspondence between Cicero and his friends. The introduction and notes are drawn from good sources, and in particular the editor has studied carefully most of the numerous recent articles (chiefly German) on the language and style of the Letters, as compared with Latin literature in general. As an introduction to the study of Cicero's correspondence, for the purposes of students in schools and colleges, the volume is well designed and executed. For such students its main fault lies in the severe brevity of the notes. Many difficulties which are likely to loom large in the eyes of readers unfamiliar with the Letters of Cicero, are passed by; others are inadequately treated. At the cost of a few additional pages, references might have been given to standard works in which the solution of many of these difficulties would be found. Prof. Abbott's rule of brevity is matched in its severity by the restraint he has imposed on himself as regards novelties of reading or

interpretation. This is a matter for regret, as he is unquestionably well qualified for the task of independent criticism.

I append a few notes on points in respect of which changes might with advantage be introduced in future editions. It will be seen that many of these points concern the questions of 'colloquialism' and 'archaism' in the language of the Letters. In common with many other scholars who have written on these topics in recent times, the editor, as it seems to me, goes beyond due warrant in stamping usages as 'archaic' or 'colloquial.'

P. xix.: 'he (Cicero) defended C. Rabirius on the charge of murder, brought against him by the democrats.' The charge was not merely murder, but high treason.

P. xxii.: 'the conduct of Caesar, who appreciated Cicero's danger, was generous.' Caesar might well appreciate the danger, seeing that he had the greatest share in its creation.

P. lxxv. Under the head of 'archaism' *qui* is quoted as ablative from *Fam.* 2, 16, 2; whereas in that passage *qui* is interrogative, and has nothing archaistic about it. On the same page, *absque* is quoted from *Att.* 1, 19, 1, as a synonym of *sine*. This is the only passage in Cicero where modern texts give the word, and it is not above suspicion; it

appears only in Med., and the text there is in some confusion. Now there is no example in Latin earlier than Cicero of *absque* used excepting in immediate connexion with a personal pronoun and moreover in a conditional sentence. Therefore if Cicero employed the word in *Att.* 1, 19, 1, he was not imitating antiquity but starting a novelty; a novelty, moreover, in which he was not followed by any writer earlier than Quintilian, even assuming that the text of *Inst. Or.* 7, 2, 44 is correct, which I do not believe (see Jordan, *Krit. Beitr.*, p. 309). In all probability Fronto, not Cicero or Quintilian, was the inventor of the free use of *absque* as the equivalent of *sine*. Again, on the same page, Prof. Abbott attributes to Cicero in his Letters the employment of *ast* for *at*. The history of the word *ast* in Latin is curious. Doubt hangs over every one of the few instances in which it is presented to us in modern texts of writings earlier than the time of Cicero. The question has been thoroughly examined by H. Jordan in his *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1879). He has destroyed the credit of all the passages containing *ast* whose date falls between the time of the xii Tables and the time of Cicero. This article was written before I had seen Jordan's paper, and as my treatment of some of the passages is somewhat different from his, I have allowed what I had written on the subject to stand. L. Mueller gives *ast* in three lines of Ennius, but in no one of the three does the word rest on MSS. authority. In *An.* 221, if we possessed the context, the *aut* of the MSS. might well be seen to be in place (Baehrens prefers to write *haut*). The same consideration applies to *An.* 319. In *An.* 258 the MSS. give 'Ennius lupiastic quem nunc tu tam torbiter increpuisti,' which Scaliger emended to 'Ennius lib. I. *ast* hic, etc.'; and L. Mueller keeps *ast* *hic*, but *istic* (Jordan) is as easy a correction. Nonius p. 144, 12 presents us with *ast* in a line of Attius, somewhat to the surprise of L. Mueller himself, as his note shows; but the metre does not require the word, and it may be due to the quoter, like much else of the kind. Old texts of Plautus and Terence exhibited *ast* in some lines from which it has now been driven. There is MSS. evidence for it in *Plaut. Capt.* 683; *Amerc.* 246; *Trin.* 74. In no one of these three lines is it necessary for the metre. In *Capt.* 683 it is not in the Ambrosian palimpsest, and there is good reason for supposing *Trin.* 74 to be corrupt. To come to Cicero himself, he uses the word

seven times in the *De Legibus*. In no one of the passages does it introduce a new subject; the clause at the head of which it stands is always closely continuative of a preceding clause; and in no instance is it necessary or even desirable to place a full stop in front of the word. In six of the seven passages there is a conditional force; in the seventh the sense is 'further' or 'moreover'; nowhere does the adversative meaning of *at* emerge. In the *Prognostica* v. 160 we find *ast autem* at the beginning of a sentence. The strangeness of this struck Nettleship, who in his *Contributions to Lexicography*, s. v. *ast*, remarks 'either *ast* or *autem* must=tum.' The line (*ast autem tenui quae candet lumine Phatne*) is preserved by Friscian, who quotes it twice, and undoubtedly found, either in his MSS. or in his memory, the words *ast autem*. But apart from the grammatical peculiarity, there is reason for suspecting the reading. The words of Aratus which correspond to Cicero's line are 'σκέπτεο καὶ Φάτνην ἣ μὲν τ' ὀλίγη εἰκὺα ἄχλυν.' There is nothing in them to suggest the two particles; and σκέπτεο naturally invited translation. Elsewhere in his versions of Aratus Cicero introduces *cernes* and the like, several times over, where there is no corresponding word in the Greek; it would be strange if here he gave σκέπτεο the go-by. I suspect that he wrote *aspice item*. The only other passages in Cicero's writings where *ast* is precisely presented by any good MS. are three in the Letters to Atticus, viz. 3, 15, 6 and 6, 5, 2 and 16, 6, 1. In the edition of Tyrrell and Purser the word is changed in the last of these passages and, with a little inconsistency, retained in the other two. In 6, 5, 2 *hoc tu indaga ut soles, ast hoc magis* (Med. *astoc*), the termination of *soles* has probably led to the conversion of an original *et* into *ast*. In 3, 15, 6 *ast tute* may possibly be a corruption of *st! tute* (Jordan at *tute*). In 16, 6, 1 the Tornaesianus and Cratander are at variance with Med., and *ast inde* is in itself an unsuitable reading. At three other points in the Letters *ast* has sometimes been introduced by emendation, viz. 1, 16, 7; 15, 4, 1; 16, 11, 1. When to the facts already given the consideration is added that *ast* is not to be found in the extant fragments of Cato, Lucilius, Varro, nor in the MSS. of such 'archaists' as Lucretius, Catullus, Sallust; nor in Livy, except in one quotation from an ancient formula, nor in inscriptions of the Republican period, the improbability that Cicero used the word in his Letters becomes very great indeed. The whole evidence

concerning *ast* points to the conclusion that Horace and Virgil first transferred it to literature, and that they found it, not in the living language, nor yet in preceding literature, but in sacral or legal formulae alone.

P. lxvi.: 'the accusative is used a little more freely in the Letters than in formal literature; e.g. *hoc a te praesens contendissem* (*Cael. Fam.* 8, 16, 4).' But *aliquid ab aliquo contendere* is common enough in 'formal' literature.

P. lxxiv.: 'apparently the Plautine *sis* (*si vis*) and *sodes* are not used.' A slight oversight, for not only does *sis* occur in Cicero's writings, but attention is called on p. 137 of this edition to one example, and an instance of *sodes* exists in *Att.* 7, 3, 11.

P. 4 (*Att.* 1, 1, 2): Boot's emendation, *eum libenter nunc Caesari consulē accuderim*, is accepted. The word *accuderim* is an importation from Plaut. *Merc.* 432 (where alone it is found): *tres minas accudere etiam possum ut triginta sient*, 'I can clap three minae more on to the sum and make it thirty.' The word is almost as much out of place in the passage of Cicero as the ἀπαξ εἰρημένα from Plautus and other ancients, with which Fronto grotesquely garnishes his style.

P. 10: *orbis terrae* (*Fam.* 5, 7, 3): 'the entire world, while *orbis terrarum*, indicates the Roman world.' The rule is stated too absolutely. There are many instances of *orbis terrae* applied to the 'Roman world.'

P. 27: *ludis et gladiatoribus* (*Att.* 1, 16, 11); 'colloquial ablatives of time. Such colloquial ablatives Cicero has with one exception (*Philipp.* 9, 16) avoided outside the Letters.' This is very far from being the case; in particular *ludis* is common and must have been the regular phrase in all Latin to express 'at the time of the games.'

P. 30: *Amaltheo* (*Att.* 1, 16, 15): 'the villa of Atticus near Buthrotum.' The *Amaltheum* cannot have been a villa. Cicero says here 'libet mihi facere in Arpinati' and he certainly had no idea of building a second villa on his estate at Arpinum. The *Amaltheum* was either a shrine in the grounds, or possibly a room with a small *sacarium*; cf. *Hermæum* in Suet. *Claud.* 10. But the mention of the *platani* in *Leg.* 2, 7 makes in favour of the former of these two views.

P. 67: *sane* (*Q. Fr.* 2, 3, 2); 'with adjectives and adverbs a common colloquialism in Cicero's letters.' There are surely, how-

ever, plenty of passages in the more formal literature where *sane* attaches itself to adjectives, at least.

P. 84: *Graecos aut Oscos ludos* (*Fam.* 7, 1, 3); 'comedy and tragedy were essentially of Greek origin; and Cicero speaks of them, therefore, as *ludi Graeci* in distinction from the *fabulae Atellanæ* (*ludi Osci*).' It seems to me highly improbable that Cicero should have applied to plays written in Latin the phrase *Graeci ludi*, which points rather to athletic and musical exhibitions of Greek pattern.

P. 85: *Galli Canini* (*Fam.* 7, 1, 4); 'with some two or three exceptions (e.g. *Cic. de Or.* 2, 253) the *cognomen* is never placed before the *nomen* in formal Latin of the Ciceronian period.' 'Formal Latin' is an elastic phrase; but the examples of the inversion of *cognomen* and *nomen* in Cicero's writings other than his Letters, are far more numerous than two or three. Indeed, where the *praenomen* is omitted, the inversion may be regarded as normal in Cicero.

P. 115: *opinor* (*Fam.* 8, 1, 4); 'this unusual parenthetical use of *opinor*, like that of *puto*, belongs to the language of conversation.' I do not understand the note; the usage of which it speaks is widespread in all kinds of Latin writing.

P. 123: *ut castra apud Iconium faceret* (*Fam.* 15, 4, 2); '*apud* with the acc. for the locative or *in* with the abl. is archaic.' Here, however, the camp is pitched not *in* or *at* the town but *near* it, and the use of *apud* is natural.

P. 117: *iniuria* (*Fam.* 13, 1, 1); 'although the banishment of Memmius was deserved, technically it was *iniuria*, because as Memmius had turned state's evidence, and had brought a charge of *ambitus* against Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*Q. fr.* 3, 2, 3) he might have reasonably expected exemption from punishment.' This is a somewhat unintelligible note. Memmius failed in his prosecution of Domitius, and only a successful prosecution could legally or 'technically' wipe out a conviction.

P. 187: *quomodo* (*Fam.* 9, 16, 2); 'equivalent to *quoquomodo*, as in *Fam.* 14, 14, 1 *quomodo quidem nunc se res habet bellissime mecum esse poteritis*.' There is no instance in Cicero of *quomodo* with the sense of *quoquomodo*; nor indeed anywhere else in the better Latin. In these two passages it is merely the equivalent of *ut* 'as.'

P. 225: *ab Aegina* (*Fam.* 4, 5, 4); '*ab* and *ex* to denote motion from and *in* to denote position in, and motion towards, with names of towns and islands, are archaic.' So far

as *ab* at least is concerned, the statement can hardly be substantiated.

P. 228: *apisci* (*Fam.* 4, 5, 6); Cicero uses *apisci* only twice, *Att.* 8, 14, 3, and *de Leg.* 1, 52. In the latter passage the word rests on correction; and *asciscendi* would be so easy a reading; while in the former *maris apiscendi* is so strange a phrase that I

can hardly believe it sound; it may be a corruption of *adsequendi*, and the change may have been brought about by the confusion between *d* and *p* which has affected many passages of the Letters, e.g. *duto* for *puto* in *Att.* 11, 12, 4 (*Med.*).

J. S. REID.

HOFFMANN'S IONIC DIALECT.

Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen dargestellt: von Dr. OTTO HOFFMANN. 3. Band. Der ionische Dialekt. Quellen und Lautlehre. Göttingen. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1898. 16 Mk.

CONTRARY to the plan laid down in his preface and followed in his first and second volumes, Hoffmann here does not attempt a reconstruction of the parent dialect from which Attic and Ionic have sprung, but aims merely at giving us a clear idea of the characteristic peculiarities of Ionic in its narrower sense.

'Historical connection' has withdrawn into the background. Attic plays no greater a part than would be expected from the nearest relative of the dialect under discussion, and the norm with which it has been common custom to compare all dialect variations. In fact, Hoffmann admits that we are still far from being able to write a history of the Ionic dialect. Still he had led us to expect something of this kind from him, and has disappointed us evidently against the advice of his friend and helper, A. Fick, who expresses his disapproval of the change of plan in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1898, p. 502. This change is the more striking, because we have had since 1894 the excellent 'Ionic Dialect' of Dr. H. W. Smyth, which, even though it fall short of Hoffmann's idea of clearness, should surely form a satisfactory basis for the working out of the larger plan. In that he fails to make this use of it, but is content to make a 'step in advance' in the treatment of a separate dialect, he tacitly admits that he had originally undertaken a work beyond his powers.

Of the 626 pages in this volume, 178 are taken up by a reprint of the more important inscriptions, and of the poems of Archilochus, Callinus, Semonides, Mimner-

mus, Hipponax, and Anacreon. It is unnecessary to repeat the criticisms of this feature of Hoffman's plan. It is often a convenience to have the sources so readily available, especially those inscriptions which had not before been brought together—and of the 184 here given 72, for the most part very short, are not contained in Bechtel's collection. Still such repetition is unnecessary, and the objections to it are in this case emphasized by the impossibility of incorporating all the important sources, and the consequent necessity of making an arbitrary selection. The text of the poets is Hoffmann's own. The variations from Bergk are in great part orthographical, as *eo* for *eu*, *ἐσλήν* for *ἐσθλήν*, *γίνεται* for *γίγνεται*, etc. Most of them are well supported by inscriptional authority; others such as *ἡχέηντα* for *ἡχέεντα*, *ζοῶ* for *ζοοῦ* are not as well grounded; the substitution of *πω* for *κω*, etc., in Archilochus he afterwards regrets (pp. 216, 595). Further, datives in *-ois* and *-ais* are eliminated as un-Ionic, naturally not without violence to the traditional word-order. Possibly these forms are also among those upon which he afterwards changed his mind (*Nachträge*, p. ix.); at any rate on p. 443 he cites inscriptional evidence for *-ois* and *-his*, and *-ais* too is supported by 42. 27, an inscription from the fifth century, free from Attic influence. Such Homeric forms as *λαός* are also rigorously excluded. This leads us to his general estimate of the language of the elegy. Following Fick, he holds that the dialect of this form of poetry, at least in Archilochus and Callinus, is pure Ionic, while Smyth, acknowledging the purity of the Iambics, admits epic influence in the Elegiacs. The statement of the latter that the elegiac poets accepted 'the language of the Homeric epos as the basis of the fabric of their verse,' modifying it by removing archaisms, overrates the epic element. It would be truer to say that

they in general used the dialect of their time, but occasionally admitted epic forms. Hoffmann, while emphatic in the rejection of Aeolic *sounds* like *ā*, admits such *forms* as the gen. sg. in -*οιο*, dat. pl. in -*εσσι*, and *σσ* in *ἔσσεται*, *τόσσον*, etc., but defends them as good old Ionic forms, though obsolete in the time of the elegy. This is attributing to Archilochus a surprising knowledge of dialect peculiarities, if in the mass of archaic forms current in the earlier poems, he could distinguish what was pure Ionic. It would be easier to believe with Fick that at this time the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had not yet been translated from Aeolic, and that Archilochus in using -*οιο*, etc. was following the tradition of some form of early Ionic poetry; but Hoffmann does not follow Fick so far. Yet a strict application of his own view is impossible: note his statement on p. 559 that Archilochus in 'Ενναλίῳ ἀνακτος 1. 1 'has imitated the frequent Homeric verse-ending -*οιο ἀνακτος*,' and that 'ὁππότε κεν δῆ Callinus 8 is a citation' (p. 183). It follows that it is dangerous to remove *lāós* from the elegy until its retention in Homer has been satisfactorily explained. In this connection it may be remarked that Hoffmann treats the Homeric poems in this volume as in the preceding, *i.e.* he does not consider them, either for Ionic or Aeolic, a source worthy of attention.

In his discussion of the divisions of Ionic, Hoffmann says there are three possible explanations of the four groups of Herodotus i. 142:—(1) He referred to vocabulary; (2) he referred to sounds and forms, but the conventional orthography prevents the variation in dialect from being recognised; (3) he referred to sounds and forms, but had in mind the speech of the common people, not of the educated class. The first, he says, is the view of Bechtel, the second that of Smyth, the third his own. Though himself rejecting (1), he yet finds fault with Smyth for putting it aside, charging that 'he forgets the admitted fact that the Greeks in their earliest dialect investigations were interested chiefly in vocabulary.' Surely he has read Smyth carelessly, for it is distinctly stated on page 25 that the ancients 'believed that the ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων was the chief standard to be applied in the criticism of the dialect of the Ionic prose writers.' I am inclined to think also that Hoffmann is misstating Smyth when he sets up (3) as entirely opposed to the latter's view. The point in which they do decidedly differ is in their estimate of the orthography of the Ionic inscriptions. Smyth considers it conven-

tional; according to Hoffmann (p. 223), 'every inscription speaks clearly against the existence of an historical orthography, neglecting the sound of the word.' In this point I believe that Smyth is nearer the truth. Hoffmann cites ἦ 's, μῆ'λάσσονες, ἔξs, etc., in proof of the striving to express the sound as clearly as possible. But any conventional orthography can produce examples parallel to these. It is in the nature of things difficult to give a definite proof that Hoffmann is wrong, though one might cite the clinging to *ea* for centuries after their contraction; but the mere fact that inscriptions, found in so widely separated places, exhibit so few differences, is enough to incline one to the other view. The existence for centuries of an Ionic literature, and the development of a standard language of the educated classes, such as Hoffmann himself assumes, implies an orthography considerably conventionalized, and it is not difficult to believe that strongly marked differences of pronunciation existed between even the *educated* Samians and Milesians, without their feeling the necessity of breaking away from the traditional form of spelling. Smyth's statement of his position is by no means extreme, but as much cannot be said for Hoffmann, when he writes that the Ionic inscriptions are composed 'in einer durchaus "phonetischen" . . . Orthographie.' And on the whole his general remarks upon the sources and divisions of the dialect (pp. 179–212) are far from being as satisfactory as the introduction of Smyth (pp. 5–124), either in fulness of treatment or point of view.

In the "Lautlehre" this volume, like the first and second, deserves the highest praise for the completeness of the material and the clearness of its arrangement. Yet much space might have been saved by the omission of unnecessary examples. Of what advantage is it, for example, to cite all the passages in Herodotus and Hippocrates in which *ροῖσος* occurs? Full citations from the inscriptions and the early poets are to be desired, for there the spelling and metre give us sure ground on which to go, but the statistics from the prose MSS. would be quite sufficient: even on them little weight can be laid. In the discussion of disputed points Smyth is usually content to give the views of other scholars without expressing a decided opinion of his own; Hoffmann is more ambitious, more independent in judgment, and therefore more satisfying to those who look for definite statements, though it may be questioned whether he has

often suggested a new explanation that will be accepted as final. Without the intention of detracting from his, in the main, admirable work, I shall now turn to some points that seem to me to deserve criticism.

There is throughout a marked tendency to refer sound-changes to the influence of accent: a few examples may be found on pp. 233, 263, 274, 293, 314, 389, 408, 491. I am far from denying the possibility of such a causal connection, and it is to be hoped that the present activity in this direction may yet throw light on many hitherto obscure points; but none of these explanations—the most of them have already been suggested—has as yet met general acceptance, and Hoffmann is not justified in making his statements as positive as he frequently does. To show what degree of certainty there is, it will be sufficient to quote himself. On p. 389 he says, speaking of ϵ and $\epsilon\iota$ from $-\epsilon\upsilon\phi$ -, $-\epsilon\rho\sigma$ -, &c., o and ou from $-\omicron\upsilon\phi$ -, $-\omicron\rho\phi$ -, &c.: 'The pre-requisite and the direct cause of the shortening was the absence of the accent upon the impure diphthong. At times, in the same stem, forms with accented $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, $o\acute{u}$ occur beside others with unaccented ϵ , o . The shortening was, to be sure, not necessary: the diphthong could also assert itself in the unaccented syllable.' But exceptions do not greatly trouble Hoffmann when he is inclined to maintain certain causal influences, and, on the other hand, he frequently tells us that it is useless to attempt phonetic explanations, because there was no strict law. In a conventional literary dialect such as the Ionic it must be admitted that scores of older forms exist side by side with later, and that the striving for regularity has frequently obscured natural phonetic development; yet Hoffmann's standpoint is somewhat too free in this regard. While his use of accent may serve to illustrate his 'laws' where no law can be proven, the sections on vowel combinations furnish numerous instances of a failure to establish phonetic tendencies, where exceptions might have been explained. He often tells us that a certain vowel combination may remain open, or be contracted, or there may be 'hyphaeresis' of one of the vowels. But in the case of $a\phi\epsilon$, for example, I should be inclined to recognise contraction to $\bar{a}$ as the law of the dialect, proven by inscriptional and metrical evidence; the open forms in the poets are readily explained as older forms retained by tradition, or, in cases like $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\pi\tau\omicron\nu$, due to re-composition; $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, his one example of

hyphaeresis, follows the regular law of composition by the dropping of the ϵ of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$ before an initial ϵ ; while $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ is, as Brugmann, *Grund.* ii. 474, says, made on the analogy of forms in $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ -, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha$ -, etc. So also for $a\phi\epsilon\iota$, $a\phi\eta$, $a\phi o$, &c., contraction is the 'law.' With regard to 'hyphaeresis' in general I agree entirely with Brugmann, *I.F.* ix. pp. 159 ff., that it is unnecessary to separate many of the changes referred to it from other regular phonetic changes. Just as, according to Hoffmann himself, $-\acute{\epsilon}(\iota)\epsilon(s)\alpha\iota$ became $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, and then $-\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\iota$ by the law of shortening a long vowel before another, so also can $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon(\phi)\epsilon(s)\omicron\varsigma$ have become $-\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, at least if we admit, as he does, that $-\epsilon(s)\omicron$ could either remain open or be contracted. If $-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\phi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ had a diphthongal $\epsilon\omicron$ before the loss of ϕ , then a diphthong with long first member should result, which either could not be expressed by the alphabet, or was influenced by the analogy of the ordinary genitive in $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. Cases like $\nu\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ from $\nu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ are more difficult. As yet nothing better has been suggested than the influence of the double consonant. They may be compared with Cretan $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$: $\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$; and the change in $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, as Solmsen, *K.Z.* xxxii. p. 535, says, 'may be called hyphaeresis, but is not in principle different from contraction.' Some other points may be briefly referred to. On p. 286 he gives five proofs that υ in Ionic was a pure u . Of these the first and second prove nothing against a change in Ionic after the western colonies had been sent out; while the fourth and fifth have nothing to do with the pronunciation of υ outside of diphthongal combinations. On p. 562 he states that Attic and Ionic agree in the changes following the loss of ϕ after a consonant; even a free use of accent will hardly reconcile this with the conflicting examples on pp. 372, 413, etc. On p. 246 he adds to the questionable rule of J. Schmidt, that primitive Greek ao , aw became eo , ew , a still more questionable ea from aa : and here note the inconsistency on pp. 247 and 513 with regard to $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$. In his objection to Kretschmer's explanation of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ on p. 342, he forgets what follows from his own view in § 119, i.e. that ϕ between vowels was lost in the separate life of Attic and Ionic, while $\bar{a}$ became η in the Ionic-Attic period. Therefore there would be no influence to prevent $a^*\theta\bar{a}\phi\bar{a}$ from becoming $*\theta\eta\phi\eta$, since the two vowels were not in contact. Kretschmer himself had overlooked this point, but the possibility of 'Rückverwandlung,' which he was attempting to prove, follows from $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha < *ν\acute{\epsilon}\eta < *ν\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$

<*νέφα, granting that *F* was not lost until *ā* had become *η*. A strange error occurs on p. 318, where he claims that Anacreon 43.5 is a trochaic tetrameter, and the *α* of 'Αἶθεω

therefore long: does he then regard the first syllables of *πολιοί, χαρίεσσα*, etc. also as long?

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Madison, Wis.

ROUSE'S DEMONSTRATIONS IN LATIN ELEGIACS.

Demonstrations in Latin Elegiac Verse. By W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press). 1899. Pp. vii, 185. Price 4s. 6d.

THIS is a capital book to put into the hands of a young student who can write Latin elegiacs correctly but not yet with any facility. It begins with a very full and interesting statement of the principles of elegiac verse in general and of Ovid's practice in particular. The number of examples given and the excellent classification of them make this introductory chapter quite as useful to the teacher as to the learner: indeed, in my opinion, it considerably strengthens the case for retaining Latin verse composition in schools. The Headmaster of Haileybury has lately discussed this case very well, but I would add to his arguments this, that the criterion of merit, in an imitation of Ovidian verse, is more nearly infallible than for any other form of composition in any language. We had always the incomparable support of the Latin Dictionary, and in addition, because the Ovidian couplet is so small a unit, it is possible to produce, as Mr. Rouse produces, a convincing analysis of Ovid's rhythms and devices and turns of thought. But the greater part of the book, and that from which it derives its title, consists of a series of twenty-five elegiac versions, executed, so to say, at the black-board. Mr. Rouse takes a piece of English, not always a poem, which would be considered difficult by a beginner because the lines do not fall into couplets or because the ideas given require expansion or repetition or compression or some other judicious treatment. He then very frankly and pleasantly

describes the processes of his mind in forming each couplet of his translation, showing what is the available material, why he rejects this phrase, why he prefers that order, how a repetition may be disguised and so forth. The tact exhibited in these 'demonstrations' is of a very high order, for they are interesting throughout, escaping the tedium of too great brevity as well as that of prolixity. When it is added that the Latin versions finally chosen are uniformly excellent, criticism is almost exhausted. Even if they were sometimes not good, they should be excused from censure on the ground that the author is, for the time being, precluded from inspiration. He has to exhibit a process which is ex hypothesi imitable by the pupil. But if one schoolmaster may offer a friendly suggestion to another on their common art, I will venture to say that Mr. Rouse should not have omitted to be his own critic. Having made his version as well as the conditions allowed, he should review it and point out with what turns he is dissatisfied, what epithets strike him as poor, what Latinity as rather doubtful. Without this, he has not quite exposed his whole mind, which is what he wishes to do. Or, to make another suggestion to much the same effect, he might sometimes accept and carry out many different commencements, make many different couplets out of the same English, and then compare their merits. This process is very effective in the classroom, for it is refreshing to novices to see the deacon dissatisfied with his own craft. I hope, therefore, that, in a second edition, Mr. Rouse will be able to add an appendix of notes.

J. Gow.

STONE'S CLASSICAL METRES IN ENGLISH.

On the use of Classical Metres in English.

By WILLIAM JOHNSON STONE, King's College, Cambridge. Henry Frowde, London. 1899. pp. 59. 1/- net.

MR STONE deserves some praise for escaping three or four errors into which many writers on versification fall. He perceives that in English a doubled consonant does not generally make the preceding vowel long by position, but on the contrary marks it as short; that an accented vowel followed by another vowel is always long; that initial long *u* is always preceded by the consonant *y*; and that *ng*, except in a few words like *finger*, is really one consonant, not two. His treatise also gives a readable account of the attempts to write quantitative verse in English from Harvey and Sidney in the sixteenth century to Mr James Spedding in 1861. Further merit it has not: the discussion eddies about, the language is often slovenly (on p. 32 we read of accents degenerating into vowels), and Mr Stone's proposals, identical except for a detail or two with Mr Spedding's, are the following. We, who speak the tongue that Shakspeare spake, the faith and morals hold which Milton held, are exhorted to write verses like this.

So saying did great Odysseus quit his homely dwell-
ing-place,

and to scan them like this.

— — | — — | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — — .

Now in Greek hexameters a syllable had either the one or the other of two clearly heard and widely differing quantities. It was either long or short; and a long syllable had twice the length of a short one: *πᾶσα βραχεῖα ἴση καὶ πᾶσα μακρὰ ἴση*. καθόλου γὰρ αἱ μὲν εἰσι δίχρονοι, αἱ δὲ μονόχρονοι. English syllables have not two quantities but dozens; those quantities are heard not clearly but obscurely; and the difference between each quantity and the next in length is not wide but infinitesimal. It follows that English is a material out of which hexameters on the Greek model cannot be constructed: οὐ γὰρ πόδας συντίθεμεν ἐκ χρόνων ἀπείρων, says Aristoxenus, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὀρισμένων καὶ πεπερασμένων μεγέθει. Mr Stone's hexameters must rely on their native beauty, not on any supposed resemblance to Homer.

That English quantities really die into one another like the hues of the rainbow Mr Stone does not dispute, but he invites us to pretend that this is not so, and to *call* every syllable either long or short: as if one should call every colour either red or blue. 'The line must be drawn somewhere' says he on p. 39. If an insubordinate reader enquires 'Why must the line be drawn anywhere?' it seems to me that Mr Stone can only reply 'Because otherwise I cannot write quantitative hexameters.' The reader will then answer firstly that he views that prospect with equanimity, and secondly that, since writing quantitative hexameters demands a misrepresentation of facts, they had better not be written.

And how is this dichotomy of the rainbow to be carried out? Thus, p. 36: 'If you would determine the true quantity of a syllable, you should put the accent on it and it will almost invariably become evident.' To ascertain the pronunciation of a syllable by pronouncing it as it is not pronounced strikes me as rather a quaint proceeding. It is also necessarily deceptive, because the English accent slightly lengthens the syllable on which it falls. Mr Stone indeed says on p. 4 that 'the accent in English does *not* lengthen the syllable at all'; but Mr Stone says many far stranger things than that. If he had said that it does not double the length of the syllable, does not transform what a Greek would call a short syllable into what a Greek would call a long one, that would have been true enough; but most people find that the verb *sit* takes a little longer to utter than the same three letters in *transitory*. The difference is most noticeable in our personal pronouns: in 'Tell me where is fancy bred' the *me* is short rather than long; in 'Under the greenwood tree Who loves to lie with me' it is long rather than short. Mr Stone attempts to argue us out of our senses as follows, p. 40, 'We like for convenience' sake to think that we can use *me* and *thee* and *he* long or short as we like. Yet what Roman ever supposed that he might scan *tu*, *te*, or *me* short? No Roman; and what does that prove? It proves that the quantity of *tu* and *te* and *me* in Latin was not the same as the quantity of *me* and *thee* and *he* in English.

But condone the method and come to its application. If the rainbow is to be sliced

at all one expects it to be sliced in the middle. Take *of* as one of our shortest syllables and *shores* as one of our longest: to which are the second syllables of *carpenter* and *bitterly* nearer? To *of*: but Mr Stone calls them long. In the words 'So saying did great Odysseus' Mr Stone calls *-ing* with the following *d* a long syllable: to call it short would not be quite true, but it would be less remote from the truth. He says on p. 47 'It is tempting to scan *or* short, but when we compare it with the corresponding short vowel in *foreign* it is obvious that we cannot.' So be it; but why does Mr Stone omit the complement to this? 'It is not tempting to scan *or* long, and when we compare it with the corresponding long vowel in *ore* it is obvious that we cannot.'

But now let us munificently grant, what Mr Stone is far from claiming, that all his syllables are long or short in the Greek sense. When a Greek had ranged short and long syllables in this order,

πλησίαι οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἀέξετο κῆμά γ' ἐν αὐτῷ,

this was not yet a verse. The sequence of quantities had no rhythm of its own and would submit to several. The rhythm was imposed on the words from without by a scheme of recurrent stresses. These words would take an Ionic rhythm

— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — ,

or an anapaestic

— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — ,

or lastly a dactylic

— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — .

Now rhythm in English is not the portable thing it was in Greek. Our stresses are indissolubly riveted to our words, and we are accustomed to call them accents. Consequently Mr Stone's verse

So saying did great Odysseus quit his homely dwelling-place

which he believes to be an Homeric hexameter, is really this:—

— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — — .

Southey's and Longfellow's hexameters are often very bad verses, and they differ from Homer's in the important particular that they are written in triple while Homer's are written in quadruple time; but still verses they are of a sort. Mr Stone's hexa-

mers are verses of no sort, but prose in ribbands.

It is true that Mr Stone himself believes a number of things by believing which he is enabled to avoid this conclusion. He is conscious, he says on p. 44, that his language 'suffers heavily from the phrase *I believe* and its synonyms'; and he calls this unavoidable, 'from the unfortunate fact that the opinions expressed are such as no one else thinks or believes.' Another fact, equally unfortunate though very likely unavoidable, is this: that Mr Stone never makes the faintest attempt to substantiate his beliefs. His method of pursuing truth may be studied in little on p. 35. It is well known that under certain conditions the metrical accent in Plautus shortens adjacent long syllables. Mr Stone 'believes,' p. 4, that the verses of the ancients did not 'read themselves,' *i.e.* had little if any metrical accent, and he therefore imputes these shortenings to the grammatical accent. 'I was a little upset,' says he, 'to find some scholars declare that the metrical accent as well as the natural accent may account for such shortening; but'—now comes his answer—'I am convinced that this is not so, and'—what do you expect? Plautus is extant and accessible, and to read him would dispel this conviction; so Mr Stone resorts instead to a kindred spirit—'Mr —, whom I consulted on the point, believes that Plautus always made the two coincide, which the great roughness of his metrical system enabled him to do.' It is a scene to remember: these two gentlemen putting their heads together and believing things, and Plautus standing shut upon the shelf.

Mr Stone accordingly believes, p. 31, 'that our language is singularly like ancient Greek in intonation'; he believes, p. 4, 'that accent hardly differs at all now and in classical times, and that if it differs the difference is in degree, not in kind'; he believes, p. 32, (but who will believe me when I report it?) that the ordinary accent of English words is *exactly a raising of pitch, and nothing more*. What colour he believes a soldier's tunic to be he does not reveal: if scarlet, that is only because scarlet tunics are not incompatible with quantitative hexameters. Since Mr Stone has nothing to say for any of his beliefs he propitiates us from time to time by observing that he feels sure we do not agree with them; and on this same page 32 he remarks 'I know I shall be looked upon as insane.' He will not be looked upon as insane; he will

be looked upon as having a whim. Whims govern men as Dionysius never governed Syracuse: sentinels patrol the frontier with orders that no bad news from abroad is to reach the sovereign; and a stress-accent arriving at the portals of the sense is translated into a pitch-accent before transmission to the seat of government.

These beliefs do half the work: they prevent Mr Stone from hearing the overpowering noise with which the ironshod English accent tramples his versification to nought. But this merciful deliverance leaves his verses without any rhythm at all; so half the work remains undone. This half the reader is to do: p. 50, 'Now what do I require of my readers? I ask them to read my verses slowly, with the natural accent unimpaired,'—we have seen what that means—'*and with such stress as they think right on the long syllables by way of ictus.*' The stress-accent, having been conjured out at the door, now comes back down the chimney and falls where it has no business to fall. If we pronounce our mother tongue correctly, Mr Stone's verses will be prose; so we are asked to pronounce it incorrectly.

I suppose we could all write verse if we were allowed to have our own way with the language. For instance: I propose to make English poetry on French principles. What do I require of my readers? not near so much as Mr Stone: I only ask them to weaken the English accent till it is no stronger than the French, and to count accurately up to twelve. Here are four alexandrines:

Why does not the lobster ever climb trees or fly?
Can he not? or does he think it would look silly?
I have made these verses as well as I am able:
You must be to blame if they sound disagreeable.

Observe the *rime riche*.

There is something novel to me not only in Mr Stone's dealings with his native tongue but in his attitude towards his

customers: it opens a vista of new relations between the producers and consumers of commodities. He says of his readers, p. 50, 'If they cannot have the ordinary accent emphasising the metre, they pine at least for unquestionably long syllables. This desire is quite unreasonable, because the gradations of quantity are infinite.' He means to have monosyllabic endings, and he tells us on pp. 41—2 that 'if we do not like them at first, we must get used to them.' Perhaps one might take this firm tone in other trades. Say I am erecting houses, and I propose in future to use gingerbread as a building material. I address my tenants thus: 'If you cannot have a tiled roof, you pine at least for a roof which does not let the rain through. This desire is quite unreasonable, because gingerbread is a porous substance. As to falling through the floor, if you do not like it at first, you must get used to it.' Or is it only on readers of verse, *animis natum inuentumque poema iuvandis*, that these exhortations to fortitude will take effect?

The long and short of the matter is this. We now regulate English verse by the strong and determinate element of stress: its management is what distinguishes verse from prose. The weak and indeterminate element of quantity we subordinate: its management is one of the many things which distinguish, not verse from prose, but good verse from bad. Mr Stone proposes that we should put the weak to the work of the strong, and subject the strong to the predominance of the weak. Summer is come, and cricket is playing everywhere. If Mr Stone will accost the next eleven he sees in the field, and advise them to run after the ball on their hands and pick it up with their feet, he will hear some very good criticism of his quantitative hexameters.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ANTIOCHIA CHRYSATORIS.

In the *Revue des Universités du Midi*, ii. p. 275, M. Radet, whom I have to thank for sending me a copy of his paper, has attempted to prove that the city Ἀντιόχεια Χρυσάορις, the sanctity of whose territory is, in

response to an embassy, confirmed by an Amphictyonic decree (*B.C.H.* xviii. p. 235) is Mylasa. I confess that his reasons do not convince me.

The object of the following remarks is to show that Antiochia Chrysaoris may perfectly well be Alabanda, which, as we

know from its coinage and from Stephanus, was for a time called Antioch (see Br. Mus. *Catalogue of Coins, Caria*, p. xxvii). The reason given by M. Couve, the editor of the Delphian decree, and accepted by M. Radet, for not identifying Antiochia Chrysaoris and Alabanda, seems to me inconclusive. In *C.I.A.* ii. 966–970, a series of lists of victors in the Panathenaea are published. No. 966 is to be dated shortly after 191 B.C. (see Köhler's note). In it one of the victors is called Ἀλαβανδεύς. No. 969 belongs to the years 165–162 B.C. The date of No. 970 is doubtful. We are therefore at liberty to date it near No. 969.¹ In it one of the victors is called Χρυσσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάνδων. No. 967 is probably nearly contemporary with No. 966, as Polycrates of Argos wins the chariot race in both: but it may perfectly well be a few years earlier. In this a Χρυσσαορεὺς ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας is mentioned. M. Couve maintains that owing to the nearly contemporaneous mention of an Ἀλαβανδεύς and a Χρυσσαορεὺς ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας the two cities Alabanda and Antiochia must be distinct.

It appears to me that the known facts of the history of Alabanda at this period allow us to identify them. These are briefly as follows. Alabanda was favoured and rebaptised by Antiochus III. In 200 B.C. however, we find it supporting the Rhodians against Philip V., the ally of Antiochus (Polyb. xvi. 24). After the battle of Magnesia and the consequent cession of all Caria as far as the Maeander to Rhodes (189 B.C.), Alabanda became subject to Rhodes. Mylasa, which had, like Alabanda, but probably more constantly, supported the Romans, was granted *immunitas* (Polyb. xxii. 27); Alabanda hoped for a greater measure of independence than other Carian cities, for it sent to Gn. Manlius on his hurried march ambassadors asking him to take and restore to it a fortress in its territory which had revolted, and with this request the consul complied (Livy xxxviii. 13). A decree of Alabanda published by Messrs. Diehl and Cousin in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. p. 299, and rightly, it would seem, attributed by the editors to the years following the battle of Magnesia, shows that in order to obtain the concession of *immunitas*, spontaneously and at once granted by the Senate to Mylasa, they had to send two embassies to Rome. *Immunitas*

in Caria at this time means freedom from taxation imposed by Rhodes. We cannot tell if the *immunitas* ultimately obtained by Alabanda was exactly equivalent to that granted to Mylasa, but, as the coinage of Alabanda ceases at this time, it undoubtedly lost its liberty until the end of the war with Perseus, when Rhodes was deprived of most of its continental possessions (168 B.C.). Then we find it taking active part against Rhodes (Polyb. xxx., v.).

Now, if we suppose, as is perfectly legitimate, that *C.I.A.* ii. 967 is to be dated between 200 and 190, and that *C.I.A.* ii. 966 is to be dated about 188, Antiochia Chrysaoris and Alabanda may well be one and the same city. Up to the defeat of Antiochus and the consequent cession by the Romans of Alabanda to Rhodes it maintained its recently imposed name Antiochia and was a member of the Chrysaoric confederacy. On its cession to Rhodes it resumed its original name Alabanda, but ceased to be a member of the confederacy, which was probably for purposes of state, dissolved by the Rhodians during their period of rule. Consequently a citizen of Alabanda is now simply called Ἀλαβανδεύς. After B.C. 168 the Chrysaoric confederacy was reconstituted, and in *C.I.A.* ii. 970 a citizen of Alabanda is described as Χρυσσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάνδων.

The evidence of these Attic inscriptions therefore perfectly well allows Antiochia Chrysaoris and Antiochia-Alabanda to be one and the same city, and M. Radet gives no cogent reason for identifying Antiochia Chrysaoris with Mylasa. He adduces the name Ἰατροκλῆς, the name of the father of the ambassador sent to Delphi, as being very common at Mylasa. This is a fact; but we have countless texts from Mylasa and very few from Alabanda. No stress need be laid on the city's recommendation of itself to Delphi as συγγενὴς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Such claims were very lightly made; and Alabandus is said to be a son of Kar and Kallirrhoe. A very cogent reason for identifying Antiochia Chrysaoris with Alabanda is that the people of the city request the Amphictyons to recognise their city and country as ἄστυλον καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Χρυσσαορέως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἰσοτίμου: i.e. it is to be protected in the name of Zeus Chrysaoreus and of the Apollo of the city who is of equal rank with Zeus Chrysaoreus. *At this period the head on the obverse of coins of Alabanda is always that of Apollo.*

The date assigned to the Amphictyonic decree by M. Radet, circa 200 B.C., may be right. It appears to me, how-

¹ No. 970 is only known from a bad copy. We find in it the ethnic Πατρεὺς (not Ἀχαιὺς ἀπὸ Πατρῶν). If this is right, it must, I fancy, be much later, after the dissolution of the Achaean league.

ever, that the appeal to Delphi is rather meant to secure Alabanda against Rhodian aggression than against Philip, who was, up to Cynoscephalae, the nominal ally of Antiochus. We find the Alabandians in 200 B.C. acting with the Rhodians against Philip, but there can be no doubt that then and earlier they dreaded Rhodes, which at this period regarded itself and was regarded as a serious rival to Rome and the Attalids and Seleucids in the struggle for the empire of Asia Minor. The policy of Alabanda was somewhat half-hearted at this time. A phrase of Polybius shows it: τὰ δὲ (ἐχորήγουν τῷ Φιλίππῳ) Μυλασεῖς καὶ Ἀλαβανδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες, οὓς, ὅποτε μὲν τι δοῖεν, ἔσαινεν, ὅτε δὲ μὴ δοῖεν ὑλάκτει καὶ ἐπεβόλευεν αὐτοῖς. It is a remarkable fact that no less than five identical names of magistrates appear on tetradrachms of Alabanda with ANTIOXΕΩΝ and on similar tetradrachms with ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ. This can hardly be, as Mr. Head thinks (*Br. Mus. Cat. Caria*, p. xxvii.), because all these magistrates held office in the year in which the city changed its name. It rather points to a continuous compromise between the adherents of Antiochus and those of the Rhodians and Romans. Such half-heartedness would account for the fact that the Romans bestowed on Mylasa a privilege which they did not, at once at least, bestow on Alabanda, but it must be noted that Polybius gives the same account of the conduct of both cities towards Philip in B.C. 200.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS, TURKEY,
February 27th, 1899.

EXCAVATIONS IN ROME. (SEE *C.R.*, Pp. 184, 231).

SINCE I wrote on this subject in March, the continuance of the work in the Forum has led to discoveries of great importance.

I. Immediately under the black marble pavement which has become known as the 'Tomb of Romulus,' (though at the E. end projecting beyond it) there has been discovered, at the depth of about four feet, a structure of 'capellaccio' tufa, oriented in a different direction (almost due N. and S.) composed of two pedestals, each measuring about six feet long by three wide, and having a simple base moulding like that of the primitive Roman *ara*. Between them lies a space of about seven feet, closed at the

ends by blocks, which connect the two pedestals with one another. The material of this structure might well be called 'lapis niger'; and the existence of the two pedestals is in accordance with the account given by the scholiasts on Hor. *Epod.*, 16, 13—'Varro post rostra fuisse sepulcrum Romuli dicit,' Porphy. (*Comm. Cruq.*, 'pro rostris . . . , ubi etiam in huius rei memoriam duos leones fuisse erectos constat'). Dionysius (i, 87) speaks of one lion only. Since my departure a square cippus or pillar has been found *in situ*, close to the tufa structure, bearing a *boustrophedon* inscription, with deep, well-cut archaic lettering, on three sides, and probably also on the fourth. The 'Tribuna' of June 1 states that the words are divided by points, and that one word has been read '*calato*.' In the earth below the pavement of black marble many archaic objects—bronze and terra-cotta statuettes, pottery, &c.—have been found.

The facts set forth seem to add great weight to the theory advanced by Dr. Hülsen in the *Mittheilungen des römischen Instituts* (1893, Pp. 279 sqq.) that the Republican Curia faced due S, lying further back than the Curia which still exists. For we now have, it would appear, an earlier form of the 'tomb of Romulus'—the identification has become far more probable than before—oriented on this presumed line of the earlier Curia, as the later form of the tomb is oriented on that of the later Curia.

Further, the tomb lay close to the Rostra Vetera, and when the excavations have gone further, this edifice may be recognised. At present tufa foundations are being laid bare on every side, presenting a bewildering confusion of levels and directions.

The date of the change in level and direction is hard to fix. The lower structure with the two pedestals received protection from floods in very early times by means of a primitive wall, in spite of which three strata of gravel, traceable above the level of its base, bear witness to three separate inundations. Further, many of the objects found date at least from the fifth century B.C. The change of the site of the Curia is probably to be attributed to Julius Caesar; but the black marble pavement belongs to a far later date, and a bridge between it and the earlier epoch seems to be absolutely lacking. One is tempted to suppose that the place was somehow covered up and forgotten for generations; but conjecture is as yet premature.

II. The Regia has also been the centre

of some interesting discoveries. It had been excavated by Jordan and Nichols in 1886: but the reopening of the site has led to the finding of a well, just at the edge of its S. wall, containing a quantity of pottery—the uppermost strata belonging to the Roman period, and the lowest consisting of *buccheri*—and of bones, and also to the discovery of a small chamber at the W. end of the Regia, which, from an inscription found there, must be the ‘*Schola kalatorum pontificum et flaminum.*’

At the south angle of the Regia itself have been discovered, at about the level of the foundations, two small square drains made of slabs of tufa, and the remains of other structures, also in tufa. It would therefore appear that if the Sacra Via ever passed here, it can have done so only in very early times. It seems also unlikely that it can, after the construction of the temple of Julius Cæsar, have passed between it and the Regia, for the intervening space is in great part occupied by a low bank of concrete about three yards wide, parallel to the back of the podium of the temple, from which it is distant only about three feet—the interval still contains some blocks of the *opus quadratum* which surrounded the concrete core. The bank of concrete is, it is true, of a different character to that of the lofty podium of the temple, and looks to be of rather later date.

It would appear, therefore, that the Sacra Via must, after the building of the temple, have turned at right angles at its north corner, and passed close in front of it, on the line of the still existing paved road—unless the theory that it never left the north side of the Forum be accepted. In connection with its course further S.E., interesting discoveries are being made. The drain under it (the original portions of which are built in fine *opus quadratum*, the restorations being in *opus reticulatum* and brickwork) has been traced in a straight line from the temple of Antoninus and Faustina to a point a little beyond the W. corner of the Basilica of Constantine, at which it is about fifteen feet below ground, and appears to run straight on towards the temple of Venus and Rome. This fact makes it probable that the Sacra Via originally ran straight across the Velia ridge. Whether the alteration in its course was made by Nero in building the Golden House is a question which cannot yet be answered.

The work of demolition of the houses which occupy the site of the Basilica Aemilia

is proceeding fast, and though no ancient remains have yet been reached, it is probable that in a few weeks—the work is to continue through the summer—further important discoveries will be made.

Work is going on at other points in the Forum also, but there is nothing of importance to record except the restoration to their place of several blocks belonging to the piers of the Arch of Augustus.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

LINDSKOG'S STUDIES ON THE ANCIENT DRAMA.

Studien zum antiken Drama, von CLAES LINDSKOG. Lund. 1897. (pp. 285). 5 m.

THIS book consists of two parts. The first and longer (pp. 5–175) is concerned entirely with Euripides. The author discusses at some length the religious opinions of Euripides, and their influence upon the character and structure of his plays. He then passes on to various points of detail in connection with individual tragedies, such as questions about the date, or the origin of the plot; or traces of interpolations by the actors. The second part (pp. 3–84) is an essay on the tragedies of Seneca—their relation to previous models, their structure and dramatic character, their employment of the chorus, and so on. Then follow two appendices, one on the middle caesura in Greek iambic trimeters, the other on the relation between Terence and Menander, as exemplified in the composition of certain plays.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the discussion about the *Alcestis*. The author regards it as a regular tragedy, and not as a tragi-comedy. He rejects the theory that it was purposely composed in a semi-comic vein, in order to take the place of the usual satyric drama. As for the comic scenes in it, he thinks they are of no more significance than scenes of the same kind in the *Ion*, *Helena*, and *Orestes*. But here he seems to go too far. Though the plays just mentioned, and especially the *Helena*, show occasional touches of humour, there is nothing in any one of them which is really comparable to the broad and deliberate comedy of the Heracles scene in the *Alcestis*. The fact that the *Alcestis* came last in the group of four, where we should have expected a satyric drama, is dismissed by the author as unimportant. He says

that the fourth place was often occupied by a regular tragedy. But there is no proof that this was ever the case. All the tragic didascaliae, with the exception of that to the *Alcestis*, when they mention the four plays of a group, put a satyric drama in the last place. This circumstance, taken in connection with the professedly comic tone of parts of the *Alcestis*, seems to prove that the play was an exceptional one, and that the comic element was introduced as a substitute for the merriment of the satyrs.

The great defect of the *Alcestis*, as Herr Lindskog points out, is the inconsistency in the character of Admetus. In the opening scene he is represented as a sympathetic and warm-hearted man, and a worthy object for the self-sacrifice of Alcestis. But in the scene which follows between himself and his father Pheres everything is changed. He now cuts a very sorry figure. His chief characteristics are meanness and selfishness. The result is injurious to the general effect of the play. The unworthiness of Admetus strikes a jarring note in what is otherwise one of the most pathetic of Greek tragedies. Lindskog finds the reason for this inconsistency in the religious opinions of Euripides. He explains very clearly the difficulty of the position in which Euripides was placed. He was compelled by custom to take his subjects from the sacred myths, and to treat these myths with a certain appearance of decorum, in order to satisfy the religious susceptibilities of the people. But at heart he was a sceptic and a free-thinker. He was unable to conceal altogether his dissatisfaction with the popular mythology. However, it would have been unsafe to attack the ordinary beliefs in a straightforward manner. In order to reveal his real sentiments without giving offence, he was compelled to have recourse to various shifts and devices. The *Alcestis*, according to Lindskog, affords a good example of one of these devices. In the opening of the play Euripides gives the legend in its current form, with Admetus as a noble and dignified character. His acceptance of his wife's sacrifice would not, as Lindskog thinks, have seemed dishonourable to an ordinary Greek, on account of the prevailing opinion as to the comparative value of men and women. The Pheres scene is then inserted by Euripides as a sort of comment of his own, to show indirectly his contempt for a legend which involved such a total lack of chivalry on the part of the husband. The comic scene with Heracles is also introduced for the same

purpose, to satirise and throw ridicule upon the whole legend. This theory of Lindskog's as to the purport and significance of the *Alcestis* seems to me very doubtful. In the first place satire conveyed in this extremely covert and underhand manner would be apt to miss its mark, and to pass unnoticed. As a matter of fact, if Lindskog's theory is true, the real meaning of the *Alcestis* has been perceived by no commentator till the present day. In the second place it is far from clear that Euripides' main purpose in writing plays was theological controversy. It is true that at times, when occasion offers, he takes a kind of malicious pleasure in dissecting and exposing the weak points of the old mythology. But all this is incidental, and by the way. Probably his chief anxiety, in constructing his plays, was to produce a powerful effect upon the stage. As for the Pheres episode, it is possible to account for it, without supposing any controversial purpose on the part of the poet. An acrimonious debate of this type was exactly the kind of scene in which Euripides and the Athenians delighted. Moreover, the unblushing egotism of the two men, and the calmness with which they reproach each other with want of self-sacrifice, produces a very humorous effect, and would serve as a substitute for what was a regular feature in satyric plays—the impudence and effrontery of the satyrs. The scene, no doubt, is out of harmony with the pathetic portions of the play. But it is excellent in itself; and Euripides was not the man to sacrifice a particular effect for the sake of the general significance of the composition. The comic speeches of Heracles were probably introduced for the same purpose, to give the drama that lightness of tone which was required in the fourth play of a group.

The other instance which Lindskog gives of a play so constructed as to contain a covert satire on the legend is the *Orestes*. He supposes that the trial of Orestes before the Argive assembly, and his condemnation to death for the murder of his mother, was introduced by Euripides as a protest against the action of Apollo. Euripides, though forced by custom to follow the legend, and exhibit Orestes as triumphant in the end, and Apollo as a just and venerable deity, inserted this episode to show that, from the point of view of ordinary human justice, the conduct of Apollo was monstrous, and that no excuse could justify the taking of a mother's life. But here again we may explain the episode more simply, without imagining any latent suggestiveness. Euri-

pides had set himself to treat the story of Orestes, not from the religious point of view, but as the basis for an ordinary drama of intrigue. He wished to interest and excite the spectators by a series of plots and counter-plots, sudden revolutions, and unexpected dangers: to keep their curiosity on the alert to the end of the play by involving his hero in perils from which there seemed no escape. The condemnation of Orestes by the Argive assembly, and his consequent efforts to save himself by various devices and stratagems, would supply a natural groundwork for such a plot.

In the latter part of his treatise, as we have seen, the author discusses various incidental points, and produces several new theories and suggestions. One of the most plausible of these is about the myth in the *Helena*. Helen is there represented as having never gone to Troy with Paris. A phantom Helen had been sent to Troy by Zeus in her place. The real Helen was conveyed to Egypt, where she passed her time in the court of King Proteus, and his successor Thoëclymenus, until reclaimed by Menelaus after the war. As to the origin of this legend there is some doubt. We know that the story of a phantom Helen was contained in the famous Palinodia of Stesichorus, though we are ignorant as to the destiny of the real Helen in the same poem. We also have a story in Herodotus, which he had learnt in Egypt, that Helen never got as far as Troy, but that she and Paris were driven by tempests to Egypt, and that Helen was there detained by king Proteus till the end of the war, when she was recovered by Menelaus. It has generally been supposed that Euripides invented the plot of the *Helena* by combining the two stories of Stesichorus and Herodotus; and that there was no mention of the detention in Egypt in the Stesichorus version. Lindskog however points out that in the *Electra*, produced a year or two before the *Helena*, the whole story is already referred to casually, as a matter of common knowledge. Cp. *El.* 1280 ff. Ἑλένη τε θάψει Πρωτέως γὰρ ἐκ δόμων | ἥκει λιποῦσ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐδ' ἦλθεν Φρύγας. | Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτῶν, | εἰδῶλον Ἑλένης ἐξέπεμψ' εἰς Ἴλιον. Here we have the two parts of the story, that about the phantom, and that about Egypt, already combined. But if before this they only existed separately, one in Stesichorus, the other in Herodotus, and were connected for the first time by Euripides, it is very unlikely that he would have referred to the combined story in this casual

way. Lindskog therefore concludes that the whole myth—the Egyptian part as well as the phantom part—had already been given by Stesichorus in his Palinodia; and there is much to be said in favour of the suggestion.

Some of his other theories, however, will hardly find general acceptance. The considerations on which they depend are too minute, and subtle, and far-fetched. For instance, he thinks the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* must have been produced before the *Helena* for the following reason. In both plays the deus ex machina, in the final speech, addresses a person who is not on the stage, but at a distance. But in the *Iphigeneia* the goddess Athene, when so addressing Orestes, makes a parenthetical apology for her proceeding (*Iph. Taur.* 1446 ff. μαθὼν δ', Ὀρέστα, τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς | —κλύεις γὰρ αὐδὴν καίπερ οὐ παρὼν θεάς— | χῶρει λαβῶν ἀγαλμα). In the *Helena*, on the other hand, the Dioscuri address their absent sister without any such explanation (*Hel.* 1662 σοὶ μὲν τὰδ' αὐδῶ, συγγῶν δ' ἐμῇ λέγω). Lindskog thinks the innovation of addressing an absent person was first introduced in the *Iphigeneia*, and that Euripides felt himself called upon to make the goddess explain and apologise for the fact. In the *Helena*, produced soon after, such an explanation was no longer thought necessary. He therefore puts the *Iphigeneia* before the *Helena*. But this seems too small a point to ground any such inference upon. The presence of the parenthetical remark in the one play, and its absence in the other, may have been the result of mere chance. It would be unsafe to lay any stress upon it. Again, the author doubts the genuineness of the prologue to the *Troades* for this reason among others. Athene, approaching Poseidon, says she has come Τροίας εἵνεκα (56), and implores his assistance. Poseidon thinks this ambiguous; he wishes to know whether she has come as the friend or enemy of Troy; he asks πότερον Ἀχαιῶν ἢ λῃθες εἵνεκ' ἣ Φρυγῶν (64). Lindskog objects that it would be absurd for Poseidon to try and solve his doubts about the phrase Τροίας εἵνεκα by asking whether she has come Φρυγῶν εἵνεκα, since the two expressions are practically the same. But Poseidon does not merely say Φρυγῶν εἵνεκα. What he asks is whether she has come Ἀχαιῶν εἵνεκ' ἢ Φρυγῶν—a very different question, which could not fail to produce an explicit answer. Again, in the *Hippolytus*, Lindskog raises a difficulty about the 'three wishes' which Poseidon had promised to fulfil for Theseus. Theseus employs one of

them to kill his son. Lindskog asks why, when he had discovered his mistake, he did not employ a second to bring him to life again. But in point of fact what Poseidon had promised to accomplish for Theseus was three curses. Cp. 887 ἀλλ', ὃ πάτερ Πόσειδον, ἄς ἐμοί ποτε | ἄρ' ὑπέσχου τρεῖς, μὰ κατέργασαι | τούτων ἐμὸν παῖδ', and 1315 ff. This being so, the difficulty disappears. When Theseus had killed his son with one curse, he could hardly bring him to life again with another.

In general the author is more convincing when he is overthrowing the theories of other scholars, than when he is making new ones of his own. His criticism of the concluding portion of the *Phoenissae* is an instance in point. Many German critics have judged the scene to be spurious on various grounds. Lindskog goes through it in detail, and shows clearly that the supposed objections are of no real weight, and that the general conception of the scene, though not always pleasing to modern taste, is thoroughly Euripidean. So, too, with Wilamowitz's theory about the two *Electras*. According to Wilamowitz the *Electra* of Euripides is a well-constructed play; the parts hang together in a natural manner. The *Electra* of Sophocles, he thinks, was written later than, and partly imitated from, that of Euripides; hence the superficiality and inconsequence of many of the incidents, which have been transferred from a play in which they are appropriate to one in which they are not. Lindskog argues that the very reverse is the case. He points out incongruities in the Euripidean play quite as glaring, and even more so, than any to be found in that of Sophocles. He also shows that there are many things in the *Electra* of Euripides which are best explained as an attempt to imitate Sophocles, or to strike out a new line in opposition to him. Hence he concludes (rightly, as it seems to me) that the *Electra* of Euripides was the later play of the two.

A. E. HAIGH.

THE CORPUS OF GREEK COINS.

Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien.
Bearbeitet von BEHRENDT PICK. Halbband
I. Berlin, 1898. 518 pp., 20 plates. 54 m.

comparison with the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, although very naturally it cannot be expected to attract the same amount of attention. The idea of making a complete corpus of ancient Greek coins—an idea from which most numismatists would have shrunk in despair—owes its origin to the indefatigable Mommsen, who has generously devoted to the expenses of the undertaking a large sum of money, subscribed in honour of the jubilee of his doctorate. The present publication is described on its half-title as being part of a larger publication on the ancient coins of Northern Greece, produced by the Berlin Academy under the general direction of Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer. Possibly prudence has dictated the avoidance of any promise as regards the coinage of the rest of ancient Greece; nevertheless, it is well known that similar works on other parts of this wide field are in active preparation. Dr. Pick's second volume will deal with Thrace; while Macedon (excluding the 'Alexanders') will form a third volume by Dr. H. Gaebler, of Berlin.

It is difficult to give in words a fair idea of the scope of this work. A corpus of coins differs from a corpus of inscriptions in the fact that among the latter there are practically no duplicates. This makes the editing of the corpus of coins at once easier and harder than the sister task: easier, because the defects of one piece may often be supplied from another specimen struck with the same dies; harder, because of the difficulty of sifting the various descriptions given by different numismatists and ascertaining whether these descriptions refer to the same coin or to slight varieties. Only the professional numismatist realises how easy it is to describe a coin inaccurately—far more easy, it would seem, than is the case with a vase or a piece of sculpture. Add to this the extraordinary effects sometimes produced by the wear to which coins are subjected in currency, the difficulty of representing epigraphic peculiarities by type, and the deceptiveness of even the best processes of illustration, and it is easy to see that a perfect corpus of the extant coins could only be obtained if all the specimens (or failing that, perfect plaster casts thereof) were gathered together in one grand collection. It has of course been impossible to obtain casts of all published specimens; many have vanished altogether, many are otherwise inaccessible, and some—were invented! The process adopted, therefore, has been to give accurate descriptions of all the issues that can be verified, attaching to

THIS monumental half-volume is the beginning of a great undertaking, the magnitude and intricacy of which will probably bear

each description a bibliography. These bibliographies often run to more than twenty items; that is to say, more than twenty coins almost exactly resembling each other, and doubtless in many cases struck with the same dies, have been published by as many writers. In these cases, a line of distinction is drawn between specimens still known to exist and those which are only known from published descriptions, the accuracy of which there is no reason to suspect. Finally, there is a limbo at the bottom of the page to which are consigned the incurable errors and forgeries, as well as those descriptions which are too vague or deficient for incorporation in the body of the text. The enormous mass of material controlled by the editor has enabled him to distinguish, if not always the various dies which were used—that would only be possible under the ideal conditions already mentioned—yet at least the separate issues which were made. The catalogue is finely illustrated by twenty of the best colotype plates that even Brunner and Hauser have ever produced. On these plates the coins are arranged, in the first place, so as to give a view of the coinage of each mint; in the next place, according to types—a new and excellent feature, which will appeal particularly to the non-numismatic archaeologist. Here he will find side by side fifteen different representations of Heracles, fourteen different architectural types, and the like, all characteristic of the coinage of Dacia and Moesia. One necessary form of illustration alone seems to be lacking, and that is a map—which might be quite simple—of the provinces concerned. This want can easily be remedied in the second half-volume. A word must be said in praise of the editor's admirable introductions. These deal very fully with all the numismatic problems arising out of the material collected in the descriptive part; but, in addition, they enter into numerous historical and archaeological questions, so that the volume will be indispensable to all students of Greek and Roman civilisation in Dacia and Moesia. The editor's experience in other branches of archaeology has peculiarly qualified him to deal with these wider questions, and his book is a striking proof of the importance of numismatics as an aid to history. Whether it is part of the object of a corpus to deal with these matters, instead of merely providing a sort of *vindemiatio prima* for historians to work upon, is another question. Experience seems to have decided in the negative, and the

plan of the introductions is to be modified in the remainder of the work. This decision every one will regret, while recognising that it is perhaps inevitable. It needs a trained numismatist to realise how much or how little weight is to be attached to the evidence of coins.

This somewhat detailed description of the scope and method of the work is really the only kind of review to which it can fairly be subjected, until long use has decided how far the editor has been successful within the limits imposed upon him. But it may safely be said, from a knowledge of his other work, that the task could hardly have fallen into more capable hands. The test which I have been able to apply—comparison with the actual specimens in the British Museum—reveals surprisingly few points that call for correction. It is perhaps worth while to mention them, since the very fact that the criticisms are somewhat meticulous is in itself a high degree of praise. In the pages dealing with the coins of Dacia, of Viminacium, of Dionysopolis, and of Istros before Imperial times, there are four wrong references to the London Catalogue, all evidently due in the first place to the printer (No. 16, read 14, 6; No. 120, read 17, 27; No. 413, read 25, 5; No. 428, read 25, 4). Under No. 74, the legend of the London coin is divided *c olvim*, and under No. 182 *co lvim*. The London specimen of No. 159 (a coin of Hostilian struck at Viminacium) has been wrongly read by the original cataloguer. It belongs to the twelfth, and not the thirteenth year of the Province; at least, there is no trace of any third stroke ever having existed on the coin. The London coin should therefore be transferred to No. 150. Is it possible that the other specimen under No. 159 (quoted from Longpérier) is also of year XII., and that this issue should be deleted altogether? Whatever be the truth, the fault of the error as regards the London coin does not lie with Dr. Pick. In another case (No. 418, 4 = London Catalogue 8, a plated coin of Istros) the London Catalogue is again to blame. It describes one coin (No. 7) with the adjunct letters *ΑΓ*, and another (the one in question) as 'similar.' This has been taken to mean that the second coin also has the same letters. Nevertheless, all that is visible is *Ι* (which it would be rash to regard as the remains of *ΑΓ*), and apparently 'similar' refers only to the general type, the *Ι* being taken for a flaw, and the words 'no letters' accidentally omitted. The fine coin of the

same city (No. 415), formerly in the Carfrae Collection, was acquired in 1895 by the British Museum, and then published by Mr. Wroth in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1896, Pl. VII. 1). This publication, which Dr. Pick has overlooked, shows that the coin has a distinct incuse square, and should perhaps be placed earlier in the series. This is the only one among the *corrigenda* worth noticing, except for the benevolent purpose already mentioned, and all of them we may characterise as merely *egregio inpersos corpore naevos*.

G. F. HILL.

C. I. L., VOL. XIII., PART I.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Vol. xiii, (1), *Inscriptiones Aquitaniae et Lugudunensis*. Edidit OTTO HIRSCHFELD. Berolini, apud Georgium Reimerum. 1899. Pp. 557.

THE idea of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' was conceived more than half a century ago: the plan of it was definitely laid down about ten years later: the first volume appeared in 1863. Now in 1899 part of the last volume is before us. There are wanting only, to complete the original scheme, a small section of Italian inscriptions and the volume that is to deal with Gallia, Belgica, and Germany. The great undertaking is nearly complete—a worthy monument to the great scholar who has guided its fortunes from the first and borne himself the brunt of the labour. In one sense, of course, the work is not nearly finished, nor will it ever be finished. New editions and supplementary volumes have already become necessary and have been supplied: the researches of the next century will no doubt increase their number. The volume now before us, edited by one of the ablest of German scholars—after Mommsen—deals with the inscriptions of Aquitania and Lugudunensis, that is of Central and South-western France. These inscriptions are curious, and, as now collected together for the first time, illustrate clearly enough the character of the Roman provinces to which they belong. The numbers are of themselves significant. The volume contains 3252 inscriptions, divided about equally between the two provinces. Of this total nearly one quarter, 780, belong to one

city, Lugudunum, and 350 to Burdigala. No words could tell as eloquently as these figures the eminence of Lugudunum in Gaul and the importance, at a particular epoch, of Bordeaux. The rest of the country used inscriptions scantily, and their lapidary monuments were principally brief dedications to strange-named gods and casual gravestones. Here and there we meet the record of public edifices, baths or theatres or triumphal arches, and, very rarely, the titles of public officials. The administration was plainly tribal, not municipal. The volume before us brings out clearly what was more or less known before, that, except at Lugudunum, the city life of the Italian model was unknown in Gaul north of the Cevennes. The magistrates call themselves the officials of tribes, not of cities. One man is said to have *omnibus honoribus apud Aeduos et Lingonas functus*: another is *aedilis civitatis Senonum*. The title *colonia* scarcely occurs. At Le Puy en Velay (Anicium Vellavorum) we find a *praefectus colon(iae)*, but that title is unknown to the normal Italian municipality, and it is not clear whether the *colonia* in question was Anicium or Lugudunum. Another inscription is taken to prove that Forum Segusiavorum was *Colonia Flavia*, but the text is imperfect. A third, belonging to the Senones, is of doubtful import, and there remains only the Thorigny inscription from the land of the Viducasses which describes a man as erecting *balneum . . . usibus coloniae suae profuturum . . .* We meet also *duoviri* in about ten districts and a few other similar titles with a municipal flavour. But it can hardly be doubtful that all of these terms are used irregularly. That is, the Gaulish cantons retained their cantonal government under the Empire, and at first used their old titles, like 'vergobret,' which occurs on some early inscriptions. But, as time went on, they borrowed Roman titles, and, to some extent, assimilated the form of the tribal rule to that of the Italian municipality. A curiosity is a brief item, *MONS CCAAUVSS*, perhaps the record of an echo. An interesting reminder of Caesarian Gaul is the occurrence of a Lucterius Leo among the Cadurci. Finally, I notice one slip in a most admirably edited volume. Nos. 1188 and 3139 are surely the same inscription, wrongly inserted in one or the other place.

F. HAVERFIELD.

HELBIG'S GUIDE TO THE ANTIQUE CLASSICAL COLLECTIONS IN ROME.

W. HELBIG: *Führer durch die Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom.* 2 Vols. Leipzig. B. G. Teubner. Second Edition. 1899. 15 m.

Führer is too modest a name for Prof. Helbig's book which now appears in a second edition. True, it is constructed on the eclectic principle, the writer describing only what he considers most noteworthy in the immense Roman collections; but these descriptions are so full, the analysis of controversies so detailed, and above all the bibliography is so complete that we find ourselves reading in front of each work of art a miniature but important archaeological treatise. This, to our mind, has certain drawbacks for the beginners as well as for the educated public—the 'jüngere Archäologen und gebildete Laien' for whom Prof. Helbig primarily intends his book. Is not so much controversial matter bewildering on a first introduction to a work of art, when our only aim should be to ascertain its aesthetic value and its historical place? Prof. Helbig would win the gratitude of all specialists by enlarging his present work into a *catalogue raisonné* of the Roman collections which none knows so well as he, and that of the general public by giving them a small portable one-volume guidebook with short appreciations of some three or four hundred carefully selected works of art. Till then, however, this book must remain as indispensable to beginners as it is invaluable to the more advanced student.

There is little to add to the words of praise bestowed by the late Prof. Middleton in the pages of this review¹ upon the first edition of the book. Since then, however, our knowledge of the lost masterpieces of the greatest Greek sculptors has been immeasurably increased by Prof. Furtwängler in his *Meisterwerke*, and the students and followers of the Munich professor will appreciate the homage so frankly rendered to his researches by Helbig in his Preface. Comparison of this text with that of the first edition shows how carefully Furtwängler's theories have always been weighed, even when they are treated with reserve or altogether rejected.² A less pleasing though

perhaps unavoidable feature of the Preface are the ugly hints of tampering with monuments and the contents of graves thrown out against certain official Italian excavators who are at the same time responsible for the new Museum at the Villa Papa Giulio. It is to be hoped that the charges thus conveyed will be promptly cleared up. It is somewhat surprising to find that beyond bare bibliographical mentions Prof. Helbig takes no notice of the results arrived at by Prof. Wickhoff, since the first edition of the *Führer*, in his *Wiener Genesis*; yet in a more restricted sphere this book may be said to mark a stage in art-criticism as much as the *Meisterwerke*; for in his introductory essay Wickhoff has made the step at once so difficult and so much needed towards disentangling the artistic achievement of Rome from that of Greece. We should therefore expect his researches into the origin of Roman portraiture to be mentioned in the description of the Augustus of Prima Porta; and those on the origin of Roman decorative art to be referred to in the description of the Vatican fragment of the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus. Be it noted by the way that no other modern writer upon art has done more than Wickhoff to place in its true light the sculptures of the great altar which is our most precious relic of Augustan splendour.

The description of the *Magazzino Comunale*, the little Museum lately set up in picturesque surroundings near the Coliseum and the Arch of Constantine, appears now for the first time. These pages are of special utility since the collection is still uncatalogued, and its contents for the greater part the result of recent excavation. Besides its collection of prehistoric and of purely Roman antiquities, the *Magazzino* contains important statuary, among which are a considerable number of replicas of well-known works, e.g. the Perseus which with the fine London replica Furtwängler refers back to the later period of Myron; an excellent head of the Polycleitan Doryphoros; a torso of the Diadumenos; a head of the Praxitelean 'Apollo at rest.' Noteworthy also are two works of Alexandrine art—one is the portrait of an Egyptian queen wearing the Libyan headdress and the vulture's wings, the other is the idealized portrait of a young poetess (?) with a laurel wreath; both these heads have been ably discussed by Dr. W. Amelung: *dell'Arte Alessandrina* in the *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica* for 1897.

Dr. Emil Reisch remains responsible, as he was in the first edition, for the descrip-

¹ *Class. Rev.* 1892, p. 125.

² A good deal of this new matter, however, is already known to English readers, having been inserted by Professor Helbig in the English translation (by Mr. Muirhead) of the *Führer*.

tions of the Museo Gregoriano and of the Museo Kircheriano.

EUGÉNIE STRONG (née SELLERS).

MONTHLY RECORD.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Vol. xx. Pt. 2. 1898.

H. Willers. 'Römische Silberbarren mit Stempeln.'

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). Vol. ii. Pt. 1. 1899.

M. P. Vlasto. 'Les monnaies de bronze de Tarente.' The bronze coinage of Tarentum is supposed by Sambon to have begun in B.C. 330 and by Head in B.C. 300. Mr. Vlasto has an interesting comparison of the coins with the Italian money of Pyrrhus, and seems to be right in assigning the first issue of Tarentine bronze to circ. B.C. 281. The year 209 B.C. is suggested as the downward limit of the issue.—J. Rouvier. 'Les éres de Botrys et de Béryste (Phénicie).' The era adopted on the very rare coins of Botrys in Phoenicia was supposed by Vaillant (cp. Head, *Hist. num.* p. 668) to begin in B.C. 50. Rouvier confirms Babelon's view that the era used was that of Actium, B.C. 31. The supposed era of Berytus, B.C. 197, is shown to be based on a mistaken interpretation. The only eras in use at Berytus were the Seleucid era and a local era, B.C. 81.—G. Macdonald. 'The era of Neoclaudiopolis.' An unpublished coin (Hunter collection) of Commodus, dated '191' according to the era of the city B.C. 6-5. The supposed second era of Neoclaudiopolis (B.C. 45 or 48) is probably due, as Mr. Macdonald suggests, to a mistaken description of a coin in Mionnet.—J. N. Svoronos. 'Der athenische Volkskalender.' A study of the 'Zodiac' or 'Festival-calendar' frieze now preserved in the 'smaller metropolis' at Athens. The various figures accompanying the signs of the Zodiac in this monument have been usually supposed to refer to important Athenian festivals held in each month. Svoronos proposes to interpret these figures as representations, not of the festivals, but of the twelve Attic months, the seasons, the time of ploughing, sowing, hunting, etc. A new drawing of the frieze is given with a useful tabulation of the interpretations of Bötticher, Bursian, Wolters, S. Reinach, and G. Thiele.—Svoronos gives, in the same number (p. 78 f.) a good list (with a plate) of the Zodiacal coin-types of Antoninus Pius struck at Alexandria; also a description of coins attributed to Apollonia Pontica and Peparethus.

In a paper entitled 'Demos die Personification des Volkes,' printed in the *Revue suisse de numismatique*, 1898, p. 313 f., Dr. Otto Waser gives a descriptive list of Greek coins on which representations of the Demos occur.

WARWICK WROTH.

ITALY.

Genoa.—In June, 1898, a series of tombs a *pozzo* were found in the Via Giulia, containing Greek objects. One contained a krater a *colonnelle* (as *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases*, iii. E471-491) of late Athenian

r.f. fabric; on the obv. Hermes, Apollo Kitharoides, Artemis with hind, and a woman; also a bronze strigil and flat-bottomed jug, and fragments of a late b.f. kylix. In the others there was nothing of special interest, but the whole find is remarkable for this early date at Genoa. It must, however, have been a commercial port in pre-Roman times, like Massilia; Strabo, indeed, calls it *ἐμπορίον Ἀργύρων*. The style of the tombs and burial resem- bles those of Corneto, incineration being practised.¹

Bologna.—A series of inscriptions has been extracted from the bed of the Reno, mostly sepulchral *cippi*, and some fragments which complete previous finds. The most remarkable is a limestone monument nearly eight feet high, and it is the first found at Bologna in which are reproduced the busts of the deceased, though such iconic *cippi* are common at Ravenna and elsewhere (cf. *Brit. Mus. Guide to G.-R. Dept.*, p. 65, no. 14 *). The busts are ranged in pairs, in three tiers, representing (1) L. Alennius Stephanus and his wife, Freia Euphemia, (2) L. Alennius Celer and L. Alennius Sevir, their sons, (3) Stacte and Saturnina. The monument was erected by the first-named *sibi et suis*, and is inscribed Q · Q · V · P XVI (*quoquo versus pedes xvi.*) It is shown by the style of the women's hair to date from the time of Agrippina. Another *cippus* has a relief of a *modius frumentarius* or mortar with a pestle for beating out corn, and an inscription in hexameter, pentameter, and iambus:

*Externis natus terris monumenta locavi
e parvo nobis quod labor arte dedit.
patrono et una coniugi feci meae.*

A third has a relief of a swineherd with seven pigs, and is inscribed:

*Sic tibi quae votis optaveris omnia cedant,
studiose lector, ni velis titulum violare meum.*

The last line has no apparent metre.²

Otricoli, Umbria.—An honorary inscription has been found on the site of Otriculum, which runs as follows: ROMYLI | M · IVLIO VLPIO · M · F, etc. On the back: DEDICATA · III · KAL · MARTIAS, with names of consuls deliberately obliterated. They were probably P. Septimius Geta and P. Fulvius Plautianus, the date being A.D. 203. Another monument speaks of a dedication to T. Licinius Postumus by the *apparitores*, and by the same Postumus to C. Julius Salvius, a freedman of the Emperor.¹

Pitigliano, Etruria.—Here is the supposed site of Statonia, remains of which have recently been found. The most important are fragments of terracotta reliefs from a temple, the plan of which cannot be ascertained, although there are considerable remains, both architectural and decorative, mostly in tufa, though the internal construction was of wood. The remains fall into two groups, one archaic (7th-6th cent. B.C.), the other Etruscan and Roman (3rd-1st cent. B.C.) The absence of 5th-4th cent. remains points to the fact that the city was not inhabited during that period. Among the archaic remains are the fictile decorations of the roof, consisting of tiles, cornices with panther-head spouts, and an akroterion in the form of a horse's head; the fragments of the friezes are also archaic, and present three subjects: a *biga*, horsemen, and animals, including deer and Gryphons. The style and subjects recall the bucchero vases. Part of another frieze represents three

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct., 1898.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dec., 1898.

Maenads, from a Bacchic scene; probably from the outside of the temple. There were also found a terracotta female head in high relief, heads of animals, and bucchero vases. Among the later remains are terracotta *ex-voto* deities, draped figures, and human limbs, Aretine vases, and lamps. A sling-bolt inscribed Σ TATIE Σ , a denarius of M. Atilius Saranus (174 B.C.), and two bronzes of Augustus with C. Plotius Rufus as *triumvir monetalis* (11 B.C.) may also be mentioned. The tombs fall into two corresponding groups, the earlier containing bucchero and local wares, but nothing Greek. Those of the later period contained black-glazed Etrusco-Campanian fabrics, large plates with stamped patterns, and Aretine ware.³

Torre Annunziata.—Among various recent finds are: (1) a horse's bit and nose-band in bronze. (2) An amphora inscribed IMP' VESPASI' ANO' III C[OS] | PROPERTAINVM | A M P N C; the date is A.D. 71, and *Propert(ia)nvm* (sc. *vinum*) denotes 'wine from P.'s vineyard' (cf. *C.I.L.* iv. 2256); the name occurs elsewhere in Campania, (*C.I.L.* x. 1218, 8273). (3) A marble column inscribed M' MYNDICIUS | MALCHIO | M' CLODIVS | AGATHO | MAG EX' P' C' F' C, sc. *magistri ex pecunia collata faciundum curarunt*; the *magistri* refer to the later days of the *pagus Augustus felix suburbanus* (*C.I.L.* x. p. 93).²

Pompeii.—An archaic Latin inscription has come to light on the west of the Basilica, which runs P' MACCIUS' L' F' | L' MACCIO' PAPI' F' PATRI' | SPELLIAE' OVI' F' MATRI' | EPIDIAE' A' F' VXSORI | P' MACCIUS' VELASIANVS' ET' P' MACCIUS' MAMIANVS. Below, in smaller letters: FUBZANVS' H' REPOSUERUNT' DE' SVO. The slab had been taken for building in the later days of Pompeii from a neighbouring cemetery. It suggests an argument in favour of Maccius rather than M. Accius for the name of the comic poet Plautus (cf. *C.I.L.* x. 8148).¹

Rome.—In the hospital attached to S. John Lateran architectural remains belonging to a large and important building have been discovered. They include two columns of *pavonazetto* with capitals and bases of grey marble, and fragments of ornamental friezes and cornices, and appear to have belonged to a spacious hall paved with Numidian marble. On the same spot numerous stamped bricks were found in 1870 which date the hall in the age of Trajan and Hadrian; here too were the *domus An-niorum* (*Vita Marci*, 1) and *aedes Vectilianae* (*Vit. Comm.* 16), so that this hall is probably part of one of those buildings, and at any rate of some building devoted to the fiscal administration of the Empire. A lead pipe was found, stamped M OELLI DIADUMENIA[NI] C' P' | FL[ORENTINVS] FEC.¹

On the Via Portuense a new fragment of the so-called 'Elegy of Turia' has come to light; the rest was published in *C.I.L.* vi. 1527 and *Abhandl. d. K. Akad.*, Berlin, 1863, p. 456 ff. (Mommsen). The new fragment begins with Σ XORIS in large letters (a part of the *intestatio*) followed by ten lines; on one side a *tabula lusoria*, now incomplete, has been cut in. It fills the lacuna between the first and second parts of the first fragment, and mentions

Annius Milo, who was killed in a siege in B.C. 48. Furthermore, it shows that this Turia is not, as was supposed, the wife of Q. Lucretius Vespillo, who commanded the Republican army in Macedonia in B.C. 48 (Caesar, *Bell. Civil.* iii. 7).^{1 4}

Another recent discovery is a cinerary urn with the myth of Pasiphaë, now in the *Thermae* of Diocletian. It is rectangular, without cover, and of Luna marble, and bears an inscription, added later, to C. Volcatius Artemidorus. The only other known representation of Pasiphaë is the Louvre sarcophagus published by Robert; but this relief has closer analogies with the scene described by Philostratus (*Imagg.* i. 16). Daedalus, Pasiphaë, Eros, the head of the bull, and the wooden cow with the orifice in its body, are all represented.³

The foundations of the Regia, which were first discovered in 1866, have again been laid bare; they are separated from the Vestal buildings by a narrow lane following the course of the original Via Sacra. In this lane is a well 22 ft. deep, containing votive offerings in chronological strata: (1) Roman pottery of the coarser kinds; (2) Graeco-Roman terracottas, antefixes, weights, and lamps; (3) Campanian black-glazed ware; (4) Italo-Greek bucchero ware. Behind the Regia has been discovered the *Schola Calatorum Pontificum et Flaminum*, with architrave inscribed to that effect. We know from *C.I.L.* vi. 21845 that these officers of the supreme priesthood dedicated a marble pedestal to Trajan in A.D. 101 or 102.⁵

Under the 'black stones' another deposit of votive offerings has been found, consisting of Roman imitations of Neolithic celts. One or two jars recently found, one of which contained an onyx pendant from an earring or necklace, appear to verify a tradition mentioned by Varro, Livy, and others, concerning a place on the course of the Cloaca Maxima called *Doliola*. Livy (v. 40) states that in B.C. 364, at the time of the Gaulish invasion, the sacred relics belonging to the State were hidden in earthen jars, and the place accordingly named *Doliola*.⁵

The pedestal of the second lion which guarded the tomb of Romulus (see *C.R.* for June, p. 281) has just been found, about 7 ft. away from the other; it is in better preservation. Adjoining it was a conical base, perhaps that of the original Lapis Niger. The strata of earth covering the Comitium of the Kings and supporting the Comitium of the later Republic, in which these pedestals are buried, contain numerous votive objects, including archaic bronze figures and black clay vessels. Similar discoveries have been made in the neighbourhood, and it is probable that after the defeat of the Gauls in 389 B.C., the debris covering the remains of the Comitium was levelled, and a new pavement laid at a higher level. This would necessitate an expiatory sacrifice, and hence the votive objects.⁴

Near the Via Ostiensis a marble sarcophagus has been excavated, containing the skeleton of a girl wearing two rings of solid gold, set with carnelian intaglios. One represents Cupid pursuing a butterfly, the other, Bacchus with oinochoë.⁴

H. B. WALTERS.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Nov., 1898.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, 3 June.

⁵ *Ibid.* 13 May.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 23. Part 2. April, 1899.

Démosthènes et les hiéronuméons thessaliens, P. Foucart. A defence of the Thessalian Daochos against the charge of treason brought against him by Demosthenes (*de Cor.* §§ 295, 296). Polybius also names him as having been unjustly accused by Demosthenes. *La course aux flambeaux*, P. Foucart. Explains *Aesch. Ag.* 314 by reference to the scholiast of Patmos. "The victory is to the runner who has arrived the first and the last," i.e., the first as compared with his rivals of the other sets of runners, and the last as compared with the runners of his own set. The comparison is developed more Homeric, there being nothing to correspond to this line in the case of the beacons. *Cicero Fin.* I., L. Havet. Critical notes on §§ 50-60. *Orphica* fr. 208 Abel, P. Tannery. This fragment should be classed among the Rhapsodies and not with the *Telexal* as Abel classes it, and belongs to a time when the Orphic poetry was already contaminated by the belief in metempsychosis. The *λύσις προγόνων ἀδελφῶν* asked from Dionysos is absolution from the sins of ancestors which weigh upon the descendants 'L'orphisme, en effet, admettait un péché originel.' *Térence*, Phormio, 12-21, G. Ramain. In l. 14 for *potuisset* suggests *pote esset* instead of Bentley's *posset* which is usually read. In the next line reads *quid* for *quem*. Some reject this line altogether. *Quels sont les accords cités dans le ch. XIX. du Περὶ Μουσικῆς?* L. Laloy. Each of the three phrases of this passage must be understood of a scale of particular structure; these three scales are (1) the old 'trite' (*si*), (2) the ancient heptachord of Terpander (3) the enharmonic scale which was called *ἄρμονία* par excellence. *Plautus*, *Cas.* 72, L. Havet. Reads *Et hic in nostra terra, mea in Apulia*. *Encore quelques notes critiques sur le texte de Tacite*, L. Constans. *Caligula et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen*, B. Haussoullier. We are informed by two ancient authors, *Suetonius* (*Gaius*, 21) and *Dion Cassius* (*lix*, 28), of the projects of Caligula, and two unpublished inscriptions inform us that these projects were begun. This article treats (1) of the right of asylum at the Didymeion (2) of the projects of Caligula. *Une liste de débiteurs du trésor à Ilion*, B. Haussoullier. An explanation of some difficulties in this inser., which was discovered by Schliemann in 1873, and published in his *Ilios*. *Fragments de droit antéjustinien tirés d'un palimpseste d'Autun*, E. Chatelain. Two specimens are given. The date of the MS. is probably the 5th century; the author is unknown but it is not Gaius.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xix. 4. Whole No. 76. December, 1898.

What was Ictus in Latin Prosody? C. E. Bennett. *Explanation of an Assyrian Cruz Interpretum*. C. Johnston. *The Chronology of Cicero's Correspondence during the Year 59 B.C.*, F. F. Abbott. *The Tabula Valeria*. S. B. Platner. *The Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive*. L. Horton Smith. An index to the writer's three previous papers. *On -σσι- and -ζ*. W. F. Witton.

NOTE on *Cicero De Senectute* §§ 54 and 11, Katharine Allen.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. *Stock's Caesar De Bello Gallico*, Books I.-VII. Does not add to our

stock of knowledge. Gradenwitz and others' *Vocabularium Jurisprudentiae Romanae*, editum inssu Instituti Savigniani. 'Most helpful to the classical philologist.'

There are *Brief Mentions* of Palmer and Purser's *Heroides of Ovid*, Wait's *Ten Selected Orations of Lysias*, a new edition of the first part of M. Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, and the collected articles of the late Professor Brunn which bear upon Roman and Etruscan monuments.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899.

12 April. W. Ebstein, *Die Pest des Thukydides* (R. Fuchs), favourable. A. Sakellarios, *Untersuchung des Textes der 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία des Aristoteles* (Schneider), favourable. *Plutarchs ausgewählte Biographien*, erkl. von O. Siefert und Fr. Blass. 4 Bd. *Aristides und Cato* von F. Blass. 2. A. (P.U.). 'Deserves the best recommendation.' W. Fritz, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Synesius von Kyrene* (Sittl). 'Shows diligence and wide reading.' J. Schvarcz, *Die Demokratie*. ii. 2. *Die römische Massenherrschaft* (Schneider), favourable. *Augustini confessionum libri XIII*, ex rec. P. Knöll (G. Pfeilschifter), favourable.

19 April. E. Sparig, *De chori cantico extremo Electrae Sophoclae* (H. G.), favourable, directed against Th. Plüss. *Propertius, Elegien*, erkl. von M. Rothstein (Ed. Heydenreich), favourable. A. Kalkmann, *Die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius* (P. Weizsäcker). 'The more it is read the more convincing it becomes.' *Tacitus, Germania*, herausg. von J. Müller, bearb. von A. Th. Christ (Ed. Wolff), favourable. *Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, begründet und herausg. von A. Hettler I, 1 (Schneider). 'A new publication which deserves welcome.' G. Radet, *Les débuts de l'école française d'Athènes* (-r-).

26 April. C. Robert, *Die Knöchelspielerinnen des Alexandros* (H. L. Ulrichs), favourable. N. Svoronos, *Περὶ τῶν εἰσπρατῶν τῶν ἀρχαίων*, i. (P. Schadow). 'A rich and stimulating article.' A. Komnenos, *Λακωνικά χρόνων προϊστορικῶν τε καὶ ιστορικῶν*. (F. Hiller v. Gaertringen). 'Misdirected diligence.' C. Bardt, *Ausgewählte Briefe aus Ciceronischer Zeit*. 1. Text, 2. Kommentar. 1 Heft (W. Sternkopf) I. J. Vahlen, *De emendatione Tulliana* (H. Belling). 'A practical handbook of the critical art for young philologists.' Fr. Polle, *Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache?* 2. A. (Fr. H.), favourable.

3 May. W. Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*. 12. A. I. *Die Kunst der Altertums*, bearb. von M. Semrau (-r-). 'For the full appreciation of Greek and Roman plastic other works are needed.' C. Bardt, *Ausgewählte Briefe aus Ciceronischer Zeit*. 1. Text, 2. Kommentar. 1 Heft (W. Sternkopf) II. 'The text is useful, the commentary has great excellencies, the interpretation not always indisputable.' *Sallusti libri qui est de bello Jugurthino partem extremam* rec. J. Wirz (Th. Opitz), only cc. 103, 2-112, 2, favourable. A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed. italiane* (C. Wessely). 'For specialists of Latin and Italian MSS. of the middle ages.'

10 May. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (W. Schmid) I. R. S. Conway, *Dialectorum italicarum exempla*

(Bartholomae). 'Of good service for lectures, but the price is too high.' W. Wagner, *Rom*, in neuer Bearbeitung von O. E. Schmidt. 6. A. (A. Höck), very favourable. J. Schvarcz, *Kritische Notizen über die neuesten Erscheinungen der staatswissenschaftlichen Litteratur* (Fr. Cauer). 'The author might still learn something from the despised philologists.' F. Landowicz, *De doctrinis ad animarum praeexistentiam atque metempsychosin spectantibus* (A. Döring).

17 May. *Euripidis fabulae*, ed. R. Prinz et N. Wecklein, I. 5, *Ion*, ed. N. Wecklein (E. Holzner), favourable. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (W. Schmid) II. Concluded. 'Breaks new ground in method.' K. Hachtmann, *Olympia und seine Festspiele* (A. Höck). 'A welcome gift to teachers and pupils.' R. Klusmann, *Systematisches Verzeichniss der Abhandlungen, welche in den Schulschriften sämtlicher an dem Programmtausche teilnehmenden Lehranstalten erschienen sind*. III. 1891—1895 (H.D.).

24 May. *Zu Thukydides*, Erklärungen von L. Herbst, mitgeteilt von Fr. Müller, II., Buch V.—VI. (S. Widmann). M. Wilbrandt, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der attischen Geschlechter vor Solon* (Fr. Cauer). 'Shows valuable results.' O. Waser, *Charon, Charon, Charos* (H. Steuding). 'Here first exhaustively treated.' *Annales de la faculté des lettres de Bordeaux et des Universités du Midi*. IV^e série. Revue des études anciennes I. i. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, herausg. von Th. Achelis. I. (H. Steuding).

31 May. *Platons Apologie und Kriton*, herausg. von A. von Bamberg (G. Schneider), favourable. H. Frese, *Quae ratio intercedat inter librum Theognideorum priorem et posteriorem* (E. v. Geysso), favourable. O. Kern, *De Musaci Atheniensis fragmentis* (C. Hachélin). 'Deserving of praise.' G.

Némethy, *De Libris Amorum Ovidianis* (H. Winther). 'Laborious but too positive.' P. Passowicz, *De Flori codice Cracoviensi* (Th. Opitz). 'Too thorough and detailed for the value of the MS.'

7 June. L. Wählin, *De usu modorum Theocritico* (M. Rannow). 'Careful and intelligent.' K. Klement, *Arion* (H. Stending). 'A clear exposition.' V. Hahn, *Dörpfelds Theorie über den Bau der altgriechischen Bühne im Lichte der neuesten Kritik* (Z. Dembitzer). 'Puts well before the reader the present state of the question.' R. Hoyer, *Die Umschrift von Cicero de officiis* (K. Kalbfleisch). 'Carefully done but spoiled by a fixed idea.' A. Weidner, *Miscellanea critica* I.—II. (P. Schulze). 'On Lucian shows knowledge and acuteness.' *Fulgentii opera*, rec. R. Helm (P. Wessner), favourable. *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* VI. 1. Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum, conf. G. Goetz, I. (P. Wessner). 'Our best thanks are due to the editor.' K. Krumbacher, *Studien zu Romanos* (G. Wartenberg), very favourable.

14 June. O. Lagercrantz, *Zur griechischen Lautgeschichte* (F. Solmsen), favourable. H. Glaesener, *Le bouclier d'Achille et le bouclier d'Enée* (H. Winther). 'Has no scientific value.' G. Sorof, *Vindiciae Lucianae* (P. Schulze). 'Praiseworthy.' Cicero, *Rede für Murena*, herausg. von H. Nohl, 2. A. (H. Deiter). 'Deserves recommendation.' O. Thieme, *De sentiis gravibus et amoenis, quae in scriptis Cornelii Taciti passim reperiuntur*. I. (Th. Opitz), favourable.

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. March.

Haller, W., *Jovinianus*, die Fragmente seiner Schriften, die Quelle zu seiner Geschichte, sein Leben und seine Lehre, etc. (A. Jülicher). 'The plan of the book is praiseworthy, but its carrying out leaves much to be desired.'

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

It is a not uncommon experience of scholars to find themselves hampered in an enquiry by the want of some special piece of information which it is not improbable some other scholar might at once supply. Apart from this possibility the direction of general attention upon gaps in our knowledge may often lead to their being filled. We accordingly invite our readers to consider whether the allotment of a certain amount of our space to Classical 'Queries' would prove an acceptable novelty in the *Classical Review*.

One of the most noteworthy proofs of the revival of Classical interests in England was the eagerness with which competing publishers hastened to equip us with series of Greek and Latin texts. But the demand for these is limited and Messrs. Teubner are hard to beat. Hence we are not surprised to hear that one of these series has been withdrawn in favour of another with better chances of success.

The latest instalment of the new edition of Pauly's 'Encyclopædia' contains biographical notices of no less than 451 members of the Gens Claudia. Truly

Roman History is now a very populous subject.

At the moderate price of one shilling the Clarendon Press has issued a photographic facsimile of the two pages of the Bodleian MS. containing the lately discovered lines of Juvenal's Sixth Satire, together with a transcript by its discoverer. In addition to its literary interest the reproduction affords an excellent example of the Lombardic hand. Besides the paper by Prof. Buecheler in the *Rheinisches Museum*, to which we have already referred, the lines have been the subject of notes by Herr P. v. Winterfeld in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for June 24, and by Prof. P. Thomas in the *Bulletin* of the *Académie Royale de Belgique* for July.

The most ancient and not less tantalising inscription on the *cippus* which formed part of the famous lapis niger excavation, is photographed and fully described in the second part of the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei (Notizie degli Scavi)*, which has appeared since our last issue. In spite of all Professor Ceci's interpretative ingenuity its meaning is still a problem.

13. Ξ 125 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου εἰ ἐτεόν περ ... αἱ δὲ δημώδεις ὥς ἐτεόν περ Α = ἀριστάρχου εἰ ἐτεόν περ Τ.

MSS. ὥς except one or two.

14. Ξ 235 ἀριστάρχος χάριν εἰδῶ, αἱ δὲ δημώδεις εἰδῶ χάριν Α = αἱ ἀριστάρχου χάριν εἰδῶ Τ.

MSS. εἰδῶ (ἰδῶ) χάριν except h.

15. Ο 50 ἐν ταῖς εἰκαιοτέrais ἀθάνατοιςι θεοῖσι Α. Not in Τ.

MSS. not collated.

16. Ο 197 ἀριστάρχος βέλτερον εἶη· οἱ δὲ εἰκαίτεροι γράφουσι κέρδιον εἶη· ἀριστοφάνης κάλλιον εἶη Α. Not in Τ.

Most MSS. κέρδιον, but a substantial minority βέλτερον.

17. Π 638 αἱ μὲν κοινὰ κατ' αἰτιατικὴν σαρπηδόνα... ἐὰν δὲ ὥς ἀριστάρχος γράφει σαρπηδόνη δίφ κατὰ δοτικὴν... and ἀριστάρχος κατὰ δοτικὴν σαρπηδόνη δίφ Α. Not in Τ.

MSS. σαρπηδόνα διον.

18. Ρ 214 αἱ κοινὰ ἐκδόσεις ἔχουσι μεγαθύμου πηλείωνος... ἡ δὲ ἀριστάρχος διόρθωσις κατὰ δοτικὴν ἔχει μεγαθύμῳ πηλείωνι, and οὕτως ἀριστάρχος κατὰ δοτικὴν· ἄλλοι δὲ μεγαθύμου πηλείωνος Α.

= ἀριστάρχος μεγαθύμῳ πηλείωνι, Ζηνόδοτος πηληιάδῳ ἀχιλλῆος Τ.

Nearly all MSS. the genitive, a few the dative.

19. Σ 100 διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ἄρῳ ἡ ἀριστάρχου... ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκαιοτέροις ἀρῆς τῆς βλάβης... Α. In Τ both readings but without authorities, except that τινὲς = Aristarchus.

MSS. ἀρῆς, ἀρῆς.

20. Σ 376 οὕτως... ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιοτέrais κατὰ δῶμα νέονται (νέοντο) Τ. ΑΤ.

MSS. δυσαίατ' οὐ δύσωνται ἀγῶνα.

21. Τ 95 οὕτως ἐν ἀπάσαις Ζεὺς ἄσατο... ἐν δὲ τισι τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων Ζῆν' ἄσατο ΑΤ. and ἀριστάρχος Ζεὺς ἄσατο Α.

MSS. Ζῆν'.

22. Υ 228 αἱ ἀριστάρχου ἀλλ' ὅτε δέ· αἱ κοινὰ ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τ = ἀριστάρχος ἀλλ' ὅτε δέ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ διὰ τοῦ ἡ Α.

MSS. δὴ except Vat. 10.

23. Υ 255 οὕτως ἀριστάρχος πολλά τά τε¹ καὶ οὐκ... τὰ δὲ φανλότερα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐτεὰ ἔχει ΑΤ (τὰ δὲ εἰκαιότερα τῶν ἁ. Τ).

Most MSS. ἐτεὰ τε; a few τά τε, one or two ἐόντα τε.

24. Υ 384 ἐν τισι τῶν φάυλων ἀντιγράφων μετὰ τοῦ τ ΑΤ.

MSS. ὄν.

25. Φ 587 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου οἱ καὶ πρόσθε φίλων ἀλόχων τε καὶ νύων. ἐν τισι δὲ τῶν εἰκαιοτέρων οἱ κε πρόσθε κ.τ.λ. ΑΤ.

MSS. κε οὐ κεν.

26. Χ 301 πάροιθέ γε. ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιοτέrais πάλοι τό γε φίλτερον Τ. Not in Α.

MSS. πάλοι τό γε; τότε one or two, πάροιθέ γε one or two.

27. Χ 468 αἱ ἀριστάρχου βάλε δέσματα, αἱ δὲ κοινὰ χέε ΑΤ.

MSS. χέε, h βάλε.

28. Χ 478 αἱ κοινότεραι πριάμῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ΑΤ.

MSS. κατὰ δῶμα.

29. Ω 7 αἱ δημώδεις καὶ πάθεν ἔργα Τ Not in Α.

MSS. καὶ πάθεν ἄλγαι.

30. Ω 214 οὕτως ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐ.... αἱ δὲ κοινὰ ἐπεὶ οὕτω. ΑΤ.

MSS. οὐ ἐ except the Ambrosian fragment.

31. Ω 344 οὕτως ἀριστάρχος διὰ τοῦ εἰ· αἱ δὲ κοινὰ διὰ τοῦ ἡ ἐβέλη. Α. Not in Τ.

MSS. divided.

If we take the various terms κοινή, κοιναι, κοινότεραι, δημώδεις, εἰκαίτεραι, φανλότερα, as synonymous, we find that out of 31 cases where the reading of the ancient vulgate is explicitly stated, our MSS. agree with it in 17, are divided between it and the contrary reading in 6, and are against it in 7, one place being uncollated. In other words, the reading opposed to the κοινή has forced itself into the modern Vulgate to the exclusion of the other in 7 cases, and divides the ground with the contrary reading in 6.

Expressed in percentages these figures become :

Agreements of κοινή with MSS.	57 per ct.
MSS. divided	20 " "
MSS. against κοινή	23 " "

I draw attention to these results, which will be found essentially the same as those to be arrived at by a longer calculation at the end of this paper.

It is difficult to be satisfied with so small and limited a result : on the one hand mere *a priori* considerations suggest that wherever any variant on the Homeric text is recorded, there the κοινή must have had its own reading, either agreeing with or contrary to this variant; on the other hand we are actually able to trace the disappearance of the expression κοινή from our scholia. If we look at the different versions of the

¹ Corrupt.

same note in the passages given above, according as they appear in A, in T, and in the two different states or recension of the scholia within A, we shall find that out of 13 cases where double versions occur, in 6 in the shorter version Aristarchus' name alone remains (nos. 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 21), in 3 (nos. 4, 18, 22), ἄλλοι takes the place of αἱ κοιναί, in 1 (no. 11), τινές does so, in 1 (no. 1), the name of the individual agreeing with the κοινή is retained, while the κοινή itself is dropped, in 1 (no. 19), the authorities on both sides are omitted, in 1 (no. 6), exceptionally in the shorter αἱ πλείους has taken the place of αἱ πλείους τῶν δημοδῶν.

Our Homeric scholia are a series of types of progressive compression. The original Didymean entry, Aristarchus and his authorities on one side, the authorities from whom he differed and the vulgate on the other, can apparently not be found in its perfection; the fullest form we possess is that of M 382 (no. 9) οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ αἱ πλείους.....ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοινοτέραις..... As a rule the mention of the κοινή vanished first; the depreciatory suggestions of the name itself, and the tendency of grammarians to prefer the authority of names, an Antimachus, a Sosigenes, an Aristophanes to the anonymous tradition, helped its disappearance. It is, I think, important to make an effort to recover it; when we are so in the dark about the ideas, standards, and methods of ancient critics, even of Aristarchus, and much more so of those editors whom we know only through his quotations, it seems essential to reconstruct, if possible, that tradition which, whatever its value or conditions, did not arise from individual taste, erudition, or prejudice.

From the comparison of double versions made above, it appears that the κοινή reading may lie hid (1) where Aristarchus's name only is mentioned, (2) where vague terms such as ἄλλοι and τινές are opposed to Aristarchus, (3) where one individual is opposed to Aristarchus. Moreover the Vulgate reading is surely indicated by the expressions αἱ πλείους, αἱ πλείους, ἅπασαι, σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασαις, αἱ χαρίστεραι etc. The constant usage of these words is to denominate generally the editions which possessed names, that is those called after critics or places, in opposition to the anonymous copies, and the universality of the expressions is limited to this sphere. As we see in the passages quoted, they exclude the κοινή, and it follows that its reading may be inferred without further evidence from such a statement; there is in

fact nothing left over, when we make abstraction of αἱ πλείους, except the κοινή.

I have therefore constructed the following rules for determining the reading of the κοινή:—

I. The reading opposed to that of ἅπασαι, αἱ πλείους, etc. is the Vulgate.

IIa. The reading opposed to Aristarchus when only Aristarchus is mentioned, or the reading held by ἄλλοι, τινές, etc. in opposition to Aristarchus, is the κοινή.

IIb. Where a single individual holds a reading against Aristarchus, if this reading is held by all our MSS. or a majority of them, it is the κοινή; otherwise it must be treated as the property of the individual only.

I do not claim the absolute exactness of this method: further information may correct single cases; but class I. may be regarded as certain, and class IIa. as highly probable;¹ the field of induction given by the 29 quotations appears sufficient, and it is to be noted that in them Aristarchus is nowhere quoted as agreeing with the κοινή, somewhat in contrast to Zenodotus, who follows it e.g. B 53, Θ 349,² and Ptolemy of Ascalon who agrees E 461. Class IIb is of use for recovering the reading of the κοινή, but naturally not for estimating the proportions of its survival in our MSS., which is my present object.

These rules applied to the *Iliad* give the following results:—

A

I. 13 cases (vv. 91, 124, 169, 258, 298, 304, 332, 424, 435, 522, 553, 585, 598).

In 10 the MSS. agree with the κοινή.

In 0 the MSS. are divided.

In 3 the MSS. are against the κοινή.

IIa. 14 cases (vv. 117, 142, 157, 168, 203, 204, 241, 273, 350, 404, 423, 447, 484, 524).

¹ It is further to be considered that in many double versions of scholia (A 298, 424, 553; Γ 99; E 231; Z 4, 121; H 171, 197; Θ 163; K 291, 341; Λ 146, 439; M 142, 161, 283, 318; N 485, 705; O 307; T 114; Φ 492; Ψ 548, 622) Ἀρίσταρχος = Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ αἱ πλείους (or authorities by name). We may therefore assume that a certain number of passages under IIa. are to be raised to I.

² Agreements of Zenodotus with the κοινή are numerous under the heading IIb. (A 434; B 53, 196; E 466; H 451; Θ 378; I 128, 564; Λ 219, 368, 437, 439; M 161, 340; N 423, 447, 449; Ξ 118, 208, 249, 322, 437; O 139, 459; Π 188, 507; P 171; Σ 34; T 11, 138; Ψ 307; Ω 486), that is to say Zenodotus as against Aristarchus agrees with many or most of our MSS.

In 11 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 2 MSS. are divided.
 In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*

B

I. 8 cases (vv. 12, 164, 192, 196, 415, 436, 447, 801).

In 5 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 3 MSS. are divided.

In 0 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

IIa. 13 cases (vv. 111, 133, 163, 266, 278, 300, 355, 377, 516, 707, 733, 769, 798).

In 6 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 6 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Γ

I. 6 cases (vv. 18, 51, 57, 126, 292, 406).

In 4 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 14 cases (vv. 99, 193, 227?, 270, 290, 295, 326, 348, 352, 362, 368, 402, 434, 436).

In 7 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 7 MSS. are divided.

In 0 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Δ

I. 1 case (v. 213).

In this the MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

IIa. 11 cases (vv. 148, 205, 238, 260, 319?, 321, 333, 400, 426, 456, 527).

In 7 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 4 MSS. are divided.

In 0 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Ε

I. 1 case (v. 231).

In this the MSS. are divided.

IIa. 18 cases (vv. 66, 89, 104 *bis*, 199?, 249, 272, 317, 403, 425, 560, 661, 703, 787, 808, 839, 857, 874).

In 9 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 4 MSS. are divided.

In 4 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Ζ

I. 2 cases (vv. 4, 121).

In both MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

IIa. 10 cases (vv. 96, 157, 170, 288, 330, 354, 415, 432, 475, 479).

In 8 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Η

I. 2 cases (vv. 171, 197).

In both the MSS. are divided.

IIa. 17 cases (vv. 12, 41, 73, 130, 144, 213, 214, 241, 259, 272 *bis*, 304, 336, 353, 420, 475, 481).

In 12 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 3 MSS. are divided.

In 2 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Θ

I. 1 case (v. 304).

Here MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

IIa. 18 cases (vv. 7, 23, 35, 55, 109, 137, 157, 191, 246, 270, 340, 389, 408, 423, 449, 513, 538, 539).

In 10 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 7 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Ι

I. 1 case (v. 639).

Here the MSS., except *h*, are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 40 cases (vv. 18, 19, 32, 57, 66, 73, 76, 88, 89, 109, 112, 132, 155, 197, 214, 242, 270, 274, 297, 310, 317, 322, 349, 350, 394, 397, 446, 455, 464, 472, 488, 509, 540, 580, 584, 602, 632, 654, 698).

In 27 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 8 MSS. are divided.

In 5 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Κ

I. 3 cases (vv. 291, 341, 346).

In 2 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 0 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 32 cases (vv. 32, 38, 48, 54, 79, 115, 124, 127, 129, 146, 161, 176, 225, 252, 321, 332, 347, 354, 362, 387, 397, 408, 413, 431, 446, 452, 463, 489, 513, 538, 539, 579).

In 15 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 7 MSS. are divided.

In 8 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Λ

I. 2 cases (vv. 146, 439).

In both the MSS. are with the *κοινή*.

IIa. 25 cases (vv. 38, 40, 72, 92, 128, 129, 144, 184, 290, 392, 424, 437, 455, 457, 466, 537, 538, 553, 564, 622, 688, 773).

In 13 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 7 MSS. are divided.
 In 3 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

M

I. 6 cases.

In 4 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 1 MSS. are divided.
 In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

IIa. 14 cases.

In 5 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 3 MSS. are divided.
 In 6 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

N

I. 4 cases (vv. 465, 485, 499, 705).

In 1 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 3 MSS. are divided.

IIa. 26 cases (vv. 6, 28, 103, 144, 179, 225, 287, 318 bis, 347, 367, 384, 399, 407, 415, 443, 456, 541, 584, 594, 599, 613, 617, 785, 810).

In 14 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 5 MSS. are divided.
 In 7 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Ξ

I. 2 cases (vv. 259, 437).

In 1 MSS. are divided.
 In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 15 cases (vv. 62, 72, 157, 173, 181, 202, 203, 223, 241, 295, 376, 389, 400, 438).

In 9 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 3 MSS. are divided.
 In 3 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Ο

I. 4 cases (vv. 18, 114, 272, 307).

In 3 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 0 MSS. are divided.
 In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

IIa. 24 cases (vv. 24, 45, 71, 72, 82 bis, 86, 94, 123, 187, 211, 232, 240, 252, 398, 417, 563, 621, 626, 690 bis, 680, 714, 737).

In 15 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 5 MSS. are divided.
 In 3 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Π

I. 1 case (v. 261).

MSS. divided.

IIa. 32 cases (vv. 5, 35, 50, 53, 71, 120, 144, 175, 227, 254, 290, 354, 379,

445, 450, 467, 488, 504 bis, 522, 633, 636, 648, 668, 707, 716, 474, 775, 801, 810, 842).

In 19 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 3 MSS. are divided.

In 10 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Ρ

I. 1 case (v. 461).

MSS. with the *κοινή*.

IIa. 17 cases (vv. 20, 27, 42, 44, 95, 144, 161, 202, 231, 292, 302, 365, 505, 603, 607, 637, 746).

In 9 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 7 MSS. are divided.

In 1 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Σ

I. 1 case (v. 499).

The MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

IIa. 7 cases (vv. 14, 86, 124, 171, 213, 506, 568).

In 7 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

Τ

I. 1 case (v. 75).

The majority of MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 8 cases (vv. 17, 27, 70, 79, 92, 376, 391, 393).

In 3 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 3 MSS. are divided.

In 2 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Υ

I. 2 cases (vv. 114, 352).

In 1 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

IIa. 13 cases (vv. 12, 28, 35, 57, 59, 77, 84, 195, 259, 263, 414, 426, 471).

In 10 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are divided.

In 2 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Φ

I. 4 cases (vv. 106, 122, 492, 586).

In 2 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

In 1 MSS. are divided.

IIa. 17 cases (vv. 73, 131, 172, 191, 195, 303, 321, 363, 513, 611).

In 10 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.

In 4 MSS. are divided.

In 3 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

X

- I. 2 cases (vv. 251, 315).
 In both the MSS. are with the *κοινή*.
 II.α 14 cases (vv. 42, 48, 69, 73, 83, 85, 118, 122, 198, 202, 416, 431, 475, 491).
 In 9 cases MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 1 MSS. are divided.
 In 4 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Ψ

- I. 3 cases (vv. 374, 548, 622).
 In 2 MSS. are with the *κοινή*.
 In 1 MSS. are against it.
 II.α 16 cases (vv. 18, 39, 48, 117, 120, 137, 287, 332, 361, 420, 422, 464, 483, 504, 635, 640).
 In 7 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 4 MSS. are divided.
 In 5 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Ω

- I. 1 case (v. 67).
 Here the MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.
 II.α 22 cases (vv. 20, 28, 38, 53, 148, 198, 200, 215, 241, 341, 347, 373, 418, 473, 518, 546, 636, 663, 701, 706, 764.)
 In 12 MSS. agree with *κοινή*.
 In 5 MSS. are divided.
 In 5 MSS. are against *κοινή*.

Total: I. 72 cases.

- In 47 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.
 In 17 MSS. are divided.
 In 8 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

II.α. 430 cases.

- In 256 MSS. agree with the *κοινή*.
 In 99 MSS. are divided.
 In 75 MSS. are against the *κοινή*.

Grand total of both classes :

- Cases 502.
 In 303 MSS. agree with *κοινή* = 60 p.c.
 In 116 MSS. are divided = 24 p.c.
 In 83 MSS. are against the *κοινή* = 16 p.c.

If we compare these percentages with those obtained from the direct quotations of the *κοινή*, we find that the agreements of our MSS. with the *κοινή* were there 57 p.c. as against 60 p.c. here. This is substantially the same proportion, and the nearness of the results may perhaps confirm the method on which I have endeavoured to ascertain the reading of the *κοινή* where it is not named.

In the other results there is some variation; the proportions in which our MSS. show a divided text and are unanimous in rejecting the *κοινή* appear to have changed places. Perhaps it will be right to prefer the second result, as based on a much wider field.

We may say then that the modern or MS. vulgate is the same as the ancient vulgate to the extent of 60 per cent.; to the extent of 16 per cent. other readings have established themselves to the exclusion of the ancient vulgate; in 24 per cent. of passages the ancient vulgate and the new element are in warfare.

What is this new element, and by what means has it to this extent established itself in our text?

T. W. ALLEN.

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*.

Vv. 2-5:

τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαάζετε
 ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστερμένον·
 πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει,
 ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων ;

'Why in the world, pray, are you sitting thus with suppliants' branches, while (whereas) the city is filled with incense, is filled with paeans and groans?' πόλις δὲ implies ἡμεῖς μὲν in the first member of the period. That the contrast exists is reasonably certain. But the actions

described in the two members are not plainly contrasted, as the sentence now stands. The sitting of a delegation with suppliants' boughs somewhere is not in marked contrast with burning incense or singing paeans somewhere. It is the designation of the person to whom the supplication is addressed on the one hand, the incense-burning and paeon-singing on the other, that makes a contrast between the actions. One part of the citizens—a delegation—supplicate the king; the city at large supplicates the gods. 'Why should a

few supplicate the *king*, while most look to the *gods* for aid?' is roughly the question in Oedipus's mind. If πόλις δ' is contrasted by implication (as without doubt it is) with <ὑμεῖς μὲν>, and if what has just been said about a second contrast in the sentence is true; then, inasmuch as there is no word referring directly to the gods, but there is one referring directly to the king (μοι), we have, what appears very often elsewhere, a double contrast expressed half by half. The scheme of such contrast in the present passage will be thus:

<ὑμεῖς μὲν>—μοι
πόλις δὲ—<τοῖς θεοῖς>.

But if this double contrast exists and one part of it is an oblique case of a personal pronoun, such oblique case of a personal pronoun should have the antidiastolic form, not the enclitic. Therefore, τάσδε μοι should give place to τάσδ' ἐμοί. So Brunck read. So the Σχόλια Νεώτερα, thus: *τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ καθέδραι αὐται, ὥς κάθησθε χάριν ἐμοῦ*. And again: *ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰκότως εἴρηκεν δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐκάθηντο*. Bothe should not have objected to Brunck's text (*addenda et emendanda* to Leipsic edition of 1806): 'leg. τάσδε μοι: nam ὀρθοτονονμένῳ locus non est. Sic saepius novavit Brunckius, a me non ubique, ut par esset, retusus, quod semel moneo.' The priest answers Oedipus's implication in vs. 31 *sqq.* Those words are pointless and have nothing to rest on (the priest replies to Oedipus in chiasitic order), unless we read τάσδ' ἐμοί. (I shall take up the priest's words presently from another point of view.) ἄ in ἀγὼ has reference to the contrast, the inconsistency, which Oedipus has just noted, of which he now demands the reason in person. Of course, the interrogation extends, as I have indicated by my pointing, through στεναγμάτων.

It may be remarked here that modern

scholars do not always appreciate the fact that from the ancient Greek point of view both terms of a contrast do not need always to be expressed. Thus, for example, Nauck wrote (Mél. iv. p. 216) of Eur. *Hel.* 1047 *sq.* thus: "Das Schiff, das wir hatten, hat das Meer." Wollte Euripides in dieser Weise mit dem Verbum ἔχειν spielen, so konnte er nur sagen ἦν γὰρ ἡμεῖς πρόσθεν εἶχμεν, τὰ νῦν ἔχει ἡ θάλασσα. Der überlieferte Ausdruck lehrt dass nicht der Dichter sondern ein Abschreiberversehen verantwortlich zu machen ist für das frostige Wortspiel. Man erwartet ἦ γὰρ ἡλθομεν θάλασσαν ἔχει. But in Eur. *Alc.* 339 *sq.* we find λόγῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι, | σὺ δ' (as if αὐτοὶ μὲν or οὗτοι had gone before) ἀντιδοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα | ψυχῆς ἔσωσας. Still more striking is Hom. *Γ* 164 οὐ τί μοι αἰτὴν ἔσσι, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν, where no σὺ anticipates θεοί.

As I have just spoken of a matter of punctuation, I may add here that in vs. 11 στέρξαντες should be followed by , . The question is not direct; therefore, the ; is not required. Besides this, the pointing with ; obscures the relation of ὡς θέλοντος ἂν κτέ. (vs. 11) to φράζ' (vs. 9).

It seems to me, as to others, reasonable to suppose that στέρξαντες was once οὐ στέρξαντες. I would explain the present state of our text thus: The οὐ before στέρξαντες was dropped out by some one in copying; then an attempt was made to restore it (by putting it in the margin first?); this succeeded so far that οὐ did indeed get back into the text but in the wrong synizesis—with μῇ in vs. 13, where it was not wanted, instead of with ῇ in vs. 11, where it was wanted.

Vs. 15–21. The μὲν after ὄραῖς is, of course, contrasted with the δὲ in τὸ δ' ἄλλο φίλον (vs. 19). The structure of this whole passage may be clearly indicated thus:

ὄραῖς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἡλίκοι κτέ.
↓
οἱ μὲν οὐδέπω κτέ. οἱ δὲ σὺν κτέ.
↓ ↓
ἱερεὺς ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνὸς οἷδε δ' ἡμέων λεκτοί
↓
τὸ δ' ἄλλο φίλον.

The emphasis on ἡλίκοι makes φίλον mean primarily 'those of other age than we' (the contrast of sex is not so distinctly—if at all—present to the mind). We must read οἷδε δ' ἡμέων in vs. 18; also ἱερεὺς ἐγὼ μὲν at the beginning of the same verse. οἷδε δ' ἡμέων is the reading of Pal. 40 (see Professor Campbell's edition; cf. also Emil

Müller, *Beiträge zur Erklärung u. Kritik des Königs Ödipus des Sophokles*, I. und II., Leipsic, 1884, p. 5).

In the priest's answer to Oedipus the words ἄλλ', ὦ κρατύνων κτέ. answer to ἄλλ', ὦ γεραιέ, κτέ.; the word πόλις in vs. 22 introduces the reply to πόλις δ' κτέ (vs. 4 *sq.*); and στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις in vs. 30

refers us back to vs. 5. What follows vs. 30 will, therefore, by a natural process of chiasmic elimination, answer to vss. 2-3. This brings us to the conclusion already drawn from the point of view of the earlier verses—that vss. 31-32 have reference to vss. 2-3 and that ἐμοὶ must be read in vs. 2. From vs. 142 M. Schmidt (*Philologus* 18, 229) inferred that in vs. 16 Sophocles had written not βωμοῖσι τοῖς σοῖς but βάθροισι τοῖς σοῖς. In vss. 31-34 the priest protests that he and the suppliants do not approach Oedipus as a god. Does not this, the turning point of the priest's answer, taken in connection with what has already been said about the relation of the speeches of Oedipus and the priest, make strongly against βωμοῖσι and for βάθροισι?

I may add here that in vs. 31 Mr. Blaydes's ἴσον νέμων σ' ἐγὼ seems to me very plausible.

In v. 35 ὅς τ', which is supported, so far at least as MS. testimony is concerned, by the scholiast's ὥστε, is certainly right, as Wunder maintained. ἐν τε συμφοραῖς βίου and ἐν τε δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς are resumed in chiasmic order. νῦν (v. 40) is contrasted with the notion of pastness in μολὼν = ὄτ' ἔμολες. μολὼν is, therefore, not to be construed with ἄστν Καδμείον. But if ἄστν Καδμείον is to be construed with ἐξέλυσας, Professor van Herwerden's σκληρὰς αἰδοῦ, δασμὸν ἢ παρείχομεν in v. 36 seems fairly inevitable.

Lest I may not have been explicit enough about the chiasmus mentioned above and its bearing on ὅς τ', I add a word here. συμφοραῖς βίου is commonly misinterpreted. συμφοραῖς has its normal sinister sense, and the phrase here = 'misfortunes, mischances, of life,' with special reference to the plague, which, though a divine visitation is here regarded especially from the human point of view; δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς (the συν- is supported, as against ξυν-, by the parallelism with συμφοραῖς) means 'dealings with higher (supernatural) beings,' with reference to the Sphinx. πρῶτον ἐν δαιμόνων συναλλαγαῖς is expanded in the form of a relative clause in vv. 35-39; while vv. 40-45 look back to πρῶτον ἐν συμφοραῖς βίου.

Chiasmus is a prominent feature of this whole passage. We have a striking little instance of it in v. 42 sq., where του θεῶν is followed by ἀνδρὸς—του. The reading που spoils this.

Vv. 44-45. 'For it is especially to experienced men that I see even misfortunes <?> of counsels.' What we want where ζώσας stands is a substantive that shall be

connected as predicate with ξυμφορὰς and shall have τῶν βουλευμάτων, depend upon it. The best suggestion that has been made here (to my knowledge) is Mekler's ῥίζας. (Musgrave, if I am right in thinking some MS. notes on Sophocles in my possession to be his, felt the difficulty in the same way; but his conjectures were less satisfactory. I may have more to say of this at another time.) ῥίζας with superscribed οὔσας (the latter merely to indicate the construction) might have got botched into ζώσας. At all events ῥίζας indicates very well what is wanted here. ζώσας is pretty certainly wrong. 'For to the experienced (as you are) necessity is especially the mother of invention' is a sentiment that fits in here very fairly well indeed.

In vs. 47 I would read ὥς σε νῦν μὲν κτέ. There is no emphasis of contrast on the σε—no special emphasis at all, in fact: therefore, there is no reason why we should accent the word. νῦν μὲν demands a contrasted term in the δέ-clause. This is to be found in ἕστερον, which does not belong to πεσόντες. πεσόντες needs no such adjunct. στάντες τ' ἐς ὄρθον και πεσόντες is contrasted (chiasmically) with ἀσφαλεία (= ἀσφαλῶς, ὥστε μὴ πεσεῖν) ἀνθρώπων in v. 51.

In v. 48 Pal. 40 is again right. προμηθείας (a mere carelessness of spelling for προμηθίας) is sense; προθυμίας hardly.

In v. 55 I propose to read ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενὴς βροτῶν.

In v. 58 should we not construe the final word of the verse, μοι, with προσήλθεθ' at the beginning of v. 59, rather than with γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα in v. 58?

If vv. 80-1 are right as they stand, should we not construe thus: εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχη γέ τω σωτήρι βαίη <οὔτω> λαμπρός, ὥσπερ ὀμματι ('to the eye') <λαμπρὸς βαίνει>? This = οὔτω λαμπρῶς (= φανερώς) σωτήριος ἔλθοι, ὥσπερ λαμπρός (= φανερός) προσέρχεται. Oedipus knows nothing about any bright expression on Creon's face. He has not even seen him yet—only heard that he is approaching. Nor is the news that Creon brings of a kind to put a smile on a man's face. Nor does the priest in his next words say anything about bright looks: he judges of the character of Creon's news merely from his chaplet (vv. 82-83).

In v. 99 I cannot but think that the reading of the MSS. τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς; is adequately defended by Aristoph. Av. 94 τίς ἡ πέρωσις; τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς τριλοφίας; In the reply of Creon (v. 100 sq.) ποίωι καθαρῶι; is answered first; ὡς τὰδ' (Hermann's certain and admirable

correction of τὸδ') αἶμα χειμάζον πόλιν answers τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ξυμφορᾶς;

In v. 116 sq. have we really what Sophocles wrote? Should we not rather read thus:

οἷδ' ἄγγελος τις ὧδε συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ
κατῆλθ', ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήσατ' ἄν;

to be construed: οὐδέ τις συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ ἄγγελος ὧδε κατῆλθε, κτέ. ? θνήσκουσι γάρ (sc. οἱ συμπράκτορες ὁδοῦ πάντες) in v. 118 looks as if συμπράκτωρ in v. 116 might have been the subject of the whole sentence.

In v. 118 φόβῳ is to be construed, I think, with οὐδὲν εἶχ' εἰδὼς φράσαι in v. 119. The participle φυγῶν is then = ἐπεὶ (postquam) ἔφυγεν. For the emphasis on the participle thus placed cf. what I have said of μολῶν in v. 35.

In v. 122 sq. I venture to think that Sophocles may have written οὐ μῖας (not μῖαι) ῥώμη κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλῆθει χερῶν.

It may be questioned whether vv. 141-146 are always (or generally) rightly understood. ὡς πᾶν ἐμοῦ δράσοντος (cf. v. 10 sq.) belongs in thought to ἵστασθε. The suppliants are to go away now in the belief that Oedipus will do all that lies in his power for the relief of his people. The concluding words of Oedipus's speech are the promise referred to by the priest in the words (v. 147 sq.) τῶν δὲ χάριν ὧν ὁδ' ἐξαγγέλλεται (= ὑπισχνέται: I fail to see why commentators drag in 'of his own accord' in their interpretations). 'For we (i.e. I) will succeed—please God—or fall in the attempt' is what Oedipus means by his words. The words σὺν τῷ θεῷ need not refer to

Apollo—in fact, they probably do not. At all events φανούμεθα here has the proper force of the future: it is an expression of intention.

Are v. 421 sq. perhaps to be written:

ὅταν καταίσθῃ γ' ὃν ὑμέναιον ἐν δόμοις
ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας εὐπλοίας τυχῶν?

It is interesting to observe that G. Wolff's conjecture αῦ for οὐ in v. 430 is supported by the newly-discovered Oxyrhynchus fragment, in which αῦ stands in the text with: ου: written above by the second hand. The balance of opinion ought now, it seems to me, to turn in favour of αῦ, as against the feebler οὐ.

In v. 1369 sq., the MSS. make Oedipus say to the Coryphaeus:

ὥς μὲν τάδ' οὐχ ὧδ' ἔστ' ἄριστ' εἰργασμένα,
μή μ' ἐκδίδασκε, μηδὲ συμβούλευ' ἔτι.

But the Coryphaeus had said (v. 1367):

οἷδ' ὅπως σε φῶ βεβουλεύσθαι καλῶς.

It thus seems that Sophocles wrote in v. 1369 not εἰργασμένα but ἐγνωσμένα. It may be noted that ἐγνωσμένα and εἰργασμένα are confused in Eur. Med. 779—at least the reading of the MSS. varies between ἐγνωσμένα and εἰργασμένα. In the present passage the corruption of ἐγνωσμένα to εἰργασμένα may be due—wholly or in part—to the occurrence of εἰργασμένα at the end of v. 1374.

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THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

(Conclusion).

OUR discussion has as yet taken no account of any external evidence that there may be, bearing on the genuineness of the disputed works. In point of fact it will be found that this evidence, although as far as it goes it is in favour of them all, possesses no very great intrinsic value. It is something that a work should by manuscript tradition be included in the writings of a given author. It is something that it should be definitely ascribed to him by later writers. But, when several centuries inter-

vene between the earliest of these later writers and the author in question, their ascription carries with it but little authority: and no greater weight attaches to the mere presence of the work in the collection of writings, when we are quite in the dark as to the circumstances under which that collection was formed and when we know well that into similar collections (Hippocrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle) works found their way which had no business there. As far as I know, the literature

now extant contains nothing for three centuries after X.'s death, and indeed in most cases for a good deal longer, to indicate that any one of the works in question was or was not considered to have been written by X. When Diogenes Laertius (2. 57) gives a list of what X. wrote, and adds (as the text stands) that Demetrius Magnes questioned the genuineness of the *R. L.*, we are not justified in assuming that Demetrius had the same canon of the Xn. writings before him and that of them all he took exception only to the one mentioned. The passage in Plutarch's life of Agesilaus (19) may suggest, but it in no way implies, that Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, knew *Ages.* as X.'s, nor can Polybius be quoted as attesting the Xn. authorship of the *R. L.* The treatise *περί ὕψους* by the Pseudo-Longinus, if we assign it as we probably may to the first half of the first century of our era, is relatively early evidence for anything of the kind, when it connects the *R. L.* with X., and in the case of *Ages.* we can get further back to Cicero. But these are probably the first ascriptions to be found, and they leave a gap of three hundred or more years. If there were serious reasons otherwise for holding that X. did not write *Ages.*, we should not be bound to think much of the fact that Cicero believed he did. That belief is something, but it does not carry us far. When we come to Plutarch, Arrian, Athenaeus, Pollux, Diogenes, Stobaeus, we are getting five, six, and more centuries away from X. himself, and their testimony is in reality worth little or nothing. It must be remembered too that Pollux, Diogenes, and Stobaeus ascribe to X. the *R. A.*, which no one now believes to be his. It is therefore not too much to say that the external evidence (except perhaps the apparent scepticism of Demetrius Magnes regarding *R. L.*, as to which I have suggested that the text of Diogenes is wrong) goes for almost nothing and that we are thrown back upon the evidence of an internal kind.

Internal evidence here seems to divide itself mainly into three parts. We may ask whether a book refers to historical facts in such a way as to indicate a date for itself, or shows by what we find in it or by what we do not find that it must have been written after or before some particular event. In the case of any book of disputed authorship we have to enquire whether there is anything of this kind about it inconsistent with the ordinary ascription. Putting aside the *R. A.*, we may say confidently that from this point of view there is nothing in any of

the treatises with which we are now concerned that may not have been written by X. Even those who call them in question have not, I think, seriously argued that there is, unless it be the statement about Agesilaus' age in *Ages.* 1, 6. Certainly none of the disputed writings, so far as I remember, makes reference to or implies any historical facts that X. may not have known. Second comes the question whether the ideas, opinions, feelings, that find expression in a book, are such as the supposed author is likely to have entertained. On this point we may say that the greater part of the contents of our books is markedly and strikingly in accord with the sentiments habitually found in X., and that, when allowance has been made for differences of date and circumstances, there does not seem to be anything really alien to X.'s point of view. Moreover, the possibility of interpolation is to be borne in mind when we are considering either this point or the last. It should be added that the subjects treated of are on the whole just such as we should expect from X. *Apol.* is on the subject of *Mem.*: *Cyn.* suits perfectly the author of two treatises on riding: *Ages.* and *R. L.*, harmonise admirably with the facts of X.'s life. *Vect.* is somewhat different, but it is just the practical discussion of a business question that we should look for from him, and it goes very well with parts of *Oecon.*

The third question of internal evidence is the question of literary style. Putting aside the facts that may be referred to and the views that may be expressed, do we find that in the constituent elements of style, so far as they admit of being analysed or estimated, a book agrees with the acknowledged writings of its reputed author? Are these particular treatises in the Xn. style? Now many things enter into style, and it is much easier to examine some than others. There are points of style which it needs no small perspicacity to seize, and which cannot be brought out and made plain to all the world, even if it admits of being done at all, without a very great expenditure of time and trouble. There are things which the ordinary eye can hardly be made to see, whatever pains you take. About these points then, or some of them, there must always be uncertainty. Even those who have an eye for them may not agree among themselves as to their significance and value. Often they do not admit of very precise statement, and when stated they may impress capable judges in very various ways. But the actual vocabulary of a writer, the point

to which we have directed our attention so much in these Xn. studies, is a matter of plain, hard, undeniable fact, which we may indeed overlook, but which admits of precise study and has an importance that in many cases no one can fail to recognise, when his attention has once been called to it. The subtle use of a word, the finer turns of expression, may not be apparent to a man, even when pointed out to him, but everyone can see that, if a writer habitually and without technical necessity uses a word or a number of words not employed freely by his contemporaries, there is something which calls for notice and, it may be, for explanation.

The best writers of Attic prose fall into two well-defined groups. The first of these consists almost entirely of the orators. They use, we are safe in saying, the actual Attic speech of their time, not indeed in all its colloquial idiom and ease, but in its serious and slightly formal shape, just as Burke and Macaulay and Bright in their speeches give us the English that has really been spoken in the best English society for 100 or 150 years past. This is not a mere presumption founded upon the reflection that orators would be ridiculed if they departed much from the ordinary language of their times. It is a fact that can be abundantly proved by comparison of them on the one hand one with another and with Aristophanes and the Comic Fragments, and on the other hand by comparison or contrast of them all with the writers of the other group. They differ of course among themselves to some extent. The style of Lysias is not that of Isocrates. Hyperides and Demosthenes can be quite well distinguished. But in the main their vocabulary is the same, that of the average well-educated Athenian of the time, speaking on a serious subject. And, when we find that certain words are practically not used either by them or in the ordinary language of Aristophanes, we may usually conclude with confidence that these words were seldom heard on Athenian lips.

The other group is made up mainly of Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and we may perhaps add Aristotle. These again differ greatly among themselves, much more than the members of the former group. But they have this in common, that their vocabulary departs in a marked manner from what we are justified in regarding as the type of actual Attic speech. It departs from this type in varying degrees and ways and no doubt for different reasons in the different cases, but there can be no doubt in the mind

of anyone who has looked into the facts that it does depart from it. Roughly speaking, their diction is to that of the orators and comic poets as the diction of Livy and Tacitus with other Augustan and later authors is to that of Cicero and Caesar. But in Latin the styles were successive, while in Attic they were contemporary: and in Latin the syntax often became poetical as well as the vocabulary, whereas in Attic this was very seldom the case.

Thucydides was archaic. We must of course take into account his earlier date: but apart from that his bent was towards singularity, and no doubt his long absence from Athens also affected his style. Every Thucydidean scholar knows how he not only uses rare words that occur perhaps nowhere else, but affects to some extent a language of the poets and old Athens that can hardly, even when he was a boy, have been in familiar use. The grammarians tell us that his dialect is 'old Attic': scholars have perhaps not recognised adequately, though they have seen to some extent, that his vocabulary is 'old Attic' too. Plato, who is in some ways the most Attic of writers, and who purports to give us the living language of Athenian conversation, does as a matter of fact avail himself constantly of words that we may be sure were not commonly used even by the best educated men,

εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοῦς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.

Probably travel had little to do with it in his case. His literary sense was much too fine to be affected by any such influences. What moved him was no doubt his own delicate taste, the leaning to a certain daintiness and exquisiteness of style, a poetic refinement. But we must recognise that the real Athenians of the fourth century talked even less like the interlocutors of the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus* than Englishmen of the last fifty years have conversed or made speeches in the style of *Modern Painters* or *Marius the Epicurean*. Aristotle was not an Athenian and he was already or almost grown up when he first settled in Athens. He, too, partly no doubt from this cause, has many things that we have every reason to believe were foreign to the best Attic of his time.

But of the four writers above named X. is certainly the one whose diction is the most peculiar. On this there is the less reason now to dwell, because we have been studying it in detail for some time back. Nor will I now inquire into the cause or causes of his singularity. Croiset says he

used the words which he heard as a boy in the rural parts of Attica. It is more commonly attributed to his travelling and living abroad, or to his personal taste founded on study of the poets. All we need say is in general terms that he has a perfectly distinguishable vocabulary of his own, which has much in common with the vocabularies of Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle, but at the same time is different from any of them, and can, as we have seen, be identified by a very considerable number of marks, large and small. He has many of the semi-poetical words employed by them and a great many also of his own, occurring more or less frequently in him and seldom or never elsewhere. The details of this most remarkable vocabulary we gather in the first instance from those books which, whatever doubts have been felt about their precise form or about this or that small part of them, no one has seriously called in question as wholes; I mean the *Anabasis*, the *Hellenics*, the *Memorabilia*, the *Cyropaedia*, the *Oeconomicus*, the two treatises that relate to riding. When we have made allowance for difference of subjects and dates and for the natural variations of an active mind, we find one vocabulary running through all these, and that a vocabulary such as no other good prose writer employs. Now Attic, now Ionic, now poetry, now prose, it is a bizarre diction peculiar to X. The most noticeable things are not the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα or the out-of-the-way words that occur just a few times, much less the technical terms: they are the words quite common in the poets or in Herodotus and sometimes in the Hippocratean treatises, in some cases used by Thucydides and it may be by Antiphon, sometimes appearing again later in the Κοινή or frequent in Lucian; names for common things and familiar ideas, which the comic poets and the orators must have used over and over again, had they formed part of ordinary Attic speech, from the days of Aristophanes and Lysias to those of Demosthenes and Philemon. These are the words on which I have mainly dwelt and for all purposes they are the most significant.

For our own immediate inquiry the point is that this characteristic individual style is found in every one of the disputed writings, the *R.A.* excepted, and in every part of them all. Of course they vary, just as parts of the *Hellenics* vary, just as the *Hipparchicus* varies from the *Memorabilia*. But, roughly speaking, we have seen that the same familiar features appear and reappear throughout the whole series. This has

been demonstrated in such detail that it seems needless to dwell upon it again in general terms. But be it observed for the benefit of those who have not troubled to master the details that the evidence is in its nature cumulative. We are not arguing that, because X. uses one word and another and they are used also in these treatises, therefore these treatises were written by X. We argue that he wrote them because there are scores of things, which a minute study finds to be common to them with the undoubted works of X. but not with ordinary Attic prose.

These four great points then have been shown. The external evidence, though too late to be very valuable, is wholly in X.'s favour. The internal evidence that indicates any date of composition agrees with what we know as to the dates of his life. The subjects are his and the sentiments are his. Finally the style is his, and above all the diction is a unique diction which characterises everything he wrote and which is found in no other writer of the time.

On the other hand the arguments that have been adduced against genuineness are not strong at all. They must of course be considered in detail before they can be fairly appreciated, and this it has been no part of my plan to do, nor do I propose to review them now. It is enough to say that against the very serious considerations above stated they seem to me in almost all cases singularly weak. There is in fact little more in any of them than a subjective impression on the part of this or that reader that X. was not the author, an impression (we should notice) often unconnected with any really careful study of X.'s ways of expressing himself, though it sometimes rested upon a much too narrow view of the limits within which his style could range. Critics have been struck, for instance, by the epideictic manner of the *Agésilæus*, and have been almost blind to the thoroughly Xn. character of the words in which it is couched. But without entering on the question of the genuineness of this or that particular work we may briefly notice one or two general considerations that suggest themselves.

It may be said for instance that, if there are some spurious things among the works ascribed to X., this is only what has happened in other cases, and that we might in fact expect it to happen in his case too. Various dialogues, not to mention the *Letters*, found their way into the Platonic collection, of which some were condemned even in antiquity and still more have been

generally regarded by modern scholarship as spurious. The *corpus Aristoteleum* was and is swollen with many things that Aristotle never wrote. Medical works by all sorts of authors pass under the name of Hippocrates. It is thought that Demosthenes had nothing to do with many of the speeches traditionally assigned to him.

All this is true and relevant. But we must take note that three of the writers now named were founders of schools, occupying a very great and prominent position. It was much more natural for the writings of their disciples or followers to get collected together, to resemble those of the master, and to be confounded with them than for things of this kind to happen frequently in the case of a private person like X., who founded no school, taught nobody, and had as far as we know no followers of any sort. As for the spurious Demosthenic speeches, the number of which is at present very doubtful, certainly the case is not the same as with Hippocrates, Plato, and Aristotle. But the reputation of Demosthenes was so great that the temptation to ascribe things to him would be unusually strong. It is very noticeable too that the chief reasons for doubting certain speeches are just such reasons as fail to present themselves in the case of X., that is they are reasons founded upon the language in which the speeches are written. The freer admission of hiatus, the presence of words which Demosthenes was not likely to use, these are the chief arguments to be adduced.

But, it will be said, it is not a mere speculation that the works of other men might get mixed up with those of X. The thing has admittedly occurred in the case of the *R.A.*, and therefore it might occur in other cases too. This is an argument certainly not without weight. When you have once allowed a spurious work, you cannot maintain the impossibility of others. Nor is it the possibility of others against which I am arguing, but the contention that any valid case for others has been actually made out. In reality the *R.A.* is a very double-edged argument. If it shows on the one hand that a work not written by X. could come to be included in the collection of his writings, it shows on the other hand how a work not written by him betrays that fact instantly both by chronological data and by the total absence of all his peculiarities.

It may be thought again that the facts stated above as to the language of what I have called the two great groups of Attic prose-writers do not point exactly to the

conclusion which I have drawn. The facts go to show that the orators of Athens used a decidedly restricted vocabulary; but perhaps the historians, the philosophers, the pamphleteers, the miscellaneous writers, all used as a matter of course the other and wider vocabulary, or various vocabularies according to the nature of their work. We know that in some cases there was a recognised dialect for particular kinds of composition. At one time history, philosophy, and science, notably medicine, were always written in Ionic Greek, though the author was not an Ionian, and was not writing for Ionian readers. Tragic dialogue had a language of its own, far removed even in the case of Euripides from the real speech of Athenians. Lyrics, again, whether in tragedy or not, have words of their own that tragic dialogue for some reason not known to us never borrows. Many words familiar in epic and metrically suitable to tragedy are yet never used by the tragic poets in iambic verse, and are often avoided by them in lyric verse too. The language of Aristophanes varies to some extent with his metre, even excluding lyrics. If these and similar distinctions were carefully or instinctively maintained, why may we not think that the vocabulary of Plato or X. is not peculiar to the man but characteristic of the kind of literature? Then anyone, X. or not, writing on these subjects, would use roughly the same vocabulary, and the choice of words is no evidence of authorship.

But there are two or three things that may be observed in answer to this. First of all prose is so different from verse that parallels from the latter are of no real value here. Everyone feels how much depends on metre. Then the *R.A.* helps us again. It is not a speech, but a political pamphlet, just as *R.L.*, and perhaps *Vect.*, *Ages.* may be classed as pamphlets. Yet it is written in the most frugal Attic, at least as simple and every-day in language as the speeches of Lysias or Hyperides. The writer, whoever he was, certainly did not think there was any style proper for him other than that which he used in daily life. So when Isocrates composed the *Nicocles*, the *Ad Nicoclem*, the *Demonicus*, none of which there is any reason for calling a speech, he adhered to his usual vocabulary, although it is true that in the work last named two or three words have been noted as unusual. Again the works, disputed and undisputed, making up the *corpus Xenophonteum*, are of the most diverse character. Technical treatises about horses and dogs, riding and

hunting, are as far removed as possible from the panegyric display of the *Agésilas* and the long-winded romance of the *Cyropaedia*. Of course too their style does vary accordingly. But the vocabulary, so far as differences of subject and the necessity in some places of many technicalities admit, is noticeably and undeniably the same throughout. If the choice of words was to vary regularly with the kind of literature, this is not what we should expect to find. But the strongest point is this. These studies have been written to little purpose, if they have not shown that there was a use of words peculiar and individual to X. Some things he had in common with Thucydides, others and more with Plato, others with this or that writer; but some he had entirely to himself among writers of prose, and many others, though not exclusively his, are so markedly and characteristically his, that, taking them as a sum total, they tell an unmistakable tale. The point is not only that the disputed works are partly written in a language common to X. and others, different from that of the orators, but also that they are partly written in a language which belongs to X. alone.

Then stress is laid upon the manner and spirit in which some of the writings are composed, a manner and spirit said to be distinctly un-Xn. This applies really only to the non-historical parts of *Agés.* and to the first and perhaps to the last part of *Cyn.* In *R.L.*, *Vect.*, *Apol.*, and the body of *Cyn.* there is nothing of the kind. Again, the difference does not show itself in the actual choice of words. It is in the things said, not in the words used for saying them: or it is in the structure of the sentences, in their rhetorical and laboured character, not in the material, the vocabulary out of which they are built up. The words themselves are not on the whole more noticeably poetical or rhetorical than is usual with X. And may there not be some real connexion between this singular vocabulary of his and the passages of a more than usually ornate character such as those we are speaking of? We could answer this question better, if we knew the history of his vocabulary and to what extent he used it deliberately with full knowledge of his departure from the type of Attic purity. But on almost any hypothesis he must in some measure have been aware of this. He must have realised, at any rate in part, that he was constantly writing words which in Attic usage belonged properly to poetry rather than to prose, that is, that there were special decorative

elements in his style: and, if so, it is not surprising that this decorative tendency should occasionally have shown itself in a somewhat different form. We do as a matter of fact detect the tendency elsewhere. Not to lay stress on the *Choice of Heracles*, we may certainly say that it is visible, though in a less degree, almost throughout the tedious pages of the *Cyropaedia*, a book much more ornate in character than the other three large works of the same author. And, when such ornateness was more or less in place, as in the panegyrics of *Agés.*, it was still more natural that he should experiment in it. We have no reason for being surprised at a plain writer occasionally making ambitious attempts at a higher style. Dickens, has left many passages of 'fine writing' intolerable even to warm admirers. Burns, when he aspires to elegant and conventional English, is quite another man from the Burns whose native speech is homely Scotch, and far inferior. The moment he aims at elegance his genius deserts him. The mythological introduction to *Cyn.* is not more surprising than two parallels that may be quoted, one from Latin, one from recent English literature. Columella, the Roman writer on agriculture, has thrown one of the twelve books that make up his treatise into verse after the model of Virgil, though the rest is written in prose. The late Mr. W. T. Thornton ended his book, *On Labour*, a dry economical treatise, with one or two hundred lines of verse in which he 'stood in spirit upon Pisgah's brow,' and saw a vision of what the world will one day be. Again, a very distinguished scholar, lately dead, Otto Ribbeck, was struck in the satires of Juvenal with something of the same kind that has been noticed in parts of X. He observed, that is, that some of the satires (10, 12, 13, 14, 15), were much more purely rhetorical than the others and much less full of real Roman life, and he concluded from this that the more rhetorical ones, even the famous Tenth, were written by another hand. His discrimination of character is no doubt sound, but the inference is quite unwarranted and has carried no conviction. Such probably will be the ultimate verdict of scholars in the case we are considering.

If the books are not X.'s, how did they originate? Evidently they cannot be the unconnected writings of various people, ascribed to X. through some accident. They are not fortuitous atoms attracted to the Xn. corpus. This possibility is precluded by the community of language which characterises them. Whoever wrote them wrote

for some reason or other in the style of X. They must have been written either by some one person using that style or, if by more than one, still by persons whose use of that peculiar style needs explanation. What explanation is there that will apply to them all? The alternatives seem to be three. Either they were written in an ordinary way by some person or persons whose own diction was naturally the same as that of X., or they were conscious and deliberate imitations. In the latter case they may have been dishonest forgeries, or they may have been mere literary exercises not seriously intended to deceive, like Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society*, written in imitation of Bolingbroke, such studies in the style of eminent authors as clever young men from Synesius to R. L. Stevenson have often written for their own amusement and instruction. But no one can really think that such practical and matter-of-fact works as *Vect.* and the greater part of *Cyn.* are either literary exercises or works that a forger would naturally compose. They breathe business and straightforwardness throughout. To me the *R. L.* seems of the same character. The more disputed parts of *Cyn.* and much of *Ages.* are different, but for another reason it is equally unlikely that they originated in any such manner. Although we have seen that the staple of their diction is thoroughly Xn., still their tone and manner is not that which X. usually adopts. A deliberate imitator would probably not have composed in this strain. We can imagine him studying *Mem.* and *Hell.*, and then composing *Apol.* or *Symp.*, but *Ages.* and the prooemium of *Cyn.* would hardly be suggested by anything in X.'s recognised work, though I deem them not inconsistent with it. Such similarity in difference or difference in similarity is hardly the work of an imitator. There remains the third hypothesis, that the books in question were written not exactly as imitations but by some one to whom the vocabulary of X. was or had become natural. It is curious that we know something of this kind to have happened five centuries later. Arrian, 'the younger Xenophon,' as he called himself, was such an admirer of the son of Gryllus that he not only wrote *Discourses* of Epictetus somewhat in the manner of the *Memorabilia*, an *Anabasis* of Alexander to match the *Anabasis* of Cyrus, and a treatise on hunting to supplement the *Cynegeticus*, but adopted in a noticeable degree the language of his model. This is, I think, less marked in the

Discourses, which are indeed colloquial monologues rather than, like most of the *Memorabilia*, dialogues, and which purport also to give us the words of Epictetus himself. No one, however, can read Arrian's *Anabasis* and *Cynegetica* without seeing that X.'s language is in a special degree reproduced in them. Over and above what the *Kouή* in general took from X. or (as we ought possibly rather to say) from the sources which supplied X. himself, Arrian is evidently so familiar with X. that words characteristic of the old Attic writer naturally suggest themselves to him. Can there have been anyone in X.'s own time or immediately after who wrote thus naturally in the Xn. manner? It has been maintained by Beckhaus, and by Lincke, that a younger X., grandson of the friend of Socrates and Agesilaus, was in reality the author of several of the works that pass under the name of his grandfather, and that others of them were retouched by him. To account for some of the features presented by one or two of the works in question (*Ages.*, beginning and end of *Cyn.*), they suppose this grandson to have been a pupil of Isocrates, and to have learnt from him a more rhetorical and artificial manner.

The very existence of this grandson is, however, very doubtful. It was Grote who first inferred it from the title of a speech of Dinarchus, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Dinarcho* 12) as ἀποστασίου ἀπολογία Αἰσχύλου πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, and also referred to by Diogenes Laertius 2. 52, who says X. had two sons, Γρύλλος καὶ Διόδωρος, ὡς φησι Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα ἀποστασίῳ, οἱ καὶ Διόσκουροι καλοῦνται. Grote in a note to Ch. 71 of his *History*, pointing out that the dates of Dinarchus make it impossible for the X. in question to be our X., but thinking some relationship implied, sets him down as a grandson, and suggests that he was a son of Gryllus. With this has been coupled, though not by Grote, the statement of Photius (*Bibl.* p. 486, 36 B), γεγόναι δ' Ἰσοκράτους ἀκροαταὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Γρύλλου καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος καὶ Ἐφωρος ὁ Κυμαῖος. It is, however, plain that in these words, absurd as the statement is, our X. is meant. Who but he could be mentioned simply as X., the son of Gryllus, and put side by side with Theopompus and Ephorus? It is, therefore, only on the lost speech of Dinarchus that the existence of the grandson is based. But this inference, though in itself plausible, seems somewhat unsafe. If related to our X., the man need not have been a grandson, but may have been some

remoter relation; and are we really justified in holding him to have been a relation at all? Dinarchus may for anything we know have been pointing out that there was no relationship. There are other possibilities too, and in the absence of the actual speech we are on very insecure ground indeed. The language of Diogenes seems to me to imply that Gryllus left no son when he fell at Mantinea, for he says (2. 54), speaking of the two brothers, ὁ μὲν οὖν Διοδώρος οὐδὲν ἐπιφανὲς πράξας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνασφύζεται καὶ αὐτῷ υἱὸς ὁμόνυμος γίγνεται τὰδελεφῶ· ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας (ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη περὶ Μαντίνειαν) ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, and after telling the story of the way in which X. took the news of his son's death he adds φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπιτάφιον Γρύλλον μυρίοι σοὶ συγγράψαιαν, τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ πατρὶ χαριζόμενοι. Why should he mention that the less distinguished Diogenes had a son (apparently *after* the battle), and say nothing of the issue of Gryllus, who was so celebrated? It is natural enough that such issue should not be mentioned among the Xenophons enumerated later on by Diogenes (59), because *ex hypothesi* he would not be known as a writer, but surely Diogenes would have referred to him here.

The supposed connexion of this very doubtful X. with Isocrates, so far as it is not founded upon a misunderstanding of Photius, is introduced to explain some of the things that have led Beckhaus and others to deny the genuineness of certain writings. But it creates more difficulties than it explains. We are to imagine that this grandson was brought up in the family circle of his grandfather at Scillus or elsewhere and that he acquired a sort of family dialect, the curious nature of which we have repeatedly seen: that he then became a pupil of the most celebrated teacher of the time, a man very particular about the niceties of speech: that this fastidious teacher did indeed inspire him with some taste for rhetorical writing but entirely failed to make him see what extraordinary Attic he wrote, and also failed to impress upon him that point of supreme importance in Isocrates' own eyes, the necessity of avoiding indiscriminate hiatus. Isocrates would certainly have corrected exercises shown up to him in X.'s Greek with a good deal of severity, just as Lucian criticises

'those who in writing history employ poetical words' (Πῶς δεῖ κ.τ.λ. 22). The choice of words would constantly have annoyed him, and the hiatus would have jarred upon him at every turn. Yet the influence of Isocrates is brought in to explain how some of the Greek ascribed to X. came to be what it is. If it were suggested that our own X. in mature or later years was partly influenced by what he heard or read of Isocrates' work and made some not very happy attempts to compose in the same fashion, something might be said for such a hypothesis. But that a young pupil of Isocrates should have gone on writing in the language of Xenophon is unlikely in the extreme and certainly not a conjecture worth making.

It seems hardly necessary to dwell upon the other improbabilities of the story. We need only notice what a tissue of fancy it all is. There was a grandson of the same name: he had just the same curious dialect as his grandfather: he became a pupil of Isocrates (who would have begun by reforming his dialect altogether), but this had no effect upon his language: he wrote in his grandfather's dialect upon his grandfather's subjects: he even went so far as to tamper with the integrity of his illustrious grandfather's already published writings: finally he was never known as an author himself, and all that he wrote passed, either through design or by accident, as his grandfather's work. Just as on Ribbeck's hypothesis some unknown Roman, who had genius enough to write the tenth Satire of Juvenal, never took the credit of it but published it under the famous satirist's name, so a large part of what the world has enjoyed as the work of Xenophon was really written or in part rewritten by a grandson who took no care of his own fame or who even deliberately concealed himself behind the well-known personality. Such a story, so compounded of conjectures and improbabilities, may not admit of actual disproof, but is actual disproof needed?

HERBERT RICHARDS.

A new edition of the *opera minora*, all or some, is a thing much to be desired. If these notes are of service, I shall be glad: but I have no intention of undertaking any such edition myself.

SOME ITALIC ETYMOLOGIES AND INTERPRETATIONS.

- (1) *mefa* 'mensa, (sacrificial) table.'
 (2) *spefa* 'pensa, dis)pessa, pensilis, spread out, propped up, (set down).'
 (3a) *persuntru* '*pernitro-, footstool, stool, bench.' (b) *vempersuntro* 'wicker-stool.'
 (4) *erus* 'erus, magister.'
 (5) *ruseme*, *rubiniame* 'in rudere, on a pile of earth or shards.'
 (6) *skalçeta* 'calc(e)ata, culcita, mat for treading on.'
 (7) *suřum* 'sudem, stake, or *sodo- (cf. solium), sella, chair.'
 (8a) *vestis* 'vestiens.'
 (b) *vestiçia* 'vestimentum, mantele, ricinium, cloth.'
 (c) *vesticatu* '*vesticato, arrange the cloth.'
 (9) *pelsa* 'covers with skins (:pellis, skin.)'

Students of the Iguvine tablets will recognize that the words set down above belong to the most difficult in these monuments.

The explanations I propose are all new, I believe, and will surely excite the "hostility of surprise." On the phonetic side the underlying etymologies are in fact very regular, but they involve some radical changes in interpretation. But this is a less revolutionary thing than appears on the first blush.

(1) Of all the words under discussion more than one interpretation has been proposed, but von Planta in his version of the tablets accepts as fairly certain only two: 1st, *mefa* 'mensa, sacrificial cake.' The chief support of this interpretation is the *jeu d'esprit* of Iulus at Aeneid, 7, 116.

'heus etiam mensas consumimus' inquit Iulus—nec plura adludens. Servius's explanation of *mensa* here by sacrificial cake is perhaps merely *ad hoc*. 2nd, *vestiçia* 'libamentum,' and *vesticatu* 'libato,' which are but inferred definitions based ultimately on the supposed sense of *mefa*. Surely 'vestimentum' and 'vestito,' expanded under the influence of *tunicato* to *vesticato* are far more satisfactory definitions if they can be shown to suit the context in every place.

(2) In justification of the *s*- of *spefa* I note Skr. *spandate* 'quivers, rocks, moves'; for the development of meaning v. Paul's *Deutsches Woerterbuch*, s. v. *waegen*.

(3) For *persuntru* I propose the following explanation: Lat. *perna* 'hip' (: Goth. *fairnsa*, Skr. *pårṇis* 'heel') would normally appear as **persna* in Umbrian; **persno*-

plus the suffix *-tro*- would yield **persnitro*-, whence by anaptyxis *persuntru*, the vocal color of *-un-* being due to the final *-u*. This explanation may seem far-fetched, but when beside Gk. σκέλος 'leg' we find σκόλυθρον, σκολύθριον 'stool,' a close parallel seems to lie to our hands. The vowel relations of σκόλυθρον: σκέλεσ- are repeated pretty closely by κέρας, Ionic κέρεσ- 'head' and κόρυθ- 'helmet crest.' [It is worth while to note the vocalism of σκολύπτει 'kicks with the leg,' cf. κορύπτει 'butts with the head,' Lat. *coruscit*—both patterned on τύπτει 'beats,'] Lat. *capistrum* 'halter': *caput* 'head' seems to be a very close parallel. The reader need not be reminded that Lat. *-tro*- and Gk. *-θρο*- are equally used for names of instruments.

As to *vempersuntro*- I explain it as a compound of *vimen* 'withé' and *persuntro* 'stool.' A parallel reduction is seen in *nuncupat* 'takes the name'; note also *homidica*, and *forceps* if from **formi-ceps*.

(5) As to *ruseme*, *rubiniame*, I note Skr. *ródhas* 'dam, bluff, shore,' Lat. *raudus* 'mass,' *rudus* 'rubbish-heap.' To *ruseme* the preposition *e(n)* is twice attached as in *toleme* (cf. von Planta, *Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte*, ii. p. 93). This stem *rus-* is, according to present theories, the normal development of Aryan RAUDH-S-. Here also belongs Lat. *rus*, meaning, I suggest, 'boundary' at first, and subsequently 'land, country,'—cf. *finēs*. The *rusticus* was a 'borderer, outlander' from the citizen's point of view. We must of course suppose that *-ds-* had been reduced to *-s-* before rhotacism set in; or else that the nom.-acc. *rus* so preponderated over the oblique cases that the *corpus*-type of inflection set in. (I note in passing that Lat. *tellus* 'earth' may well be the dissimilative product of **terra-rus* 'dry land.' Beside Skr. *ródhas* 'shore' stands *ródas*, *ródasī*, 'heaven and earth,' and they must be ultimately cognate. In Latin *luminis orae* 'shores of light' is a periphrasis for *tellus*).

Another form of *ruseme* is *rubiniame*, I take it. This too has its near correspondent in the Veda, viz.: *ródhana-* 'dam,' *rodhanā* 'fence'; *-bin-* is the product of *-fn-* (with subsequent anaptyxis), cf. Lat. *Samnium* *Sabinus* with Osc. *Safinim* (*Sabinis*?), for it is fair to suppose that Umbr. *-fn-* might be reduced to *-bn-* as *-mf-* is to *-mb-*.

(6) I regard *skalçeta* as a participial formation akin in a general way to Lat. *calcata*. In *culcita* we have the same word but with vowel colored from *conculcat inculcat*. The form *scalsie* on the later tablets has a different stem-form, cf. *solea* 'sandal' and *calceus* 'shoe'; for the double suffix *orbis orbita*, *vestis vestitus* furnish fair parallels.

I see no particular reason to challenge Varro's derivation of *culcita* from *calcat* (cf. his *tomentum in culcita calcat* 'stuffs shavings in the cushion'; L.L. 5 p. 167). Latin cognates are *cal-c-* 'heel' with aft-reduplication, *calcār* 'spur' and, with a different dissimilation, *calcāneum* 'heel.' The primitive sense was 'pointed, knobbed.' In Sanskrit cognates are *çāra* 'reed, arrow,' *çārya* 'finger.' In Greek we find *κάλλαιον* 'cock's comb' *κάλια* ('conical) hut,' but also with σ -*σκάλη* 'knife' *σκαλμός* ('thole-)pin,'—all of which go back to the notion 'pointed.'

(7) The phonetics of this definition, whichever of them we take, calls for no explanation. It is not surprising that *suū-* is an *o*-stem and *sudis* an *i*-stem, for Lat. *sudis* is probably in conformity with *stirpis* of nearly related signification.

(8) Here I note that if *vestis* corresponds to Lat. *vestiens* its *-is* is on a footing with that of *nuvis* 'novies' (cf. the author in *Am. Jr. Phil.*, xx., No. 2).

(9) I suppose *pellis* to have been in Umbrian an *-es*-stem, like its Latin synonyms *vellus* and *tergus*. Its Greek cognates *ἄπελος* and *ἐρυσίτελος* seem also to be *-es*-stems. In Latin *pellis* has followed the lead of *cutis* 'skin' and *vestis*, which now and then has the same signification. For the sense of *pelsa*—I note *pelliculare* (Columella) *tergorare* (Pliny, the elder), and *pellitus* ('covered with skins.')

The explanations I have advanced seem to me not lacking on the phonetic side, but they still call for a justification by historical and exegetic methods.

So far as what we may call the cult-properties are concerned, most of them are employed in the rites to Dea Dia: v., the index to Henzen's *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, s. vv. *mensa focolus subsellia ara ollae thesauri magister praetextae ricinium mantelia* and *riciniatus*.

Light is also to be had from the archaeological side. Even in so small a collection of cult-antiquities as is furnished us by Schreiber's *Atlas* we can see about all of the properties called for by my new interpretation of the words now under consideration;

e.g., the tree and altar (xii. 3, 9, 12; xv. 1; xvii. 1), the tree being at times but a bush tied on an altar post; sacrificial tables are common, and sometimes of such proportions as to suggest that they were but temporary and collapsible (xii. 10; xv. 16; xvi. 8; xix. 6); on one such table (xvi. 8), a slave is cutting up strips of flesh while another stands by roasting the strips on spits. A footstool is used by a figure sitting by an altar at least once (xv. 1, cf., also xii. 12), stoves, chairs, cushions, tables, and the like are particularly well represented at xix. 9, xx. 3, and xcv. 9. The shrines are frequently post-like in shape.

It is not necessary here to make a difference between Greek and Italian altar scenes, for there was in the Ceres worship a very large Greek element (cf. the author in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 29, 21).

It may be also worth our while to look at the Sanskrit domestic ritual books (*Grhya-Sūtras*). They will offer us not only parallel practices, but, being written in an intensely abbreviated style, they form a literary parallel to the Iguvine tablets. For an illustration of their style I cite the following from Oldenberg's Translation (*Sacred Books of the East*, xxix.—xxx.). Now, wherever he intends to perform a sacrifice, let him besmear (with cowdung), a surface of the dimension at least of an arrow on each side; let him draw six lines thereon, one turned to the north, to the west (of the spot on which the fire is to be placed); two (lines) turned to east, at the two different ends (of the line mentioned first); three (lines) in the middle (of those two); let him sprinkle that (place with water), establish the (sacred) fire (thereon), put (two or three pieces of fuel) on it, wipe (the ground) round (the fire), strew (grass) round (it), to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north, ending (each time) in the north. Then (follows) silently the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire).

In Hiranyakeçin i. 17, seq., the following properties are carried out to the place of sacrifice: a stone, a new garment, a skin, a girdle, a staff, fuel, three pegs (for marking off the fire), a bunch of grass (for seats), and various vessels. A still longer list is given in *Āçvalāyana* iv. 3, seq. The fire is marked off with branches (Hir. i. 6, 19), wood constitutes an offering (i. 2, 7), earth is piled up for an altar and covered with branches (i. 22—6). In *Āç.* the seat is trodden upon (i. 24, 8—9), and a carrying pole with strings on it figures (ii. 1, 2).

The setting up of the sacrificial post is a feature of great importance in the Hindu ritual (Pāraskara, iii, 11, 1).

A pot-ladle is burnt as an offering (Gobhila, i, 8, 18), likewise a part of the straw used for seats and carpet (*ib.*—37); the spits are burned (*ib.* iv. 1, 1); pieces of sacrificial flesh are cut on a new slaughtering bench (*ib.* iv. 2, 12), and the threads of a new garment are offered (*ib.* iv. 8, 20).

After the householder has put down a mat, pots, ladles, a brass vessel, a stone for grinding meal, he invites the Brahmans to a seat (*ib.* iv. 2, 27).

From this very cursory mention of properties and ritual acts in a ritus of another Aryan people let us pass to the examination of the words under discussion in Umbrian. I shall render the passages in English and attempt to supply from the connection what is necessary to their construction or understanding.

(1) *mefa spefa*.

Ia, 16 arvi ustentu mefa vestiča ustetu fiuvi fetu 'he shall spread out the fruits-of-the-fields (?) and the sacrificial table and cloth and (then) make (his) offering to Fisovius.'

Ib 27 pune anpenes krikatru testre euze habetu ape apelus mefe atentu 'while you are hanging up (the sacrificial object) wear the girdle (?) on the right shoulder, but when you have finished-the-hanging-up lay (the girdle ? sacrificial object) on the table.'

VIb, 5 (viia, 37) ape sopo postro peperscusc vestisia et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu 'when he has put the *suppa* behind, having got the cloth and the sacrificial table spread out, let him kneel on a cushion and offer (the *suppa*).' It may be that we should make *vestisia* the object and render 'when he has spread out the cloth, etc., let him consecrate (*fetu*) them.'

VIa, 56 (vib, 20, viia, 4) proseseto naratu prosesetir mefa spefa ficla arsueitu 'let him announce (that) the strips (of flesh have been prepared) and having spread out the strips on the table let him add the cakes.'

VIb, 9 (*ib.* 14), mefa spefa eso persnimu fisovie sansie tioni esa mefa spefa... 'having spread out the table let him thus pray; O Fisovi Sanci (I worship) thee with this spread-out table.'

VIb, 17 (viia, 38) eno mefa uestisia sopa purome efurfatu subra spahmu eno sersse comoltu 'then (having spread out) the table and the cloth let him shred (? *efurfatu*) the *suppa* at the fire, over (the table?) let him spread (? spahmu: Lat. *pando*) it (the

suppa?) then let him sit (down) and grind (some more meal).

IV. 14: see below.

(2) *persuntru* and *suřum*:

Ia 27 suřum pesuntru fetu esmik vesticam preve fktu 'let him set (in the sense of Gk. *τίθημι*) the seat (altar-post?)¹ and the stool (on the ground), upon it let him first fasten the cloth.

Ia 30 api eřel purtius enuk suřum pesuntru feitu stađi iuvesmik vestiča afktu 'when he has arranged this (? the ground) then let him set (down) the seat and stool, (and) on this (*iuv*?—when it has been made) firm let him fasten the cloth.'

IIa 8 pune purtius unu suřu pesutru fetu tikamne iuvie kapiře peru prevefetu ape purtiusuřu erus tetu enu kumaltu etc. 'when he has arranged (these fruits of the field) let him set one (?) seat and stool up (as an offering) to Jupiter; with his *capis* let him first make a hole (in the ground); when he has spread out the seat let the *magister* bestow gifts (to the bystanders).' The above is by no means easy, and on the face of it looks harder for my interpretations than any passage yet met with. A line or two before the words *unuerietu fetu* seem to mean 'let him offer one ram' and so *suřum* here, when qualified by *unu* suggests to the interpreter the name of some animal. We must note that meantime an offering of *arvia* has been made, and that immediately after the *suřu* is required to be presented (?). In fact however, at Ia 30 the making of the hole in the ground comes before the sacrificial employment of the *suřu*, whatever that may have been. The sense of 'first' given to *preve* (cf. also Ia 27) brings both passages into accord. It is not necessary to separate *preve* from *prever* 'singulis' because of the nearness of the notions,—'first' in the sg., and 'every first' in the plural. In consideration of Ia 30 it may well be that we ought to correct *unu* of the present passage to *enu*, or there may be a haplography in *purtius unu* for *purtius esunu*: in which case *esunu suřu* would mean 'divinum pūlvinar,' I suggest.

IV 17–19 inumek vesveča persuntru supa erečle hule sevakne skalčeta kunikaz purtuviu inuntek vestiča persuntru turse super e. s. sk. k. purtuviu 'then let him arrange a cloth and a stool beneath

¹ Here I shall not attempt to decide between these meanings. Elsewhere I give only 'seat,' but 'altar-post' would perhaps be a better rendering in some of the connections.

the . . . , kneeling on a cushion ; and then let him arrange a cloth and a stool over the . . . , kneeling on a cushion.'

IV 21 inumek tehtefim etu veltu eřek persuntre antentu 'then he shall go to the cloth-box (and) choose (a cloth) and spread this on the stool.'

VIb 22 seq. post uerir uehier habina trif fetu tefrei ioui serse fetu pelsana fetu aruio fetu prosesetir struřla fiela arueitu ape habina purdinřust eront poi habina purdinřust destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu capirse perso osatu eam mani nertru tenitu arnipo uestisia uesticos capirso subotu isec perstico erus ditu esoc persnimu uestis 28 tiom esu sorsu persontu tefrali pibaclu, etc. . . . (verb omitted) perse ocre fisie pir orto est. . . . 31 tefre iouie perse mers est esu sorsu pesondro pibaclu pihafi 35 37-41 pesondro staflare nertruco persi fetu suront capirse perso osatu suror persnimu puse sorsu ape pesondro purdinřus proseseto erus dirstu enom uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi persome erus dirstu pue sorso purdinřus enom uestisiam staflarem nertruco persi sururont erus dirstu enom pesondro sorsalem persome pue persnis fust ife endendu pelsatu enom pesondro staflare persome pue pesnis fus ife endendu pelsatu enom uaso porse pesondrisco habus serse subra spahatu anderuomu sersitu arnipo comatir pesnis fust serse pissher comoltu serse comatir persnimu purdito fust.

If there is hope anywhere of definitely fixing the definitions of our words it must be here. Here the adjectives *sorsale* and *staflare* limit both *uestisia* and *persondru*, and it seems likely that the relative sentence *uasō porse pesondrisco habus* is also definitive. The two adjectives, in their most natural interpretation, are contrasting, and probably belong to the (Latin) verbs *stare* and *sedere*. I propose therefore to define *persondro staflare* by 'stool for standing on,' i.e. 'footstool' and *p. sorsale* by 'stool for sitting on,' i.e. 'chair;' *uestisia sorsali* by 'cloth for sitting on,' i.e. 'cushion,' and *u. staflare* by 'cloth for standing on,' i.e. 'mat.' I make *arnipo* a derivative of *arna* 'lamb' with a-QO-suffix; I have already in another place (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, xxix, p. 8 seq.) impeached the current interpretation of *arnipo*. I now add that *arnipo* in the sense of 'donec' involves us in difficulty with *arnipo*. . . . *uesticos* (VIb 25), for after all *uesticos* explained as a dep. ptc. *uesticatus*, is easier than *uesticos* from *uesticaust*.

We have already been brought to face the possibility that *suřu* means something like 'pulvinar:' the passage now before us seems to describe a *lectisternium*. With these preliminary observations I pass to the translation: 'Behind the Veian gate let him offer three lambs (?) to Tefrian Jove, let him offer them in a sitting posture, let him cover-(them)-with-skins, let him fetch the fruits of the field, . . . with the strips-of-flesh let him also bring cakes and crullers, . . . when he has arranged (i.e. sacrificed) the lambs let him who has arranged them set at the right foot (of the *magister*) a cloth and a stool and bench; with his *capis* let him prepare the ground, let him hold it (the *capis*) in his left hand; having spread down the fleeces and the cloth, let him put down the *capis*. There (?) at his feet let the *magister* put them (i.e. the cloth and fleeces). Thus he shall pray while he strews them: . . . Unto thee with this *pulvinar* (*sorsuper-sondro*) as an atonement (fit for) Tefrian (Jove I come), if on the Fisian mount fire has broken out, etc. . . . O Tefrian Jove, if it is thy will, be appeased by this *pulvinar*. . . . A footstool let him put on the right side, again let him prepare the ground with the *capis*, likewise let him offer-a-prayer as (he did) over the *pulvinar*. Having arranged the footstool let the *magister* put strips-of-flesh (on it), then on the right side of the cushion let him put (the footstool or the strips-of-flesh ?) on the ground. When he has arranged the *pulvinar* then let the *magister* again put the cushion at his left foot, then (put) a chair on the ground; after praying let him spread-(it)-out and cover it with skins. Then let him (put) a footstool on the ground, pray over it, then spread it out and cover it with skins; then the vessels which he had along-with the stools he shall arrange over (them), in a sitting posture. Among the men (*uomū* ?) let (the *magister*) take his seat. Let him finish-the-consecration of the fleeces by (an offering) of meal, in a sitting posture; whoever will may grind-the-meal, in a sitting posture; let him consecrate the meal, so let him finish-the-rite.

The stem *vempersontru-* occurs 4 times: at IIb 15 the object designated by this word is brought to the place of sacrifice as a cult-property; at IIa 30 and IIb 18 it is consecrated with prayer; at iv. 7 it is one of several cult-properties spread out. None of these passages is inconsistent with my definition, and none makes expressly for it. The pejorative force of *ve-* now currently accepted seems to me absolutely excluded by

the *m* of *vem*- and by the usage of the word as well.

(4) *erus*.

Ia 33 *api suřuf purtitius enuk hapinaru erus titu* 'when he has arranged the benches then let the magister put (upon them the strips-of-flesh) of the lambs.

Ib 33-6 *pune purtingus kařetu pufe apruf fakurent puze erus teřa ape erus teřust pustru kupifiatu rupiname erus teřa ene tra saħata kupifiata erus teřa enu rupiname pustru kuvertu* 'when you have (or he has) performed (the aforesaid rite) then call out (to the place) where they offered the swine "let the magister put-down (the pieces of flesh)," when he has put them (down) let him call back to the mound-of-earth "let the magister (*i.e.*, *promagister*) put-down (the pieces of the flesh)," then crossing the sancta you shall announce, "let the magister put-down the pieces of the flesh," then return to the mound.

Iia 9 (IIb 21, IV. 27, VIb 25, VIIa 5) *ape purtiusuru erus totu* 'when he has arranged the benches then let the magister put (-down the sacrificial objects) ?

Iia 32 *iepru erus mani kuveitu* 'let the magister fetch the liver (? *iepru*—of the dog) in his hand.'

Iia 40 *esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu* 'let that magister (or *promagister*) who likes fetch (the wine—or vessels).'

VIb 16 and VIIa 36 *pesclu semu uesticatu atripursatu ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu . . . VIIa 38* [uestisier erus ditu] *enno uestisia mefa speřa sopam purome efurfatu subra spahamu traf saħatam etu ape traha saħata couortus* [ennom comoltu comatir persnihimu capif sacra aitu] . . . VIb 16 *eno scalseto uestisier erus conegos dirstu* [eno mefa uestisia sopa purome efurfatu subra spahmu] *eno serse comoltu comatir persnihimu capif purdita dupla aitu sacra dupla aitu*.

I take it that the quotation from VIIa 38 is but a poor copy of the passage I have put after it, though in parts a fuller copy. I translate in each case so as to give the fullest and most detailed version of the rite :

'In the midst of the prayer let him put-down the cloth and dance the *tripudium*, when he has arranged it (*i.e.* the cloth) the magister shall put down (on the cloth some of, the pieces of flesh, then kneeling on the cushion of the cloth (*i.e.* the cloth laid as a cushion) let the magister put down (the pieces of flesh). Then spreading-out the

the cloth and the table let him sprinkle the *suppa* into the fire, (and) let him spread it over (the table); let him go across the *sancta*; when he shall come back across the *sancta* then let him in a sitting posture grind (meal); let him consecrate the meal; the *capides* employed (in the sacrifice) let him break in two (*dupla aitu* cf. Lat. *rimas agit* 'breaks' *duplicat* 'breaks in two' and *duplex* 'cloven'), the sacred vessels let him break in two (or put in two rows?).'

In the above passage the word *efurfatu* is of especial difficulty. Its only other use is with the object *wref* at Ib 1 and VIb 43 and there the simplex *furfant* is used. If we will note that the Greek verb *φύρω* means 'mix dry with wet, knead,' and secondarily, 'jumble, confound, and that Lat. *furfur* 'bran' seems to have the same meaning, we shall not be forcing the meaning if we define Umbr. *furfant* and its compound by 'wash, sprinkle.' I explain *furf*- as a form with aff-duplication or, what is the same thing, as a reduction of *furfur*.

I have reserved for the end two passages of especial difficulty. One of these, viz., IV 14 I shall not attempt to render at all. It contains the words *vesticia mefa* construed either with *purtupite* or *purtuvitu*, words of general signification like 'arrange,' if indeed *purtupite* can be defined at all.

IIb 13 *persutru vaputis mefa vistiřa feta fertu*: here the difficult word is *feta*. I take *feta* to mean that the cloth that was to be employed in the rite was adjusted to its intended employment before it was brought out to the place of sacrifice, cf. the *klavlat aanfehtaf* 'untrimmed boughs' of Iia 34. My rendering of the passage then is 'he shall bring a stool with a box-of-incense, a table and a cloth prepared in advance.'

(5) *rubina, ruseme*.

The sense of the words does not seem hard to make out, and we need not give the examples in full. Thus *ruseme* is used with *vestikatu*, which I define by 'cover with a cloth,' at VIIa 8, 23, and black vessels are put on the *rus* at VIIa 9. The sense in which I interpret *rubina* is seen above at Ib 33-6. A pile of earth in the neighbourhood of the altar will suit all the conditions.

(6) *skalřeta skalsie*.

It can be no accident that the word here in question is always in construction with *kunikaz* which means 'kneeling' with a certainty of interpretation above the level of certainty possible to be claimed for many words in the Iguvine tablets. That

¹ So Savelsberg in *K.Z.* 21, 213.

skalçeta means some sort of an instrument for kneeling on seems to me to be one of the inevitable conclusions.

(7) *pelsa-*.

The translation of this verb has already come up; it has for objects *hapinaf* (?) at Ia 26, vii 22; *erietu* 'ram' IIa 6; *katel* 'whelp' iia 43; *uvem* 'sheep' III 54; the action takes place *sakre asaku peñaem* 'on a sacred place, on an altar, and on the ground.' Neither Buecheler's 'bury' nor Breal's 'cook' has any cogent etymological support. At VIb 39, treated above, *pelsatu* twice follows *endendu* and *uestisiam* is—by fair inference—the object of both. I take the locution to mean 'let him stretch out the cloth and cover-it-with-skins.'

(8) The examples for *uestikatu* and *uestis* need not be given in full; the verb is for the most part followed by the act of dancing the *tripudium* and I take it to designate sometimes perhaps (cf. VIa 22) the ritual act contained in the Latin word *succinctus* (cf. Henzen, l.c., index, s.v.) but generally to mean 'let him put the cloth on the ground.'

Note has already been taken of the form *uesticos* which I make a deponent pf. pte. not a fut. pf. indic.; and of *uestis*, the derivation of which from **uesticizts* (cf. von Planta, l.c., § 329), is a phonetic and morphological feat in which I cannot acquiesce.

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(To be continued.)

WAIT'S *LYSIAS*.

Lysias. Ten selected Orations. Edited with Introductions, Notes, and Appendices by WILLIAM H. WAIT, Ph.D., University of Michigan. New York, American Book Company. 1898. Pp. 240.

THE appearance of this, the third American edition of *Lysias* within six years, certainly betokens a lively and increasing interest in the study of the orator in our colleges. The first impression made by the book is decidedly favourable. Typographically attractive, it has various helpful features. Thus the introduction deals concisely with *Lysias*,—Life, Style, Works, Manuscripts, Editions, Helpful Works. A list of idioms and phrases and a biographical index follow the notes. Six appendices treat of The Four Hundred, The Downfall of Athens, The Thirty Tyrants, Legal Procedure at Athens, Courts, Greek Oratory, Atimia and Liturgies and Greek Money. A map of Greece and the colonies of Asia Minor and a chronological table complete the work.

A thorough examination of the book reveals such defects as to reverse completely the original favourable judgment. The proof-reading is faulty. This is especially true of the Greek accents, where numerous slips have been noted. The notes are the worst sufferers in this respect. An attempt

was apparently made to mark the long syllables of the proper names, but the omissions and inconsistencies are so numerous that it would have been better not to have attempted it.

The notes are most open to criticism; Dr. Wait's faults here are intentional. He says in his preface: 'The grammatical notes in some cases, especially on the first two or three orations, may seem to be rather full. They were made so advisedly. In many colleges and universities of the country, *Lysias* is the first Greek author that is read. Hence it is believed that, at the start, such grammatical help will in no way be found harmful to the brightest and to the best prepared and very useful and encouraging to the slow and less fortunate in their preparation.' While sad experience shows that the grammatical knowledge of college students beginning *Lysias* is often defective, I cannot believe that a student, who has received instruction in Greek for two years at the hands of an average teacher, needs the majority of such grammatical notes as Dr. Wait gives. The presents of many verbs, more or less irregular, are given. All can easily be found in the small Liddell and Scott, which the student should be taught to use, not dispense with. The same is true of forms like *οἰμός* and *καῖτα*. The average

student can supply ellipses of ἐστὶ and can recognise genitive absolutes and constructions of equal difficulty. The student, moreover, for whom such a review of elementary principles is deemed profitable and inspiring, is constantly referred to such authorities as Blass and Meisterhans. The college Freshman, who needs to be told that οὐσης is from εἰμί and yet can use German works of reference with profit, is a rare type. Notes of this character, however well meant, must be a hindrance, not a help, an encouragement to laziness rather than the reverse. They should be replaced by others of a more stimulating nature.

Positive inaccuracies occur. πλασθέντα (xii. 48) is not from πλάζω. In the note on Πόντος (xvi. 4) Satyrus' home is evidently located in Asia Minor. The biographical

index states its position correctly. ἀγαπητῶς (xvi. 16) is translated 'with a feeling of pleasure,' while Liddell and Scott, as well as Bristol and Morgan in their editions, translate it correctly, 'barely.' In the note on xxxii. 26, 'fifty talents' should be 'twenty-four minae.'

There are slips like 'wagons' for 'a wagon' (vii. 16), though the translations are uniformly accurate.

In the introduction, Van Herwerden's edition, published in Groningen, is referred to as 'German.' Cynoscephalae is put by the map in Epirus and Coronea in Thessaly.

Enough has been said to show the merits and defects of the book.

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TYRRELL'S *TROADES OF EURIPIDES*.

The Troades of Euripides. With Revised Text and Notes, by R. Y. TYRRELL, Litt. D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek, Dublin. (Macmillan & Co.'s Classical Series, 1897.) 2s. 6d.

THIS book is a revised reprint, although not specifically announced as such, of Professor Tyrrell's earlier edition, published at Dublin in 1882 by Messrs. Browne & Nolan. The present notes contain additional matter upon one or two disputed points, and also extracts from Mr. Way's translation.

We notice that the editor accepts Mr. Stanley's κλάδας, 'suppliant boughs,' for the unintelligible κληδας in l. 257; he offers

several emendations for the difficult phrase παρὰ δ' εἰρεσία μαστῶν ἔπεται (l. 570), but we are inclined to retain the MS. reading, with the interpretation (εἰρεσία = *placatus*) formerly offered by the editor. A note from the late Professor Kennedy upon ll. 1171, 1172 (communicated to Professor Tyrrell after the publication of the first edition) is now incorporated. For the note on l. 309 (ἄνεχε, πάρεχε) we would suggest a reference to Ar. *Vesp.* 1326 as a possible parody.

This edition has the advantage of its predecessor in its double (English and Greek) index.

H. J. EDWARDS.

KELLER AND HOLDER'S *HORACE*.

Q. Horati Flacci Opera, recensuerunt O. KELLER et A. HOLDER. Vol. I. Carminum Libri IIII Epodon liber Carmen Saeculare. Iterum recensuit Otto Keller. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1899. Pp. cviii., 454. 12 Marks.

THE long-expected and much-desiderated new edition of Keller and Holder's *Horace* appears under the revision of Dr. Keller alone, his quondam colleague having found

his way to 'fresh woods and pastures new.' As compared with the edition of 1864, it is bulkier by nearly 100 pages of introduction, and 150 of text. The expansion of the former is due to a much fuller account of the MSS. used, and to a *discriptio classium*; the latter is extended by a much more complete list of parallel passages and quotations. In the former edition the editors gave little more than a list of their *codices*, though to some extent this was supplemented

in Vol. II., and in an appendix to the *Epilogomena* (1880). The fuller description was still reserved for Dr. Holder. Now we have a very complete account, covering eighty pages, with a description, including, where possible, a history, of all the MSS. used. The value of this, of course, will be recognised at once; the more we know about the MSS. the better. But Dr. Keller still adheres to his division of this great mass of MSS. into three classes, a division which he makes the foundation of his critical work. Readers of the *Classical Review* will not have forgotten the acute examination to which Dr. Gow (in Oct. 1890) submitted this theory. Dr. Keller is generous enough in his recognition of the work of English scholars: but he does not refer to this criticism, nor does he appear to have materially modified the statement of his views. The first class still consists of a γ D τ ξ M 'ubique,' of E in the *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Ars Poet.*, of A in the *Epistles*, of R and ν , where they do not fall into the third class, and of i, a Florentine MS., once belonging to Petrarch, which varies between the first and the second. But when we come to examine these, we soon discover that D τ are very defective, γ does not begin to belong to Class I. before i. 23, 6, where 'incipit verus codex γ ,' ξ of the *Odes* contains only the Carmen Saeculare, a from c. ii. 5 to *Epod.* 15, 17 is copied from a MS. of the second class. Hence for the genuine tradition of the first class we are left almost entirely to the codex of Melk, a very narrow basis for so vast a superstructure.

The 'Classificierungstabelle' of the *Epilogomena* is reprinted in the new edition (pp. lxxxiii.—cvii.) in a Latin form, and with slight alterations, and some not unimportant additions. The value of this is very great; but there are some features which make it difficult to use, and at times even misleading. For instance, quite habitually a MS. which varies between two classes is quoted under both: R being quoted under Class III., where it differs from F, and also for the same passage under Class I. In the same confusing way i is quoted under II., but i¹, which is an abbreviation for i+G under I. The total number of passages for which different readings are given remains as before, i.e. 676; in these the readings of one class can be compared with those of the other two. But we have none of those texts, for which the first class (say) gives one reading, the third another, while the second class is divided. Yet surely these are needed for

the verification of the whole system of classification. The chief exception is that we have a considerable number of instances in which the R π group differs from the rest of the third class. The general principles are maintained that the first class has the fewest faults, but has lost almost all its archaic forms, and has been 'corrected' for grammatical reasons: that the second class has many specious but not genuine readings, mostly perhaps to be referred to Mavortius; and that the third class contains many stupid blunders, but a genuine tradition, especially in matters of orthography. The further conclusion is deduced that with rare exceptions the evidence of any two classes outweighs that of the third. Dr. Keller does not repeat, though he does not withdraw, the elaborate arithmetical calculation by which in the *Epilogomena* he attempted to establish the percentage of error in each class.¹ It may be noted however in passing that of the variants which he quotes for the First Book of the *Odes*, Class I. has 13 false readings, Class II. 9, and Class III. 50. So far as this goes, it tends to shake the dogma that Class I. is more worthy than Class II. But further, both of these agree in *poscimur* as against *poscimur* of Class III., C. i. 32, 1, which must surely be preferred. In the same way the 'unice verum' *litus* as against the senseless 'latum' or 'latus' in i. 28, 3, is given by Class III., and part only of Class II. So that we are a good way yet from a mechanical rule of criticism for Horace. That too much simplification may easily be misleading is evident from the entry on i. 4, 8: 'uisit' is ascribed to Classes I. and II., 'urit' to Class III. (without R). But on comparing the apparatus *ad loc.* the case is seen to be by no means so simple. In i. 27, 13 Classes II. and III. agree in 'voluptas' which probably not more than one editor has preferred to 'voluntas' of Class I.

In the text there are not many important departures from that given in the *editio minor* of 1878. In Carm. iii. 14, 11 Keller has printed Dr. Gow's excellent conjecture 'iam virum expectate,' but in the corrigenda repents of his boldness, and defends 'expertae' by a very doubtful parallel; he does not say whether he would

¹ The incidental statement on p. xxxvii. 'multo melius sequemur BK, qui in sexagenarum lectionum numero falsas exhibere solent ternas...quando classis I. et II. contra III. consentiunt...inter sexagenas lectiones ternae falsae occurrunt. Consentientibus classibus II. et III. inter sexagenas lectiones pravae sunt senae, consentientibus I. et III. septenae' seems however to be based upon this.

return to Horkel's '*ac iam virum*,' previously adopted by him. As a rule he does not mention conjectures, unless approved by him as at least probable, or else widely accepted: e.g. '*Marsi peditis*' in i. 2, 39, in spite of the strong support which it has found, is not noticed. In i. 6, 3 the cod. Melk. turns the scale in favour of '*qua rem cunque*,' supported already by Muretus and Bentley, but not adopted in *ed. min.* In i. 17, 9 he has wisely dropped '*Haediliae*' for Bücheler's '*haediliae*.' Less wisely in i. 20, 10 he retains '*tu bibas*.' As in *ed. min.*, though not in the earlier large edition, he adopts Bentley's reading of ii. 11, 23-4. In ii. 12, 28 he goes back to the '*occupet*' which he had defended in ed. 1 and 3 and rejected in ed. 2 and Epileg. though supported by I., II. and half III.: in ii. 13, 23 he still defends the reading of Class II. '*sedesque discriptas piorum*.' Perhaps it is partly from his distrust of the *vet. Bland.* partly from adherence to the verdict of the majority of classes, that in ii. 13, 38 he still prefers the difficult '*laborem*' to the '*laborum*,' which has at least the support of a part of Class I., including Mv. He still 'swims against the stream' with his defence of '*Gigas*' in ii. 17, 14, for which indeed there is not a little to be said. As in ed. 2 and 3 he adopts Bentley's '*vocant*' for '*vocas*' in spite of Bücheler's ingenious defence of the MS. text; but has now apparently no doubt of the genuineness of '*notior*' just below. The text of iii. 4, 9-10 is still that of *ed. min.*, which is certainly no improvement on that of ed. 1. In iii. 4, 38 we have now '*addit*' on the strength of divided II. and III., as against '*abdidit*' of ed. 1, which I. and half II. support. Canter's correction '*trahenti*' on iii. 5, 15 is still approved: but the much favoured '*perires*' two lines lower is not mentioned. We still find '*fidei*' in iii. 7, 4, and '*Bellerophontae*' *ib.* 15, though '*Bellerophonte*' in iii. 12, 8. In iii. 12, 11 Keller now, as in *ed. min.* reads '*alto*,' apparently as supported by Class I. and II., as against the '*arto*' of Class III., into which V. is for the nonce thrust down. The combination of I. and II. leads him in iii. 14, 6 to prefer '*diuis*' to '*sacris*,' as before. In iii. 19, 12 he has returned to the reading of the MSS. '*miscentur*,' very wisely. So in iii. 21, 5 the reading of the *ed. min.* '*numine*' is rejected for the better established '*nomine*,' defended in the Epileg. In 1864 Keller printed Lachmann's correction of iii. 24, 4, not without regretting it afterwards, as he tells us; in his next edition he returned to the

traditional text, which in part at least has only the support of Class III., and still upholds it. In iii. 26, 1 he prints the conjectural '*duellis*,' for which something may be said, and in v. 7 offers once more, though not in the text, one of the worst conjectures ever made on Horace, '*ascias*' for '*arcus*.' On iii. 28, 9 he retains the reading '*in vices*,' of which he is the only defender among modern editors, on the strength of the evidence of Class III., though Class II. gives '*invicem*'; and Class I. is divided. By the way it is a good instance of the meagreness of this class, that of the MSS. definitely assigned to it, we have only α and γ quoted in evidence of its text. On iv. 1, 22-3 he still prefers the genitives '*lyrae—tibiae*' to the ablatives, which have found more favour of late, again perhaps from distrust of the *vet. Bland.* when weakly supported by his own MSS. In iv. 2, 2 he now gives on the strength of Class III. (including his R π), '*Iulle*,' withdrawing the approval given in Epil. to Peerlkamp's '*Ille*.' Henceforward, we may hope, this reading will hardly be questioned. On the other hand in iv. 2, 49 he adheres to the old emendation, found in two or three MSS., '*tuque*,' which is almost too obvious to be genuine. In iv. 4, 17 he still declines to accept the emendation '*Raetis*,' and rejects '*dedecorant*' as a Mavortian reading for the rarer '*indecorant*.' In iv. 4, 73 there is an almost crucial test of the value of *vet. Bland.* in the *Odes*. It stands almost alone in giving '*perficiunt*,' which Keller consistently rejects. As '*expediunt*' is unquestionably genuine, it is much easier to suppose assimilation in one or two MSS. than the reverse in the great majority. Naturally he does not accept '*flexus*' in iv. 6, 21 on the strength of *vet. Bland.* alone, nor could Munro. It would indeed be ill with our MS. tradition if an obvious gloss had displaced the true reading in every extant authority. The case is different in iv. 7, 15 where '*pater*' has the support also of Class III. In iv. 9, 31 and 52 Keller rejects the '*silebo*' and '*peribit*' of Class II. as in both cases a Mavortian correction: but it is to be noted that *vet. Bland.* is against Class II. in the latter case, while its reading is not noted in the former. In iv. 10, 5 he retains now with hesitation the '*Ligurinum*' of the MSS., which he previously rejected. In the *Epodes* (1, 5) Keller goes back to '*te vita si superstite*,' rejecting the '*sit*' which he had previously adopted, and in 2, 27 he now adopts Markland's '*frondes*,' defended in the Epileg. as a '*wunderschön*' emendation, and printed

in *ed. min.* In 8, 17 he notes, but does not adopt Prof. Housman's palmary emendation 'pigrent'; in 9, 17 he retains as in *Epilgy*. Cuninghams conjecture 'at hinc,' which he holds to be the only reading which makes sense of the 'ad hunc' of the archetype. Dr. Gow is perhaps better advised in simply marking it as corrupt. In 15, 7 he now marks a corruption, thinking with Lehrs that a couplet may have been lost; in v. 15 he accepts the conjecture 'offensi,' and in 16, 15 he reads ('quod expediat'), and in v. 33 he still thinks 'ravos' a Mavortian emendation.

This incomplete, but perhaps, as it is, too tedious, résumé of the chief noteworthy readings in the new edition may suffice to indicate how far the editor has adhered to his previous views. The plan of the book precludes discussion, for which we are still left to the invaluable *Epilegomena*. What we have here is a mass of critical material for the use of which there are sufficient suggestions in the Introduction, though the application of them is to be sought elsewhere. No competent critic will deny that Keller has conceived very definite principles to guide him to an objective determination of the text. He still looks with grave suspicion on the value and even on the good faith of the notices of the Blandinian MSS. by Cruquius; and he has given us means of testing them, inaccessible previously to most people, by reprinting (pp. 343-370) 'Ex-

cerpta Cruquiana,' giving his exact words on all important points. He accepts the conclusion of Hampel that in the *Odes* and *Epodes* out of 89 sound readings given by BR, V has only 69, twenty times going wrong, while out of 11 errors in BR V shows all but 1; and hence he presses the view, to which many other scholars have come, that V is of less value in the *Odes* than in the *Satires* or *Epistles*. Even if we had an accurate and complete collation of V it would only be a good representative of the second class for the latter (p. xxxvii).

The new edition is of course indispensable to all serious students of Horace. What we still desire is a thoroughly worked-out demonstration of the theory that we have a genuine tradition preserved in the MSS. assigned to Class I., and that these do not represent an eclectic edition. In other words we want a sufficient number of examples in which I. gives a reading, which is undoubtedly genuine, and which is not found in MSS. of another class. It will not do to say that here II. or III. or some members of them join I., for it is the very point to be decided whether they join I., or whether they simply agree in preserving a common tradition in this place. The evidence for this is not given by Keller in this edition, any more than in the *Epilegomena*; and I am not aware that it is given elsewhere.

A. S. WILKINS.

BELLING'S *TIBULLUS*.

Albius Tibullus. Untersuchung und Text, von H. BELLING. Pp. vii. 412; vii. 56. R. GAERTNER, Berlin, 1897. Marks 8 and 1.

TIBULLUS, long neglected in England, has received his full share of observation from Germany. That the results, though by no means altogether inconsiderable (provided, that is, that we do not take the gauge of popular acceptance, in this instance a most misleading one), are on the other hand certainly not commensurate with the activity displayed, is largely due to local influences. For much spoiling of paper the system of programs (which has many, perhaps compensating advantages) must answer. How many of these would be unread were they not printed in Germany and distributed gratuitously! This in itself matters but little; only each program-

atist in his turn feels it his duty to set out with a prolix examination of his prolix predecessors. In Tibulline criticism the method of *ausführliche Auseinandersetzung* is particularly unsuitable. Apart from the general scantiness of the materials the fineness of the literary and psychological considerations involved renders them unsuitable to be the subject of detailed analysis and controversy: they disappear in argument and often even elude statement, and they must in all cases be felt rather than weighed. The statistical method, though not entirely inapplicable, should be employed with far greater reserve and circumspection than is usually the case; and, so far as it goes, the criticism of Herr Belling himself upon an attempt to show from the metrical treatment of IV. vii. that it was not written by

Tibullus is perfectly just; 'Periculosae plenum opus alae diese Statistik en miniature!' (p. 58). Another waste of labour and ingenuity is the chase of metrical correspondences. Perhaps no ancient singer suggests more provocatively than Tibullus that the charm of his versification may be reduced to a strophical system, and for none is the outcome more certainly an 'unsymmetrical symmetry.' Lastly there is something in Tibullus which appeals strongly to a particular side of the German character with the result that in their appreciations criticism is much too frequently displaced by sentiment.

If Herr Belling had shaken himself free from these native influences, he would have written a better book. His work is that of an independent and very industrious inquirer, animated by a genuine love of his poet. In particular he has fully grasped an idea of cardinal importance in the study of Tibullus that the most minute attention must be paid to the particularities of his language and style; and in order to facilitate the comprehension of each poem as a whole he has introduced a convenient novelty in the printing of his text by the device of having a blank page where an elegy exceeds eighty lines in length.

The chief task which he sets himself is the rearrangement and reconstruction of the genuine works of Tibullus, which include for him books I. and II., IV. ii.-vii. (inclusive), xiii. and xiv. The result is the text of Tibullus forming a second part of his work, wherein the pieces are arranged in the presumed order of composition. Herr Belling would open the Tibulline edifice from the interior; and his key is that of literary coincidence. He has made (and this is, I think, the most valuable portion of his book) collections of agreements in phrase or thought between Tibullus, and his contemporaries, Propertius, Virgil, and Horace; collections designed to prove the posteriority of Tibullus. Now it is obvious that we must show that the model is prior if the copy is to be posterior; and this proof is, and can be, rarely forthcoming. But the method is open to another objection which cuts deeper still. What if neither be copy or model but both reproductions of the same foreign original? Long ago I referred to the correspondences between Tibullus and Propertius (which, as Herr Belling's collections show, are too numerous to be accidental) but declined to hazard an explanation. Was Tibullus influenced by Propertius? But Ovid says

that he preceded him; this must be understood of literary precedence, and is not to be explained away by saying that one of Propertius' books was published after Tibullus' death. Was Propertius the influenced? But he pointedly proclaims his originality (*primus ego, etc.*, III. i. 1); and speaking generally the form in which he clothes the common sentiment is the more distinctive of the two. Or was the influence reciprocal? This is perhaps the most plausible explanation; but it takes away from the coincidences any value which they might have as data for chronology. Herr Belling pushes his method even further. He treats in the same way the poet's correspondences with himself and would have us believe that inspection of the resemblances between poems *x* and *y* will enable us to decide that *x* was written before *y*: Herr Belling is very sanguine. I have said that his collections will be of use; so I must indicate a considerable qualification. They include a large quantity of matter which has no evidential value whatever; he has some consciousness of this himself, 'selbst solche [Gleichklänge und Anklänge] die an sich matt sind' (p. 74) and this is how his list of resemblances between Tibullus I. i. and IV. ii.-vii. begins: *requiescere et membra leuare* I. i. (of a person going to bed), '*corpora fessa leuant*' (of medicine for the sick) iv.; '*dominam continuisse sinu*' I. i. '*in nostros curre sinus*' IV. iii., '*in nostrum deposuitque sinum*' vii. These are the first two examples, and the fourth, fifth and sixth are similar. Why, by such evidence as this you may prove any writing in the whole of Roman literature to have been influenced by any other writing. A means of rearrangement of which Herr Belling is particularly fond is the supposition of later additions by the poet himself. Thus I. v. was expanded by the insertion of vv. 19-36, I. vi. by the supplement 57-86, I. ii. by the addition of a beginning and end to vv. 5-88 (an imitation of an Alexandrine *παράκλησις*), I. iv. ('vielleicht') by the appendix 81-84. An hypothesis of this kind is in itself not illegitimate, and sometimes offers the easiest solution of a difficulty, as with III. (Lygdamus) 5. 17-20, where however Hiller's theory is not accepted by Belling. The hypothesis of insertion is most specious for v. 19-36: but the reader must judge for himself if the tone of these verses is altogether inconsistent with the rest of the poem, remembering only that they are to be treated as a reminiscence. It may be true that 37 would follow more naturally on 18; but the

parenthesis is not nearly as awkward as that at II. v. 23, with which Herr Belling does not meddle. The theory of a later addition (and this applies more or less to other cases) at best removes only a portion of the difficulty. Was Tibullus so bad a judge of his own compositions that he would introduce a *purpureus pannus* like this, and that at a place where there no fault was to be found with the *iunctura* of the original compositions? Of the other proposals we may say briefly that, if the *παράκλησιθρον* originally ended with 86, it was manifestly imperfect, whereas the scoffs of the heart-whole passers-by at the unfortunate serenader constitute an apt conclusion; and that the violent shift of scene in the beginning from the *convivium* to the door of Delia's house is not more intelligible if Tibullus made it in cold blood. For the notion that vi. 57 *sqq.* are 'added' a misconception of the meaning of *admittas* seems mainly responsible, (p. 98) 'si tamen admittas v. 56; *nicht*: *admittat*' (my italics); the verb is of course to be understood by the light of *poenas*, v. 55 and *crimen habere* 41. And why should the ending of iv. be thought irrelevant? Its humour is so very plain. It is a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* conclusion of the same kind as that of Horace, *carm.* 4. 1, 33 *sqq.*

The earlier pages of the book deal with the Sulpicia cyclus, IV. ii.-vi. and comprise some useful observations upon the contents of these poems, which Belling believes were written by Tibullus, and their relation to the letters of Sulpicia which follow (vii.-xii.): but it is strange that he cannot feel the peculiarities of Sulpicia's Latinity and almost incomprehensible that he has argued himself into believing that vii. was written by Tibullus.

Here and there in the *Untersuchung* are

observations upon the reading of disputed passages. I. iv. 43 *sq.*, the discussion of which opened the *Kritische Prolegomena zu Tibull.* is now read 'quamvis praetextens picea ferrugine caelum | uenturam mittat nimbiifer arcus aquam,' the two best MSS. (A, V) having *amiciat* and *anutiit* respectively, practically the same thing, and *admittat* being the vulgate; but the sense required is not 'send' but 'threaten,' as we can see from the well-known quotation from Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 1. 6 'ut ait Vergilius noster "et bibit ingens arcus" cum adueniat imber sed non easdem, undecumque adparuit, minas adfert.' Baehrens conjectured *indicat* in this sense, but against the usage of the word. As it would be hazardous to suppose Tibullus used the active of *minitor*, we might read *intentet*. In III. (Lygdamus) vi. 3 'aufer et ipse meum pariter medicando dolorem' *temptate* is proposed and Propertius 3. 17. 6 compared 'tu uitium ex animo dilue, Bacche, meo—te quoque enim non esse rudem' et q.s. It would give a good sense; but it is too far from the tradition. Herr Belling has now withdrawn his reading and interpretation of I. 5. 33, but prints a reply in English to my objection¹ that it would be curious to see how a word [*uenerari*] inappropriate to Messala here is appropriate to 'concubitus' et q.s. in Ovid *Ars.* ii. 307 *sq.* which may be reproduced here verbatim. 'The lascivious and blasphemous "luser tenerorum amorum," varying and increasing the precedent "mirari" (cf. *Prol.* S. 22 *Anm.* 3) in a piquant and humoured manner (we other Germans would call it: fast frivol) uses an intentionally inadequate and offending term: treat "ipsum quod iuvat" like as a matter of religious observance.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ *Classical Review*, 1895, p. 75.

ELLGER'S *BELLUM CIVILE*.

Caesar, Bellum Civile. Ed. by G. ELLGER after W. T. Paul. 8vo. vii. 225 pp. Leipzig, Freytag. M. 1. 20.

THIS edition though not a commentary in the ordinary sense yet contains a great deal of useful information. Prof. Ellger has issued the revised text which Prof. W. T. Paul, an ingenious but not always judicious editor of Caesar's *Civil War*, had almost completed at the time of his death in 1894.

Mr. Ellger has prefixed a full chronological summary of the lives of Pompey and Caesar and a conspectus of the contents of the three books. He has broken up the text into sections with appropriate headings and has added in the margin other indications of the subject-matter and a running list of dates taken with some natural misgivings from Colonel Stoffel. At the end we find a copious explanatory index of proper names occupying nearly sixty pages, a short list of alterations

in the text adopted by Paul after the publication of his first edition, and several useful maps and plans mostly based on Stoffel's atlas. Lastly a somewhat novel feature of the book is the insertion of portraits of Caesar, the two Pompeys, father and son, Antony, Lepidus and Cleopatra.

I add a word on one or two special points. In iii. 48 Paul adheres to his *qui conualuerant ex uulneribus*. The ordinary reader may fail to perceive any cogent reason why the particular root called *chara* should have been discovered by men 'who had got well of their wounds.' Many of the changes in the text are perfectly needless; to take one instance out of many *uenturus esset* for *uenisset* in iii. 33. Had Paul forgotten the story in i. 14? In the critical appendix on iii. 69 § 4 *contenderent* is given as the reading of the MSS.; surely they all have *confugerent*. In the *Erklärender Namenverzeichnis* Mr. Ellger expresses an opinion that the Cornelius Balbus mentioned in iii. 19 § 6 was Balbus minor. This may be so, but Velleius ii. 51 clearly represents the uncle as the hero of the incident, and if, as he says,

Balbus' conduct on that occasion showed a daring 'almost beyond belief,' it is strange that he should have been so ill-informed as to attribute to the uncle a remarkable exploit performed by the nephew. If it was the uncle this episode in his career seems to have been overlooked by Prof. Reid and Prof. Tyrrell who have both written a sketch of his life.

In his preface Mr. Ellger makes the noticeable remark that one of his objects in writing an index of names so full of compressed information was 'das auf unsern höhern Schulen leider so sehr gesunkene Interesse für die alte Geschichte zu beleben.'

The maps are mostly taken from Stoffel. I think it is wise of the editor in default of further information and investigation to follow Stoffel's views as to the site of the battle of Pharsalus, for the various objections to that view that have been so skifully reproduced and reinforced by Dr. Postgate in his recent edition of Lucan vii. do not seem to me convincing.

A. G. PESKETT.

KENYON'S GREEK PAPYRI.

The Palaeography of Greek Papyri, by FREDERIC G. KENYON, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1899. Pp. vi, 160. 10s. 6d.

THE volume before us is an expansion of a dissertation for the Conington prize in 1897, and is an attempt to bring the limits of palaeographical science into harmony with the great increment of material for palaeographical judgment which has been furnished by the excavations and researches of recent years. The title of the book, by its limitation on the one hand to Greek documents and on the other to Egyptian materials, betrays the expansion which has been going on in the subject: writers on palaeography are becoming content to take a single language, a brief period, a definite material as the ground of their researches; no better evidence is required of the progress that is being made in research into the history of documents; palaeography in general, and Greek palaeography, in particular, is advancing by leaps and bounds; one must have a nimble wit, compounded of Atalanta's heels, to keep level with its advance. It need scarcely be said that Mr. Kenyon does not

lag behind in his acquaintance with the subject: he has taken his place long since in the front rank of decipherers and palaeographical experts; and the volume which lies before us is only a small sheaf from the harvest of his researches.

Mr. Kenyon points out in his opening chapter that the science of Greek palaeography, so far as relates to documents written upon papyrus is a modern science. It was unknown to Montfaucon, hardly better known to Tischendorf. And the judgments covered by these great names need constant revision, when we reflect that vellum-uncial hands are only a modification of book-hands on papyrus caused by a change in material. The prototype of the great uncial MSS. can be clearly traced in the papyrus hands of the first and second centuries A.D. Similar statements may be made with regard to the minuscule hands, which were formerly treated as if they were special inventions and had descended *de caelo in scriptorium*. The change in the theory of origins has affected (more or less) the whole chronology of existing MSS. on paper and vellum: and even a document written

on papyrus such as the London psalter, to which Tischendorf used to attribute a fabulous antiquity, can now be securely placed at its proper rank in a row of dated documents, some three centuries later than the first student had reckoned it (I suppose in the illusion that everything written on papyrus must be old). In the light of these and other changes we are not surprised to find that Mr. Kenyon re-opens the question of the dating of the earliest MSS. on vellum, and asks whether they may not be a couple of hundred years earlier than they are commonly reckoned. The problem is an important one, because amongst the MSS. in question are great uncial MSS. of the Bible. How consoling, for example, it might be to the spirit of Dr. Hort if his theory that the texts of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. 'diverged from a point near the autographs, and never came into contact subsequently' were to be supported by a demonstration that the actual MSS. were themselves a century or two nearer to the autographs than has commonly been supposed! Mr. Kenyon, however, shows that this cannot be the case, on account of the existence, in the MSS. referred to, of matter of a subordinate and accessory character which cannot be carried further back than the days of Eusebius and Athanasius. In making his demonstration, Mr. Kenyon falls into a curious blunder: he is speaking of the Codex Sinaiticus and says that it 'has two notes or colophons which contain references to the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea—a library only formed at the beginning of the fourth century.' A glance at the facsimile of these colophons would have shown that they belong to the seventh century at earliest, and have nothing to do with the dating of the MSS., except one should be arguing against a fanatic or charlatan like

Simonides who pretended to have written the MS. himself.

There is one defect in the volume before us which we should have been glad to see rectified. The book is adorned with some twenty excellent facsimile plates; but not one of these is accompanied by a transcription, in which respect the author has fallen behind Montfaucon. How is a student, who approaches the difficult subject of the decipherment of the letters and ligatures in a papyrus MS., to follow Mr. Kenyon's excellent hints on the shapes of the letters and their laws of change when he can with difficulty find the letters for himself? and when he is confronted with the, at first sight, very difficult interpretation of a non-literary Ptolemaic hand, how is the student to make either head or tail of a piece taken out of an early official letter, cut down to suit the size of Mr. Kenyon's book, and printed sideways. He is told to observe that it is a characteristic of this writing that it has 'a horizontal line along the *top* of the letters.' The beginner would never guess which was the top, if it were not for the addition of the printed words ('Official Letter—B.C. 242'). Suppose the student makes a decipherment and wishes to verify; how is he to do it? No reference seems to be given in the context to any published transcript, beyond the repeated statement that it is 'part of a letter of the year 242 B.C.' Would it not have been better to have been a little more diffuse? the letter-press should tell the beginner why it is 242 B.C., and a transcription should be given.

But this is not said in order to detract from the value of the essay. It takes its place at once amongst the standard works and books of reference on the subject, and will do much to feed the flame of research amongst students of all grades of acquaintance therewith. J. RENDEL HARRIS.

BLASS'S GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.

Grammar of New Testament Greek. By FRIEDERICH BLASS. Translated by H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY. Pp. ix. 340. Macmillan, 1898. 14s.

THE first question which has to be answered by a reviewer in reference to any work submitted to him is, What right has this book to exist? Does it add anything to the previous stock of knowledge? Does it put

what is already known into a more effective shape or adapt it to a wider circle? Or is it a mere parasite, entirely dependent on the work of others and intended simply to intercept, in favour of new publishers or compilers, the profits which had been hardly won by the honest work of earlier writers? In the present case there is no difficulty in answering the question. Prof. Blass is a rare example of one standing in the front

rank of classical scholars, who, after devoting many years with signal success to the study of Attic Greek, has brought his trained intelligence and his stores of varied learning to bear on the elucidation of the N.T. His commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is distinguished, as all critics are agreed, not less by freshness of view and independence of judgment, than by his faculty of clear decisive exposition.

Comparing his Grammar with Moulton's edition of Winer, to which English students of the Greek Testament have been so much indebted for some thirty years, we note that the older book is about double the size of the newer. While we may have our doubts as to the maxim cited by the translator, μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, knowing that the taste for the cram-book or epitome is one of the surest signs of the decay of letters and has probably been the cause of our greatest losses in the region of classical literature, we shall all agree that brevity is in itself desirable, if not purchased at too dear a rate; and no doubt the difference in size between the two grammars may be partly accounted for by the fact that much of W.'s work had become obsolete by the advance of philology, and had to be corrected in Moulton's notes. On the other hand, the difference is partly owing to the more numerous explanations of difficult passages to be found in W., which may perhaps on this ground still hold its own as a book of reference; though, as a book to be read through for the purpose of gaining a systematic view of grammatical principles, Bl. is undoubtedly to be preferred as more precise and definite, and more accurate, especially in treating of the forms of words. Other points of superiority in Bl. are the fuller references to MSS. and more plentiful illustration from Hellenistic writings.

On one or two points I should be disposed to differ from the view taken by Bl. Speaking of the present and aorist imperative, he says the present 'is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action: on the other hand the aorist... is used in...injunction about action in individual cases. If the aorist is used in the first case [i.e. I presume, in general precepts] then it must either express the entering on a state of conduct which is in contrast with the conduct already shown, or it is used comprehensively to denote conduct up to a final point, or again the rule is specialized so as to refer to an individual case.' Here, it seems to me, W. is more satisfactory. He says (pp. 396 f.)

'the pres. imper. is used in reference to an action which is already commenced and is to be continued, or which is lasting and frequently repeated... Hence...it is a milder and less confident form, and frequently expresses no more than advice.' 'The aor. imper. is considered more forcible and urgent than the pres.' (cf. p. 628, the aor. forbids 'not the recurrence or continuance of the action, but the action absolutely and in itself'). It is this peremptory force of the aor. which seems to me to belong to its use in James i. 2 *πάντες χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε*, iv. 9 *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πειθήσατε*, v. 7 *μακροθυμήσατε ἕως τῆς παρουσίας*, and not (as Bl.) a reference to the beginning or end of a particular line of conduct.

Here and there I think there is a degree of arbitrariness in the preference for readings, e.g. in Acts i. 12, where all the MSS. have *Ἑλαιῶνος*, Bl. reads *Ἑλαιῶν*, and makes the same correction in Josephus *Antig.* vii. 9, 2 against Niese and the MSS., though he allows of the parallel *Κεδρώνος* in Jos. *B.I.* v. 252 and elsewhere. Again, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, he is driven by his theory of the hiatus to alter many readings attested by all the MSS. (p. 296 f.). In p. 5 it is said that 'good classical constructions are confined to Luke, Paul, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.' I have elsewhere pointed out that James is more idiomatic in his use of the pronoun than any other writer of the N. T., and that he is free from various unclassical uses which are to be found even in the Ep. to the Hebrews. Bl. thinks (p. 200) that James confuses between the perf. and aor. in i. 24 *κατενόησεν καὶ ἀπελήλυθεν καὶ ἐπελάθετο*, but considering his careful use of the perf. in ii. 10 *ὅστις τὸν νόμον τηρήσῃ, παῖσι δὲ ἐν ἐνί, γέγονεν ἔνοχος*, and also in iii. 17 *δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάσται*, I think there can be no doubt that *ἀπελήλυθεν* has its proper force 'after a moment's glance he is off and forgets all about it.'

I have noticed a misprint in p. 39 (and in the German ed., p. 38), where *εἰλκωμένος* is said to be formed 'as if from *εἰλκω*.' Read of course *εἰλκώω*. There are also some unimportant misprints in p. 288, l. 9 from bottom, where the accent and breathing have disappeared in *δυναμει ἀπεδίδουν*, in p. 290, l. 10 where *κοιτήρια* is written for *κριτήρια*, and p. 291, n. 2 where *δδ* is written for *οἱ*.

The translation is readable and correct. I have only noticed one sentence in which the German is wrongly given, viz. in p. 66, where the form *ἀνέλεος* (instead of *ἀνηλεής*) is said to be due to *τὸ ἔλεος*.

J. B. MAYOR.

BLASS'S PHILOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS.

Philology of the Gospels, by F. BLASS. Pp. 250. Macmillan, 1898. 4s. 6d. net.

THE title does not give a very clear idea of the contents of this interesting volume. It consists of twelve chapters, eight of which treat of the writings of St. Luke, especially upholding the theory of a double edition of the Gospel and Acts, while the remaining chapters are concerned with the general method of textual criticism in the N.T. and with the textual condition of the other Gospels. With regard to the date of St. Luke's Gospel, Blass takes the common-sense view that it must be determined by that of the Acts, which he considers to have been certainly written at the end of the 2nd year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, i.e. in 59. He strongly controverts what he calls 'the vulgar axiom, *omne vaticinium post eventum*,' which has been held to prove that the prophecy contained in ch. xxi. vv. 20-24, could not have been written before the year 71; and shows that we have undoubted instances of *vaticinia ante eventum* not only in the O.T. but even in later history, as in the case of Savonarola's very definite prediction of the storming of Rome, printed thirty years before its accomplishment in 1527. He further points out that the preaching of the Gospel by St. Paul and the Twelve must have been speedily followed by the appearance of written narratives to give permanence to their teaching, and that it is to such narratives that allusion is made in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel.

Speaking of the authority of MSS. he gives several instances of readings, wrongly adopted in our R.V. from the MSS. of highest repute, e.g. in Luke ix. 54 foll., where the A.V. was 'Lord wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, *even as Elias did?*' But he turned and rebuked them *and said, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them;*' while the R.V. omits the words in italics, so losing all that gives point and interest to the passage. The omission, as he points out, is easily explained by the fear of giving a sanction to the Marcionite heresy, which opposed the spirit of the New to that of the Old Testament. Among other passages in which he advocates readings having a very slight

support from MSS. may be mentioned Acts vi. 9, 'There arose certain of the synagogue which is called the synagogue of the Libertines and Cyrenians and Alexandrians,' where, for the unintelligible *Λιβερτίνων*, he has happily restored *Λιβυστίνων*. More doubtful are the following, Luke iii. 23 *αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος*, where he reads *ἐρχόμενος* 'when he came (to the baptism);' and John ii. 4 *τί μοι καὶ σοί, γύναι;* where he follows the paraphrase of Nonnus in reading *ἦ* for *καί*, translating 'What is that to me or to you?'¹ But can we imagine our Lord thus repudiating all interest in the marriage-feast in which his mother was evidently much concerned? Would this have been consistent with his subsequent action? Whereas the check given to his mother's attempt to direct how he should act is quite in accordance with what we read in Luke ii. 49 and Mark iii. 33 foll.

About seventy pages of the volume are taken up in the defence of the position that there were two editions of St. Luke's writings, one intended for Theophilus and the Churches of the East, the other for the use of the Romans. Our received text, (*α*) which is mainly Alexandrian, has preserved the corrected and more concise edition of the Acts, and the earlier and more diffuse edition of the Gospel. The Western text (*β*), as preserved in Codex D and the Philoxenian version, and supported by the quotations in the early Latin Fathers, has the opposite characteristics.² In order to prove that the variations contained in the *β* form of the Acts proceed from Luke himself and are not due to the carelessness or the invention of a copyist, Blass examines the language of

¹ Prof. Ramsay, in the book entitled *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 84, suggests that the same sense may be obtained from the ordinary reading; but the formula is too well established to admit of such an interpretation, which would rather be expressed by *τί πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ σέ;* or *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς*; as in John xxi. 22 and Matt. xxvii. 4. It is true Blass refers to 1 Cor. v. 12, *τί μοι καὶ τοὺς ἔξω κρίνειν*; but that use is different from this, and it would be unintelligible without the infinitival subject.

² Observe that Blass here remodels his original hypothesis, which was that *β* (the Western text) was a rough draft, and that *α* (the accepted Eastern text) represents the corrected final copy. He now holds that Luke kept his original rough draft for himself and made from this two successive copies, the older following more closely the first sketch, while the later departed from it with more freedom and frequently gave an abridged text.

these interpolations and comes to the result that their style is absolutely identical with Luke's known style. He further points out that the interpolations sometimes contain information which could only have come from St. Luke, and that the Eastern text (*a*)

a

καὶ ἡγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν
καὶ ἐπὶρίψαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια
ἐπὶ τὸν πῶλον ἐπεβίβασαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

In other cases the advantage is with the unabridged form as in xii. 19, where *β* has only 'I will say to my soul: thou hast much goods, be merry' which is certainly less striking than the *a* form 'soul thou hast much goods laid up for many years: take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry.' But in either case can we conceive that a mere copyist could have ventured on such changes? There are however occasional *additions* in the western text of the Gospel, such as the famous interpolation of vi. 5, in reference to work done on the Sabbath. Blass regards this as genuine, but thinks it was intentionally omitted in the edition designed for Eastern congregations, as likely to be misunderstood there, while there was no reason for its omission in the West. Another and still more important interpolation is the section on the woman taken in adultery which is wrongly placed in John viii. 1-11. On the authority of the late Ferrar MSS. Blass would insert this at the end of Luke xxi. He explains its omission in *a* on the same grounds as the omission of the paragraph on the Sabbath, and thinks it may have been left out of *β* by the Roman Church early in the second century to avoid the charge of having an unauthenticated Gospel. For proof that the style is Lucan he refers to his edition of the Gospel.

So far, I think, it may be allowed that Blass does not go beyond the limit of legitimate hypothesis: in what follows he seems to me to be rather carried away by his imagination. Starting with the fact that Mark and Luke were both occupied with the history of the foundation of Christianity, and must frequently have been in each other's company, and that for the early

sometime suffers from excessive abbreviation. Turning to the converse case of the Gospel, where the *β* or Western edition is the abridged form, Blass cites cases where the abridgment is an improvement, as in xix. 35.

β

καὶ ἀγαγόντες τὸν πῶλον ἐπέριψαν τὰ
ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπεβίβασαν
τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

chapters of the Acts, Luke must have been indebted to some other authority, he suggests that this authority was Mark, who had probably written a continuation of his Gospel, and whose name is markedly introduced in Acts xii. 12. But, as we gather from the Aramaisms which are found in these early chapters, Luke's authority must have been Aramaic: Mark therefore wrote in Aramaic. Turning now to the Gospel of Mark, we find many expressions, either in the text or in various readings, which remind us of Luke, e.g. ἦλθεν εἰ ἄρα τι εὐρήσει, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, τιθέναι τὰ γόνατα, etc. How are we to explain this? The answer is that Luke, among others, translated for his own use Mark's Aramaic Gospel, and that our present text contains a number of conflate readings which arose by the collating of the different translations. Considering, however, that the best established tradition about St. Mark is that he acted as interpreter to St. Peter, and that we nowhere find a hint of his Gospel being written in any language but Greek, it cannot be said that the chances are in favour of Blass's hypothesis.

I may notice in conclusion that some confusion is caused in pp. 199 and 201 by the use of the capitals A and B¹ instead of the Greek letters *a* and *β*, apparently to denote the different forms of St. Mark's Gospel. If I am not mistaken, there is a further confusion in the former page of A for *β* and *v.v.* However, I do not feel at all certain of the writer's meaning here.

J. B. MAYOR.

¹ Not A (Antiochena) and R (Romana) as in p. 107.

SCHNEIDER ON THE *PHAEDO*.

Die Weltanschauung Platos dargestellt im Anschluss an den Dialog Phaidon. Von Dr. GUSTAV SCHNEIDER. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1898. M. 3. 40.

DR. SCHNEIDER'S latest book on Plato may be most conveniently described as a 'Companion' to the *Phaedo*. As explained in the preface, it is written especially for school use in the hope that it may serve as an introduction not merely to Platonism but to the study of philosophy in general. This idea of giving their first lessons in philosophy to young students through the *Phaedo* seems admirable; though whether it would appeal to the mind of the average schoolboy in England is perhaps doubtful. Certainly it would be difficult to name any ancient text better fitted to stimulate the interest of a young mind in metaphysical questions, or containing, in a short space, richer veins of thought. Moreover, as Dr. Schneider is careful to point out, there is nothing shockingly pagan, but much that is akin to the loftiest Christian doctrines, in the pages of this earnest dialogue.

The subject thus wisely chosen has been treated with all the skill of a practised hand, and with that enthusiasm for his author, 'der geistvollste aller Philosophen,' which is so valuable a quality in the teacher of Platonism. In addition to a translation or paraphrase of each chapter of the dialogue, Dr. Schneider provides a careful analysis of the argument in which the logical value of each successive step in the proof is carefully drawn out; and at the conclusion the results are summed up in a luminous section on 'Gang und Gliederung des Gesprächs.'

Among the many useful comments on special points, we may draw special attention to those on 'immortality as a postulate of the reason,' showing how this position is involved in the opening chapters of the dialogue (pp. 14 ff.); on the law of derivation from opposites, discussing the sense in which this may be termed a 'natural law' (pp. 20 ff.); on *ισότης* and other Platonic examples of *a priori* notions (pp. 26 ff.); on the connexion of the doctrine of the sub-

stantiality of the soul with that of the reality of Ideas (pp. 34 ff.); on the bearing of the theory of *ἀνάμνησις* on the question of individual immortality (p. 36); on the apparent inconsistency of the dogma of the soul's simplicity with the equally Platonic belief in its triplicity (p. 46); on the relation of the theory of 'Seelenwanderung' to the rest of the Platonic system (pp. 49-57). The mention of these topics may serve to give some idea of the scope of Dr. Schneider's commentary. Whether his exposition of the fundamental problem of Plato's 'Weltanschauung,' apart from the particular details of the *Phaedo*, is quite satisfactory is a question that cannot be dealt with here. It must suffice to point out that, as is practically admitted in the preface, his present statement of his case contains nothing new—nothing that was not already contained in his former treatises on Platonic metaphysics. No fresh proof is here adduced to convince us that the Platonic Ideas are to be identified with 'the thoughts of God,' or that the Platonic matter is something 'real' rather than ideal.

Those who are not already persuaded of these things will hardly be persuaded now. All that our author has here achieved is, at the best, to show that the *Phaedo* is not openly inconsistent with his private interpretation of Platonism: he fails to show that it may not be equally consistent with a dozen diverse interpretations. There is nothing here in the way of criticism of modern research, and nothing in the way of self-defence against modern criticism: Dr. Schneider calmly ignores the existence of all other students of Platonism, and contents himself with what are purely dogmatic deliverances. In a work of the present scope, perhaps no other course would be possible; yet it is a matter of some regret that a Platonic scholar, so learned and so able as Dr. Schneider undoubtedly is, should have confined himself within such narrow limits. A thorough discussion of fundamental problems from his pen would have been more welcome.

R. G. BURY.

NOTES.

THREE EMENDATIONS IN AESCHYLUS.

1. *P. V.* 687 The words *ἐα, ἐα, ἀπεχε, φεῦ* certainly belong to *Io*. Both *ἐα* and *ἀπεχε* must be mis-translated if they belong to the Chorus.

2. *S. c. T.* 12 Read *λασθησὺν ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολύν, ὥραν τ' ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον ὥς τι συμπεπές*, 'Cherishing each for his life a great disdain, and husbanding it as a thing therewith accordant' (*i.e.* contemptible).

Hesych. *λᾶσθαι παίζειν, ὀλιγωρεῖν, λοιδορεῖν, λασθαίνειν· κακολογεῖν. λάσθη· χλεύη, λήθη, ὀλιγωρία etc. λάσθων· χλευαζέτω. λάσθων· κακολογῶν.*

3. *S. c. T.* 1015 Read *ὥς ὄντ' ἂν ἀνστατῆρα* for *ὥς ὄντ' ἀναστατῆρα*.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

* * *

ON *TAC. Hist.* II. 28. *fin.*

Si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus.

This defies translation: the general sense is 'if the safety of a province (Gallia Narbonensis) is of more consequence than that of the empire, then let our undivided forces go to the province—if not, do not let us dismember our army by sending a powerful detachment away when the crisis of the war approaches.' *sanitas sustentaculum* is given up by most editors: *columen* is retained by some in the sense of *fulcrum*: but neither for *columen* in this sense nor for the expression *columen verti* do I find any authority.

I propose *sin victoria incolumi in Italia verteretur*, and compare *Verg. Aen.* x. 529 *non hic victoria Teu- crum | vertitur*. The process of corruption may have been that the *n* of *incolumi* (perhaps at the end of a

line) became faint and the *i* attached to *victoria*, which was thus mis-read *victoriae*, a genitive which in turn helped to corrupt *-columi in Italia* to *columen in Italia*: this was still hard and a scribe looking up *columen* in Placidus found *columen: vel sanitas vel sustentaculum*. To this adscript we owe the traditional text.

W. S. HADLEY.

* * *

A SUPPOSED VARIANT IN CICERO *ad Att.* 1, 16, 12. —In an article in *Hermathena* (No. XIX. p. 356), Professor Purser in discussing cod. Additus 6793 of the Letters of Cicero to Atticus, calls attention to some noteworthy readings of this MS., and among others to the following.

1. 16 12 ut apud *iurantes* inquiri liceret, where all other MSS. give *magistratus* in place of *iurantes*. He comments as follows: 'This latter (*magistratus*) looks like a gloss on some word which named a special official. Could there be a reference to the *iuratores* who were officials under the censor, and had the power of demanding an oath from the taxpayer that he had made true return of his property, &c.?'

Unless I am much mistaken, this curious reading can easily be explained as a simple error on the part of a scribe.

In the hand employed in this part of the MS. the word following apud is *iurant*'. Now the regular way of writing *magistratus* in this MS. is *mrat*'. If there was a similar abbreviation in the exemplar of

this manuscript, it is easily seen that *iurat*' would be very like *mrat*', and that the first mistake was to transfer the sign of contraction to the second syllable,

reading *mrat*' instead of *mrat*'. The resolution of *m* into *iu* would be a matter of course, and we should have the actual form *iurant*'. This explanation seems much easier to accept than to suppose so striking a variant in the MS.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

Sir,

My attention has been called to a note by Mr. Marindin in your June number, p. 243, referring to a short article of mine on Hannibal's Pass in the March number of the *Geographical Journal*. The context of that note clearly indicates me as holding that *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* might have been said by Polybius 'of an army marching across ridges'—the italics are mine—'parallel to or in the general direction of the river.' If Mr.

Marindin will take the trouble to look at my article again, he will see that, so far from saying this, I take Hannibal, in the part of his route to which the *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* relates, by the same valleys of the Isère and the Drac by which he also takes him. I may add that Mr. Marindin's explanation of the Pass which Pompey opened is certainly ingenious, but he needlessly detracts from its novelty when, referring to what has been the most common under-

standing of Varro, he remarks that he thinks 'Varro's statement is misunderstood by Mr. Westlake.'

Yours faithfully,
J. WESTLAKE.

CHELSEA, July 12th.

I HOPE that I may be allowed to express my regret for having mistaken the inference which Mr. Westlake drew from the varying expressions *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* and *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν*.

I should also like to take this opportunity of adding a further explanation of the theory which I ventured to put forward about Pompey's pass. I have been asked, since my article appeared in June, whether there is any historical reason for supposing

that Pompey, on his way to Spain, invented the more northerly route by the Col de Lautaret, leading towards Valence, instead of simply following the valley of the Durance to its end. I think that there is a reason; for it is a natural inference from Caes. *B.C.* i. 35 that he reduced the Helvii to submission on his way to Spain; and the Helvii in Caesar's time lived at the north of the Roman Province. Pompey might, of course, have got to them by marching northwards after he crossed the Rhone; but certainly the most direct way of reaching their territory from the top of the Genève was to strike for the Isère valley by the Col de Lautaret and cross the Rhone somewhere about Valence.

G. E. MARINDIN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HOGARTH'S *AUTHORITY AND ARCHAEOLOGY*.

Authority and Archaeology: Sacred and Profane. Edited by D. G. HOGARTH. London: John Murray. 1899. 16s.

THE greater part of this work falls outside the field which the *Classical Review* surveys: but some chapters of it may well come under our consideration. Such are Mr. Hogarth's chapter on Prehistoric Greece and his Preface, Professor Ernest Gardner's chapter on Historic Greece, and Mr. Haverfield's on the Roman World. Before the book came out, I was sceptical as to the possibility of including in a single volume any account of Archaeology in its various branches sufficiently detailed to be of much use to students. The perusal of the work itself has modified that view. Ordinary educated readers will find in Prof. Driver's chapters an excellent and judicious summary of the light thrown by archaeological investigation on the books of the Old Testament. But in order to attain his end Dr. Driver has to occupy 152 pages. If an attempt had been made to deal on the same scale with archaeological discovery in relation to the works of Greek and Roman writers, not one volume would have sufficed, nor two.

In the Preface, Mr. Hogarth briefly sets forth his view as to the proper matter of Archaeology. He distinguishes between a Greater Archaeology which is the 'science of all the human past,' and a Lesser Archaeology which is the 'science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past.' A third kind of Archaeology, signifying 'the propaedeutic training of the aesthetic faculty by the study of style in antique art,' Mr. Hogarth mentions, but says that he has no concern with it. By 'material remains' as the province of the Lesser Archaeology Mr. Hogarth means such remains as are not literary. This 'science of the material remains of the human past' is, of course, what most people mean by Archaeology. But how a single step is to be made in it without a 'study of the style in antique art,' I cannot see. Mr. Hogarth cannot mean to say that in archaeology there is one method for beautiful things and another for ugly or ordinary remains. The meanest of prehistoric potsherds has style—of a kind; and it is only by studying its style that archaeology can class it. Mr. Hogarth's third sort of archaeology remains therefore to me an absolute enigma.

The most important line to be drawn in archaeology is that between remains which can be interpreted by literary and historic

documents, and remains which have to be interpreted only by comparison among themselves. Mr. Hogarth's paper on Prehistoric Greece deals with a mass of monuments of the latter class. Because one here depends on the actual monuments one especially misses in this chapter illustrations of the objects with which it deals; fortunately most of them are familiar to readers. The point in which Mr. Hogarth's sketch differs from others set forth at an earlier stage of the excavation of Primitive Greece is an interesting one. More and more, as time goes on, it becomes clear that the 'Mycenaean' civilization was not one of sudden growth, nor one which suddenly perished. Mr. Hogarth is able to open a perspective of successive stages of 'Aegean' remains, beginning with neolithic weapons and rough hand-made pottery, and ending with splendid works of art like the Vaphio cups. Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Ernest Gardner both lay emphasis on the fact that the influence of Mycenaean art, though for a while suppressed, survived into later Greece. As Mr. Gardner writes (p. 272), there was in Greece in archaic times 'an extensive survival of Mycenaean traditions, partly preserved in heirlooms and other actual objects that had belonged to the earlier chiefs, partly in the skill and handicraft of artisans who still carved gems and made metal reliefs in a manner that they had inherited from their ancestors or predecessors in the land. These traditional survivals were the common inheritance of the Greek race; and they, together with the artistic skill they imply, make it easier for us to understand the wonderfully sudden rise to perfection of Greek art of the classical period.'

The last few years have also emphasized the originality and the European character of Mycenaean art. The traces of Phoenician influence in it (*pace* Dr. Helbig) become slighter; and on the other hand it is shown by Dr. Montelius and Mr. A. Evans to have had a great influence on the productions of the races of Northern and Western Europe, such as the Kelts, and the races who buried at Hallstatt. But though the character of the Mycenaean remains becomes clearer, we cannot use them as a background to any consecutive history, because we have no literary remains to compare with them. Occasionally a few lines of Homer can be used as historic indication: but time has brought us some disillusion in this matter. The city discovered in the mounds at Hissarlik interested Schliemann because it was to him the city of the *Iliad*:

but it interests us because it gives us in successive layers a key to the succession of styles in the remains of the Aegean civilization.

I shall say but little about Mr. Ernest Gardner's chapter: partly because it does not give much opening for criticism. The task before the author was one for which he has qualifications, namely to compress the largest possible amount of information into forty pages, without becoming obscure and unreadable. But it was naturally impossible to do justice to the subject in so small a space, and it may be feared that the utterly disproportionate scale on which the various chapters are written may tend, as do maps which vary in scale, to give students a false notion of the extent of territories. In justice to the editor we must however allow that without ample illustrations it would in any case have been impossible to give as satisfactory an account of Greek as Dr. Driver does of Biblical archaeology. Mr. Gardner's plan is to speak first of the great sites recently explored, the Athenian Acropolis, Olympia, Delphi and so forth; and then to classify the results of excavation and research, taking up Greece at the point where Mr. Hogarth leaves it.

Mr. Haverfield's subject is somewhat more manageable. He gives a brief sketch of what has been done of late (and an immense deal has been done) in the way of tracing the prehistoric record of Italy. He speaks of the arrival of the immigrant tribes from the North, the advent of the Etruscans from the East, the building up of Rome. He deplores the fact that there are scarcely any material remains belonging to the great ages of the Roman Republic. Under this head he does not, I think, make sufficient account of the Roman coins of the Republic; which have been carefully examined with a view to fixing chronology, but which have never been carefully studied with a view to archaeological and mythological results. Coming down to the time of the Empire, Mr. Haverfield speaks of inscriptions and the way in which they must be used for the distillation of history. He sketches the results of excavation on the Palatine, at Carnuntum and elsewhere, and on the lines of the Roman Walls.

Mr. Headlam's account of early Christian archaeology is much more detailed; and, were it in our province, would offer a more promising subject for detailed criticism. With Mr. Headlam the judicial impartiality which marks previous chapters is sometimes preserved rather in appearance than in reality.

For example, he gives instances of exact local knowledge of certain cities possessed by the author of *Acts* as proofs of the accuracy of his historic narrative, a chain of reasoning which has some very weak links.

An odd misprint occurs at p. 155, where mention is made of the Egypt Exploration *Fund*, which looks as if the authors accepted Mr. Jowett's views as to Eastern exploration.

Considering the paucity of archaeological books in English, Mr. Hogarth's book is likely to fill a useful place. It is one more appeal to the scholars, so common in our great schools and older universities, who are determined, one cannot say who think, that the talk about archaeology is all nonsense, and research the folly of pedants. Once more archaeologists say 'e pur si muove,' that it is worth some trouble to establish the difference between truth and falsehood, and that for the establishment of objective fact in history archaeology is of enormous and constantly increasing value.

PERCY GARDNER.

PETERSEN'S DACIAN WAR.

Trajan's Dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt, von E. PETERSEN. I. Der Erste Krieg. Leipzig, 1899. B. G. Teubner. Pp. iv, 95. 1 Mk. 80.

THIS is a historical commentary to Trajan's first Dacian war, as represented in the reliefs of the Trajan column. It will be doubly welcome to all who are acquainted with Professor Petersen's share in the great publication of the column of Marcus Aurelius, with his numerous works on Rome and on Roman history and archaeology, and with his previous special contributions to the question of the Trajan column in the *Römische Mittheilungen*. The present little book grew naturally, he tells us, out of a review he had planned of the publication of the Trajan column entrusted to Dr. Cichorius by the Saxon government. Dr. Cichorius brought to a task which needed the trained eye of a specialist in archaeology, an equipment mainly historical. Hence, Dr. Petersen, fresh from his labours on the Aurelian column, finds occasion to differ with Cichorius on not a few important points, though he pays to his work as a whole the tribute it deserves for the pains bestowed upon every detail. I have no competence to discuss the controverted points, my only wish being to

chronicle for the benefit of lecturers on Roman history in our schools and colleges, a book so likely to be useful to them. It should be studied at the South Kensington Museum in front of the casts of the column; only thus, or with the large plates of Fröhner or Cichorius can we understand the problem of interpretation which Professor Petersen has set himself to solve. Its main difficulty lies, as he himself states, in the small means which ancient art had at its disposal for the representation of inanimate nature, this difficulty being intensified when, as in the Trajan column, an endless succession of scenes unfolded itself in a long narrow strip practically admitting only of monotonous movement from left to right. It requires a guide no less learned and skilled than Professor Petersen to enable us to interpret correctly the various conventions to which recourse was had by the artists of the Trajan column, to indicate the ever-changing localities. Professor Petersen proposes studying the remainder of the Trajan column in the same manner, but reserves himself till the publication of the second part of Dr. Cichorius's work.

EUGÉNIE STRONG, née SELLERS.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

I.

At the sale of the Forman Collection in June last, the British Museum secured five Greek vases, one of special beauty and interest, the rest being also of archaeological importance. The collection was made by Mr. W. H. Forman in the middle of the present century, mainly from purchases at London sales. The objects of the classical period consisted almost exclusively of bronzes and vases, the average merit of the whole being remarkably high. During Mr. Forman's life-time it was housed at Pippbrook House, Dorking; it then passed (in 1839), to his nephew, Major Browne, who built a museum for it at Callaly Castle, Northumberland; at his death the whole came into the market. The excellent sale-catalogue, which it is to be hoped has set a precedent to be followed at all important sales in England in the future, gives not only full descriptions throughout but illustrations of all the more interesting pieces, such as the early Greek bronze horseman, and the remarkable vase by Andokides, each side of which presents the same subject but treated one in the black-figure, the other in the red-figure method.

A brief description of the five Museum acquisitions is here appended.

(1) A b.f. kyathos on a tall foot, of heavy primitive shape. Of Attic manufacture, it betrays Ionic affinities, and the subject links the Dipylon vases to the later prothesis-amphorae and sepulchral plaques. It dates from the beginning of the sixth century B.C. On a frieze round the body is represented a *πρόθεσις*: in the middle, the corpse draped and laid on a bier,

with a man and two women bending over it. On either side is a row of mourners; on the right, nine women with hands on breasts, on the left, eleven men beating their foreheads.

(2) A b.f. amphora of the middle of the sixth century B.C., published by Gerhard, *Ausert. Vasenb.* pl. 199, and Overbeck, *Heroische Bildw.* pl. 19, fig. 8. It was found at Vulci. On the obverse is Achilles dragging the body of Hector after his chariot, in which is his charioteer. Beside the chariot is a winged female deity inscribed with the name ΚΟΝΙΛΟΣ, Κόνιος (?), which has been connected with the Κόνιαρος of Ar. *Lys.* 981; perhaps an early form of Erinyes. In the background is the tomb of Patroklos, a white mound on which is a black snake. Above it hovers the shade of the hero, in the form of a diminutive warrior. Odysseus precedes the chariot, and a white dog walks by the horses, one of which is named ΟΑ . . . ΠΟΣ (Φαίδρος). The names of Achilles, Hector, and Odysseus are inscribed beside them. On the reverse is a procession of five Amazons on horseback, one named Andromache.

(3) A similar b.f. amphora, shewing traces of Ionic or Chalcidian influence on the Athenian artist. On the obverse is a representation of Achilles lying in wait for Troilos behind a fountain of unusual form. It consists of a fluted shaft on a small plinth with white abacus; on the right side is a spout from which water flows into a basin, and is overflowing on the ground. On the other side of it stands the dumpy figure of Polyxena carrying a pithos, and beyond her is the boy Troilos on horseback, leading up a second horse. This scene differs from the conventional b.f. type in that Achilles kneels on the left side of the fountain instead of the right (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases*, ii. p. 28). On the reverse is a combat of two warriors, one of whom has fallen on his knee and is about to fall a victim to the other's spear. Behind each stands a woman. The type is that of the combat of Achilles and Memnon in the presence of Thetis and Eos, but there is nothing in these figures to justify that identification.

(4) A r.f. kalpis (pitcher), of fine archaic style of the school of Euthymides. On it is represented a later moment of the story depicted on No. 3, the flight of Troilos and Polyxena after the discovery of Achilles' ambush. Troilos gallops away on his horse, spurring it on with a goad, while Polyxena precedes him on foot, leaving her pitcher broken on the ground with the water pouring from it.

(5) A r.f. lebes (bowl) of the finest style, found at Girgenti in 1830, and formerly in the possession of Samuel Rogers. It is mentioned by Waagen (*Treasures of Art in England*, ii. p. 81) and was drawn by Mr. George Scharf for Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, where it is published (iv. pls. 329, 330). It was bought at the Rogers sale by Mr. Stoddart and drawn while in his possession; it passed to the Forman Collection for £122 in 1855. Mr. Cecil Smith says: "This magnificent vase may be regarded as one of the finest specimens of Greek ceramography that has come down to us; certainly among the known specimens of the Attic 'free style,' it is, in its combination of artistic merit and mythological interest, absolutely unsurpassed."

The subject, which forms a frieze round the vase, is a combat of Amazons with Attic heroes. It falls into three groups: (a) Andromache (ΑΝΔΡΟΜ . . .) is about to be slain by Theseus (ΘΕΣΕΥΣ), who is attended by Peirithoos (. . . ΠΙΘΟΟΣ) and Phorbas. On the right three mounted Amazons ride up, one

inscribed ΗΙΠΠΟΛ . . . Ε (Ἱππολῦτη). (b) An Amazon thrusts with her spear at a Greek who brandishes a scimitar; behind him Akamas (Α. ΑΜΑΣ) advances, and on the left is an Amazon running. (c) Melaneus (ΜΕΛΛ . . . ΨΣ) falls wounded by the spear and sword of an Amazon named . . . ΛΑΣ; on the right is Sthenelos (ΣΘΕΝΕΛΟΣ). These figures present many interesting details of armour and costume, especially the Amazons, most of whom are attired and armed in Oriental fashion.

II.

The collection of gems known as the 'Marlborough Gems' has for many years been familiar to archaeologists and connoisseurs. It is also well known that the Duke of Marlborough parted with the collection in 1875, when it was sold *en bloc* to Mr. David Broomielow for £37,000. Following closely on the Forman Collection it has now been in the market once more, this time to be dispersed between the two continents. By a special grant from the Treasury, and aided by the liberality of Mr. Charles Butler, the Trustees of the British Museum were enabled to acquire eight gems at the sale, four of these being of Renaissance work, the other four, cameos of the Roman Imperial period. Of the latter, one far transcends the other three in importance, and indeed ranks among the five most remarkable ancient cameos in the world, while for the quality of the stone it is second to none. Three of the other four large cameos being at Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg respectively, it was only right that the fifth should come to be ranked among the treasures of the British Museum.

This gem, numbered 482 in Mr. Story-Maskelyne's Catalogue, and also in the Sale-Catalogue of this year, is a sardonyx of semi-oval shape, measuring no less than 8½ inches in width by 6 inches in height. The subject is a pair of Imperial heads confronted, the identification of which is beset with many difficulties, which are increased by the treatment of the subject. The Emperor (on the right) wears a wreath of ilex with acorns, and on his brow is a ram's horn, suggesting Jupiter Ammon, whereas the oak-wreath is rather suggestive of the Dodonaean Zeus. The Empress wears a similar wreath, but twined with ears of wheat, pomegranates, and poppy-heads, and also a *sphendone*. These emblems naturally suggest Ceres and Proserpina, while the *sphendone* is characteristic of Juno, but on the other hand, the peculiar knot in which her dress is fastened in front recalls the *nodus Isiacus* commonly seen on figures of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Further, it was a favourite practice with Imperial personages, as with those of the Ptolemaic dynasty, to have themselves represented as Egyptian deities, especially the triad, Sarapis, Isis, and Harpocrates (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Bronzes*, Nos. 1468, 1494).

A more difficult matter is to ascertain the age to which the cameo belongs, and the identity of the two personages. It is true that the names of Dilius Julianus and Manlia Scantilla are inscribed over their heads, but the inscriptions are certainly modern, and the shortness of that Emperor's reign precludes a likelihood of a representation of him, although a resemblance can be recognized in each case. The theory has been advanced with much greater probability that Julian the Apostate and his wife Helena are intended; the tendencies of that Emperor might easily account for the Egyptian colouring of

the design. Mr. King suggested Commodus and Crispina; but she had ceased to be his wife before he had a beard. Mr. Story-Maskelyne is of the opinion that the cameo belongs to the Augustan Age, and considers that there is a strong resemblance to M. Aurelius (or Antoninus Pius) and the elder Faustina, especially as they appear on a large intaglio at St. Petersburg. He also regards the technique of the gem as characteristic of the Antonine Age. Bernoulli, in his *Römische Ikonographie*, ii., pt. 2, p. 249, adheres to the identification with Julian and Helena, which appears on the whole the most satisfactory.

The gem has at one time been broken into four pieces, and has since been mounted in a rectangular silver-gilt setting.

The other three cameos (Nos. 416, 428, and 457) represent respectively Agrippina the elder, Claudius, and Marciana, the sister of Trajan. The first two are worked in sardonyx, and are respectively $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in size. No. 416 is a very fine gem and cut on a magnificent piece of stone; this and No. 423 formerly belonged to the Earl of Arundel, who brought them to England. No. 457, on the other hand, is formed of an irregularly-shaped piece of mottled yellowish chalcedony, and is worked in very high relief. Its present size is 3×3 in. Marciana is represented in apotheosis, seated on a peacock. It was formerly known as Domitia, but incorrectly, as that lady was never canonized. All three seem to be contemporary with the persons they represent.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—A large block of the cornice of the Basilica Aemilia has been discovered at the lowest level of the new excavations. It belongs to the time of Tiberius, and displays a row of triglyphs alternating with shields ornamented with rosettes. We know that its metopes bore alternately *bucremia* and shields, the latter in memory of the shields hung by M. Aemilius Lepidus on the architrave of the previous building in B.C. 78. At a higher level was found a cynocephalous figure wearing a sort of sleeved tunic; also a fragment of inscription of the third century relating to the *Fratres Arvales*.¹

Recent discoveries appear to have proved the existence of two buildings in the Basilica Iulia, as implied by Suetonius (*Aug. 20, porticum basilicamque Cæii et Lucii*). The one is the court-house, the remains of which are on the south side of the Forum, the other, a colonnade, the remains of which have been laid bare on the north side, between the Basilica Aemilia and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The expression of Suetonius does not therefore imply a basilica surrounded by a colonnade. A stone was found here inscribed *EPSON*, a collocation of letters which has a familiar sound to us, but may be regarded as part of the words *pleps omnis*. The form *pleps* occurs in other documents of the Augustan Age.²

On the Clivus Sacer, opposite the Basilica of Constantine, a frieze has been found belonging to a circular structure, which is inscribed with the name of one of the Antonines; together with it were pieces

of statuary, part of a sarcophagus with scenes from the story of Meleager, and an inscription relating to Iulia Domna; also a piece of porphyry pillar which ornamented the side-entrance to the Basilica.³

Taranto.—In quarrying stones for the new harbour some archaic remains were found in the earth above the limestone, in three layers. The upper one contained local pottery older than the Protocorinthian ware, with monochrome geometrical ornament; the middle was of the Terramare period, with traces of human palisade-habitations, razors with crescent-shaped blades, drinking-cups with horned handles, and fibulae of the early 'fiddle-bow' type; the third contained Neolithic implements.²

GREECE.

Suntium.—M. Stais has found an inscription of the fourth century B.C. which makes it certain that the temple is really dedicated to Poseidon. Another temple has been discovered at a lower depth than the existing one, which shows the irregularities of outline that were, according to Vitruvius (iv. 7), characteristic of the Athena temple. The inscription contains an honorary decree ending 'this decree shall be set up in the temple of Poseidon.' This temple is only casually mentioned by ancient writers, not at all by Pausanias, who only mentions the Athena temple, though it was of inferior merit.³

H. B. WALTERS.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Parts 3 and 4, 1899.

Von Sallet and Dressel. 'Erwerbungen des Königlichen Münzcabinetts in den Jahren 1890-1897.' *Methylin in Thessaly*. A bronze coin of Thessalian style reading clearly *ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ*. The town is not otherwise known. Probably all the pieces attributed to Methydrum in Thessaly should be assigned to this new town. The bronze coin in the British Museum published in *Num. Chron.* 1895, p. 95, No. 9, Pl. V. 8 must be read *ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ* not *ΜΕΘΥΔΡΕΩΝ*. *Nabis, King of Sparta*. The Berlin cabinet has acquired the unique tetradrachm (published by Lambros) inscribed *ΝΑΒΙΟΣ*; types, head of Athena and seated Herakles. The tetradrachm (also unique) with the portrait-head and regal titles of Nabis is in the British Museum. *Magnesia in Ionia*. A good example (the third known) of the didrachm bearing the name of Themistocles, B.C. 465-449. *Tarsus*. A fine bronze medallion of Antinous as Dionysos. *Armenia?* A silver coin of Germanicus representing the coronation of Artaxias by Germanicus, A.D. 18. *Alexandria in Egypt*. A unique potin coin with good portraits of Pertinax and his son, 'Pertinax Caesar.' *Axumite dynasty, Ethiopia*. Five bronze coins interesting as forming part of a large hoard of late Roman coins (Constantine to Zeno). This find confirms the view that the Axumite coinage is of a late period. *Nero*. Bronze coin with reverse, Nero as Apollo playing lyre: cp. *Suet. Nero*, 25: 'statuas suas citharoedico habitu (posuit), qua nota etiam nummum percussit.' A. Löbbecke. 'Griechische Münzen aus meiner Sammlung.' *Hyria in Campania*. A silver coin reading *ΥΡΥΛΛΑ*. This is a variety that may be added to the good list in Conway, *Italic Dialects*, No. 142.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 8 July.

² *ibid.* 2 Sept.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 2 Sept.

Neretum in Calabria. A bronze coin, fourth cent. B.C. with Apolline types. The inscription is **NAPH-TINQN**. The coin is for the first time assigned to Neretum ('Sallontinumque Neretum,' *Ov. Metam.* 15, 51; *Ptol. Nήρηρον*). The small coins usually attributed to Arnae in Macedonia (*Hist. Num.* p. 182) probably belong to Neretum. *Bizya in Thrace.* A most remarkable Imperial coin (Philip I.) giving a view of the city with its buildings, walls and gates. *Paros.* A tetradrachm not later than B.C. 200 showing on the reverse a bearded male figure, seated, playing the lyre. Löbbecke supports the interesting (and probable) suggestion of Gaebler that the poet Archilochus is here represented as a famous native of Paros and one whom the Parians honoured with worship.—J. E. Kirchner. 'Zu den athenischen Münzserien mit Monogrammen.'—*Miscellen. Kretische Münzen*, &c.

Revue Numismatique, Part 2, 1899.

J. Déchelette. 'Inventaire général des monnaies antiques recueillies au Mont-Beuvray.'—E. Poncet. 'Grand bronze gallo-romain au revers du navire.'—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies romaines et byzantines récemment acquises par le Cabinet des médailles (continued).'—Rostovtsew and Prou. 'Catalogue des plombs antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale.'—R. Mowat. 'Salacia et Baesuris.'—A. Blanchet (p. xvii.) on the painting in the house of the Vettii which he considers to be a scene in a goldsmith's shop and not the representation of a mint.

Numismatic Chronicle, Part 2, 1899.

W. Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1898' (with three plates).—G. F. Hill. 'A hoard of Cyrenaic bronze coins.' B. V. Head. Review of Macdonald's *Catal. of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*. WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xx. 1. Whole No. 77. 1899.

The Greek Verbal in -TEO, Part 1, C. E. Bishop. *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Sanskrit Epics*, W. Hopkins. *Studies in the Scriptorum Historiae Augustae*, J. H. Drake. *Corrections of Schmalz's Lateinische Syntax und Lateinische Stilistik*, E. B. Lease. *The Gálthas as Consecutive Words*, L. H. Mills. *An Irish-Latin Charm*, O. B. Schlutter.

NOTE.—Ibis 541, 2, Robinson Ellis.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Norden's *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (G. L. Hendrickson), Terret's *Homère* (B. L. G.), Horton-Smith's *Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havel* (E. W. Fay).

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 54. Part 3. 1899.

Die drakontische Gesetzgebung, L. Ziehen. Discussed in reference to the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία and a Ψήφισμα of 409/8. It is not Draco's merit to have brought forward the general distinction between intentional and unintentional homicide, but rather to have embodied this distinction in a legal form. *Dorisch 'ἀγει auf, wohlan!'* F. Solmsen. ἀγει stands to ἀγε as πλει to πλε: a derivation from ἀγρεi by loss of p is not to be thought of. *Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Rhetorik* IV. u. V., L. Radermacher. On the beginnings of 'Atticismus' which is treated historically up to the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. An excursus is added on the treatise of Theophrastus περὶ λέξεως. *Zu Plantus*, C. F. W. Müller. Various notes, chiefly critical. *Isokrates 13 und Alkidamas*, A. Gercke. §§ 9-11 are directed against Alkidamas, but §§ 12, 13 must be separated from them. About 390/87 Alkidamas stood at the head of practical orators and teachers of oratory and taught and delivered political speeches, rejecting the careful elaboration and publication of speeches in book form, which Gorgias had introduced. Isocrates reproached him with his great professions. *Die Bevölkerung Galliens zur Zeit Caesars*, J. Beloch. By various methods of calculation concludes that the population of the *Tres Galliae* together with Narbo-

nensis was about 6½ millions. *Arrian and Appian*, F. Reuss. Maintains that Appian borrowed from Arrian in the history of Alexander. Appian began his history about 148 A.D., by which time Arrian's history of Alexander must have been known. *Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis*, E. Norden. A detailed analysis of *Aen.* vi. 791-807. This episode resembles the panegyrics on kings, especially those on Alexander. V. has particularly depicted Augustus as the bringer of a new era in peace and war.

MISCELLAN. *Platinum*, F. Skutsch. On *Cas.* 239 foll. and *Circ.* 142. *Der echte oder der unechte Juvenal?* F. Buecheler. Pronounces against the genuineness of the 34 lines recently discovered by Mr. Winstedt. *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte kretischer Inschriften*, E. Ziebarth. *Zum Gebrauch des praedicativen Participiums im Griechischen*, J. M. Stahl. This construction is most frequent in Thucydides. Only one clear ex. in Pindar in spite of Gildersleeve's remark that P. delights in it.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 27. Part 3. 1899.

Euripidea, H. van Herwerden. Critical notes on *Electra*, I. T., *Ion*, Suppl., *Cycl.*, *Bacch.*, and *Herc. Fur.* with reference to Prinz and Wecklein's edition. *Observatiunculac de iure Romano*, J. C. Naber. Continued from vol. 26. De praedictiis exceptione. *Observationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Vitae Parallelas*, S. A. Naber. Continued. *Ad Aristophanis Aves* v. 354 sqq., J. Vürtheim. Discusses various explanations of this passage and rejects one recently put forward by A. Trendelenburg. ΚΑΤΕΙ—ΠΟΤ ΛΥΕΙ—*Ad Thuc.* i. 144, J. v. L. Reads οὐτε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ που λυεῖ ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὐτε τῷδε. *Quisquilae* I., J. W. Beck. On *latenter=late* in Apuleius: *acutulum: capivitas=cacivitas* in Apuleius: emends *Apul. Met.* iv. 28 and vi. 9.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899.

21 June. H. Brunnhofer, *Homerische Rätsel* (F. Solmsen), unfavourable. L. Ballet, *Les constitutions oligarchiques d'Athènes sous la révolution de 412/411* (F. Cauer), favourable. *Actii Aristidis Smyrnaei*

quae supersunt omnia ed. Br. Keil. II. (G. Wentzel). 'The first recension worthy of the name.' Fr. Vivona, *Sul IV. libro dell' Eneide* (H. Winther). 'The conclusions are too bold.' J. Kubik, *Realerklärung und Anschauungsunterricht bei der Lektüre des Tacitus* (Th. Opitz), favourable on the whole. D. Bassi, *Mitologia orientali*, I. *Mitologia babilonense-assira* (P. Jensen). 'A mixture of false and true. The author is no specialist.'

28 June. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Fr. Cauer), very favourable. *Philonis opera*, ed. L. Cohn et P. Wendland. III., ed. P. Wendland (R. Asmus), favourable. *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*. Codices Florentinus descripti A. Olivieri (G. Wentzel), very favourable. *Longinus on the sublime*, the Greek text ed. by Rhys Roberts (M. Rothstein). 'Useful but not altogether satisfactory.' *Ciceros Rede für Sulla*, herausg. von H. Nohl, 2. A. (H. Deiter) highly to be recommended.

5 July. *Euripidis fabulae*, ed. R. Prinz et N. Wecklein. I. 6. *Helena*, ed. N. Wecklein (E. Holzner), favourable. E. Ermatinger, *Meleagros von Gadara* (C. Haeblerlin). 'Gives a correct picture of the poet and his work.' J. Bidez et Fr. Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien* (R. Asmus). 'A safe foundation laid for a new text of the Julian letters.' L. Kjellberg, *Asklepios*, II. (H. Steuding). E. Pais, *Storia d'Italia dai tempi più antichi alla fine delle guerre puniche*. II. *Storia di Roma*. I. 2 (H. Peter), favourable. A. Kunze, *Sallustiana*, III. 2 (Th. Opitz). On the position, repetition, and omission of prepositions. Very favourable. V. Ussani, *Un luogo di Propertio* (M. Rothstein). An untenable explanation of iii. 13. 9, 10.

12 July. E. Ciccotti, *Il tramonto della schiavitù nel mondo antico* (R. Lange). Based on extensive and accurate knowledge. J. Schreiner, *Hercules redivivus* (H. Steuding). M. Columba, *La numismatica delle isole del mar libico* (A. Mayr). V. Fabricius, *De diis fato Ioveque in Ovidii operibus* (H. Winther), unfavourable. O. Weise, *Schrift- und Buchwesen in alter und neuer Zeit* (Fr. Harder), very favourable. V. Knös, *Graecismen i 1883 års öfversättning af Nya Testamentet* (E. Fehr), favourable.

19 July. H. B. Swete, *The gospel according to St. Mark* (Ad. Hilgenfeld). A careful work, especially in

text-criticism. Ed. Meyer, *Die Sklaverei im Altertum* (R. Lange), very favourable. *Euripide, Médée, Iphigénie à Aulis*, par. H. Weil (E. Bruhn), very favourable. *Aristotelis Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων*, tert. ed. Fr. Blass. (Schneider). V. Ussani, *Vergilio innamorato* (H. Winther) favourable. *Senecae ad Lucilium epistularum quae supersunt*, ed. O. Hense (W. Gemoll). 'Shows diligence, learning, and sound judgment in a difficult field of labour.'

26 July. *Mélanges Henri Weil* (C. Haeblerlin). Contains 40 contributions by distinguished scholars in honour of W.'s 80th birthday. E. Oder, *Ein angebliches Bruchstück Demokrits über die Entdeckung unterirdischer Quellen* (K. Praechter). 'A most valuable investigation.' A. de Mess, *Quaestiones de epigrammate Attico et tragoedia antiquiore dialecticac* (C. Haeblerlin). 'The investigation should have extended over a wider field.' O. Kroehnert, *Canonesne poetarum scriptorum artificum per antiquitatem fuerunt?* (C. Haeblerlin). 'Deserves recognition as a firstling.' C. Wunderer, *Polybios-Forschungen*, I (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. A. Solari, *Fasti ephorum Spartanorum* (Fr. Cauer). 'Not sufficiently accurate.' K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* herausg. von O. Ribbeck, very favourable. G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection*. I (v. Fritze). 'Deserves grateful recognition.' Guil. Antonibon, *Supplemento di lezioni varianti ai libri de lingua di Varrone* (M. Rothstein). 'Generally unconvincing.' *Cicero Rede für Roscius aus America*, herausg. von K. Rossberg and Rossberg, K., *Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede für Roscius* (W. Hirschfelder), favourable. Ovid, *Metamorphosen VIII-XV*, erkl. von O. Korn, 3. A. von R. Ehwald (H. Winther), favourable.

9 Aug. S. Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (P. Cauer). 'Does not deserve all the scorn that has been poured upon it.' J. Frankenberg, *Studiorum Aristoteleorum specimen* (Gobel), very favourable. R. Kuehner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, Satzlehre. 3. A. von B. Gerth. I (C. Haeblerlin). A. Moehler, *Die griechisch-römische und altchristlich-lateinische Musik* (Spiro) favourable. *Ciceronis scripta*, rec. C. F. Müller, II, 2 (W. Sternkopf). 'Shows sound judgment and good sense founded on an intimate knowledge of Ciceronian usage.' J. Combarieu, *Fragments de l'Enéide en musique* (H.G.).

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Abrecht (A.) Abriss der römischen Literaturgeschichte. 16mo. 448 pp. Leipzig, Reclam. 1 Mk. 20.

Aeschylus. Les Perses, texte grec annoté par H. Weil. 16mo. 91 pp. Paris, Hachette. 8 frs.

— Prometheus bound, translated into English by P. E. More. 12mo. iii, 107 pp. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin. \$ 1.

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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

WE are glad to learn the success of the first efforts to found a British School at Rome. The provisional committee, a long roll of well known scholars, artists, and archaeologists, since reinforced by the powerful accession of the English Ambassador at Rome, met on the 25th of October, when it framed a temporary constitution and elected an executive committee, with power to add to its number. This at present consists of Professor Pelham, President of Trinity College, Oxford, Professors Reid and P. Gardner, and Messrs. G. A. Macmillan, Haverfield and Loring. The new institution, which should prove a powerful stimulus to the pursuit of Roman archaeology by our countrymen, will have the benefit of close union and co-operation with the existing School at Athens. The readers of this journal will wish it every success.

The first 'query' appears in the present number. We are encouraged by the replies which have been received to the inquiries in our last issue to think that these queries will prove a useful feature in the *Classical Review*. This usefulness will be increased if contributors, whether of queries or solutions, will make their contri-

butions as succinct as possible. It may be added that all requests for information upon classical topics will be admissible except such as ask for advice or opinion upon the works of living scholars.

We are glad to see that University College, Liverpool, has recognised the duty of University teaching to contribute to the advancement of learning. *Otia Merseiana*, the first number of which has just appeared, forms a volume externally attractive and internally of varied interest. Perhaps the other University colleges will not long lag behind.

Apropos of Academical publications, we are glad to see the University of Sydney in the field with a catalogue of its collection of Greek and Italian pottery. This welcome sign of the interest in classical studies at the antipodes is the work of Miss Louisa Macdonald.

It has been thought advisable to revive in the 'Brief Notices' of the present number an intermitted custom of the *Classical Review*. The editor will be particularly grateful to scholars who are able to offer their help in this department.

NOTES ON THE ODYSSEY.

δ 207.

ῥεία δ' ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος, ᾧ τε Κρονίων
ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντί τε γεινομένῳ τε.

For γεινομένῳ editors generally accept Bekker's γιγνομένῳ, present company not excluded. But in this place it is not a question of the γόνος being born, but of his father's good luck in marrying and *begetting*. Read then γειναμένῳ, 'in marriage and as a father,' for I dare not suggest that γεινομένῳ should be kept as a present, 'in begetting.'

δ 353.

οἱ δ' αἰεὶ βούλοντο θεοὶ μεμνήσθαι ἐφετμέων.

The presence of αἰεὶ alone, apart from the context, shows that βούλοντο must be equal in force to a gnomic aorist. But first βούλοντο cannot be anything but an imperfect, and secondly the gnomic aorist should be augmented. Read then οἱ δ' αἰεὶ ἐβόλοντο. For ἐβόλοντο is an aorist form, or at least Homer thought so, seeing that at α 234, νῦν δ' ἑτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοί, the imperfect gives no sort of sense on any fair interpretation (var. ἐβάλοντο, ἐβούλοντο, βούλοντο). Was the present βόλομαι a later (though Homeric) formation incorrectly derived from this aorist? And should we at π 387 read ἀλλ' ἐβόλεσθε for ἀλλὰ βόλεσθε (βούλεσθε MSS. mostly)?

δ 477.

πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἂν Αἰγύπτῳ διυπετέος ποταμοῖο
αὔτις ὕδωρ ἔλθῃς ῥέεθρ' ἱερὰς ἐκατόμβας.

Homer only uses the Attic accusative with reserve, with such words as δώματα and the like mostly. To say ἐλθεῖν ὕδωρ then is surely a great strain upon his language. Suppose then we read, without changing a letter, πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἂν Αἰγύπτῳ κ.τ.λ. That Menelaus sails *up* the river, at least a little way, seems shown by 581, where he says:

ἂψ δ' εἰς Αἰγύπτῳ διυπετέος ποταμοῖο
στῆσα νέας.

But I confess that I should prefer πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἔς at 477 also; the interloping ὅταν seems to have done much mischief in many places.

ζ 328.

ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
αὐτᾷ δ' οὐ πω φαίνεται ἑναντίη.

αὐτᾷ? To whom then *did* she appear?

If αὐτᾷ stands first alike in verse and sentence, it evidently must have the full force of 'to him *himself*,' and could only gain a meaning by being opposed to somebody else, some representative of Odysseus to whom Athena did actually appear. To make things worse she does appear to *Odysseus himself* twenty lines further on.¹ But how? Not in her own form but in disguise; she never shows herself in her own form to him till he gets back to Ithaca (if she ever exactly does so even then). Read therefore αὐτή.

θ 208.

ξείνος γάρ μοι ὅδ' ἐστί· τίς ἂν φιλέοντι μάχοιτο;

Epic idiom appears to require ὃ γ' for ὅδ'.

λ 271. μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδῳ Φίδον.

It is not Homeric to use τε as a connecting particle between different paragraphs, and it cannot here mean *both*. Qu. δ'? At 321 and 326 τε may mean *both*, but δὲ would certainly be more natural here also.

ν 203.

πῇ δὴ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
πλάζομαι; αἶθ' ὄφελον μεῖναι κ.τ.λ.

If we had φέρω here without πλάζομαι we should never doubt that it was subjunctive. Read then πλάζωμ'; αἶθ' ὄφελον, which would be certainly corrupted to πλάζομαι. An exactly similar corruption is found in several other lines of Homer, *e.g.* A 67.

ο 54.

τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μιν μνήσκειται ἥματα πάντα
ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου, ὃς κεν φιλότητα παράσχη.

A pretty sentiment, a very pretty sentiment, and who is the owner of this very pretty sentiment? Not Homer surely, or at least if he is, the lines are displaced. Telemachus with characteristic impatience and unpracticalness has (literally) kicked up Pisistratus in the middle of the night

¹ Hence Knight bracketed 328-331, but his objection to them falls to the ground if we change αὐτᾷ.

and wants to be off at once. Pisistratus answers sleepily that they cannot drive through the night and besides they had better wait till Menelaus give them gifts and send them off properly. 'For,' he continues, 'a guest remembers a good host all his life.' But clearly the observation does not need to be addressed to Telemachus but to Menelaus if anybody. 'Give presents that the recipient may remember you' is sense, but 'Take presents that you may remember the giver' is surely a recommendation never yet given to mortal man. So the lines are probably an interpolation like some other maxims in Homer.

- ψ 215. αἰεὶ γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
ἐρρίγει, μή τίς με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτο
φέπεσσι
ἐλθών· πολλοὶ γὰρ κακὰ κέρδεα βουλεύ-
ουσιν.
218. οὐδέ κεν Ἀργεῖη Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἄλλοδαπῷ ἐμίγη φιλότῃ καὶ
εὐνῇ,
εἰ φείδει ὃ μιν αὖτις ἀρήιοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν
ἀξέμεναι Φοῖκόνδε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδ'
ἔμελλον.
τὴν δ' ἦτοι ρέξαι θεὸς ὥρορε φέργον
ἀφεικές·
τὴν δ' ἀάτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἔφω ἐγκάτθετο
θυμῷ
224. λυγρὴν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἔκετο
πένθος.
νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἦδη σήματ' ἀριφραδέα κατέ-
λεξας κ.τ.λ.

Lines 218—224 are rejected with great unanimity by editors and critics, beginning with the Alexandrines, on the ground of their being 'inapposite and spoiling the connection of thought . . . Helen's case is no real illustration of Penelope's . . . Nor is it at all to the point *here* to throw the responsibility of Helen's blind act of folly on Aphrodite.' (Merry). But I am not aware that any one has even proposed any explanation of what the interpolator was aiming at, if any deliberate interpolator there were. Evidently you do not help things by assuming an interpolation unless you can show some reason for it; the mystery remains precisely the same. When Odysseus tells us that a man might earn double wages among the Laestrygonians if he were *ἄνθρωπος* because there is no night there, it was possible for a stupid creature to add the inept explanation τὸν μὲν βουκολέων τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα νομεύων. When the Platonic Socrates informs us that he feared to study the idea in itself lest his mental vision

should be blinded, and so he took refuge in λόγοι, it was possible for some 'muddled and blundering soul' to add the explanation that he might be blinded βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπιχειρῶν ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῶν. But what conceivable reason was there for anyone to add ψ 218—224 to this speech of Penelope? If we can find that reason, then we also find that the original poet himself might have a meaning.

Another possibility, however, is that these lines have got into a wrong place, like υ 276—278. They do not look like it.

Then in themselves they are absolute *Odyssey*. If any line more than another has the very trick of the poet's voice, that melancholy radiance which is his most distinctive mark, it is surely λυγρὴν ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἔκετο πένθος. A line like that is no interpolator's; I would as soon reject *tendentesque manus ripae ulterioris amore* as un-Virgilian.

If then Homer himself inserted this passage of set purpose, is there no explanation to be found? I think there is. Helen, in spite of the tender way in which she is treated in the *Odyssey*, is the wife who by her faithlessness has brought woe upon all Greece, and on Odysseus and Penelope among the rest. Penelope is just the opposite type, the wife who by her faithfulness redeems the character of her sex and saves the wreck of the fortune of Odysseus, well nigh destroyed by the action of Helen. Well enough may the poet put this reference to Helen in her mouth, in almost the last words he gives her, to point his moral.

And the danger against which Penelope was on her guard was the mistake into which Helen fell. The reason Penelope gives for her long obstinacy in refusing to recognize Odysseus is that she was afraid a stranger would deceive her and cause her to love him under the false pretence of his being Odysseus. Helen *was* deceived by a stranger and *did* love him, though not under the same pretence nor with the same excuse. But if Helen had been wiser and more prudent, if she had possessed the very qualities for which Penelope is renowned, she would have foreseen the consequences and would have refrained. Such I take to be the meaning of this obscure reference, and it is made more obscure by the Homeric way of parataxis. τὴν δ' ἦτοι ρέξαι κ.τ.λ. is not an independent thought, but means '*though to be sure it was not altogether her own fault, but Aphrodite's.*' It was worthy indeed of Homer to put this excuse for another

as the finishing touch to one of his sweetest characters, and it was worthy of his commentators—but I live in a glass house. O divine Homer, 'cui tantum de te licuit!'

In fact, to spoil all this lovely speech for a moment by a clumsy paraphrase, it comes to this: 'Do not be angry if I refused to take you, a stranger, for my husband at once. Many devise evil devices as Paris did or as Helen did. It was because *she* was in such a hurry to take a stranger for her husband without reflecting on the consequences that she brought this woe to pass.' So does one drop of the bitterness of twenty years overflow, to be effaced at once by the forgiving spirit which can find excuse for her worst enemy. So does Homer at the very end of his poem go out of his way to exalt Penelope above Helen, the heroine of the *Odyssey* above the heroine of Troy.

And that this is his object in thus dragging in the reference to Helen and so sorely puzzling his critics becomes all the more manifest if we consider another passage. When Odysseus sees Agamemnon among the dead, the latter relates his doom at the hands of the wicked woman, *ἔξοχα λυγρὰ Φιδύα*, who is the most complete contrast to Penelope. 'Clytemnestra,' he says, 'has brought shame upon all women who shall be hereafter, even upon such as be virtuous.' 'Truly,' replies Odysseus, 'Zeus has hated

the race of Atreus exceedingly by the counsels of women from the beginning; many of us perished *for the sake of Helen*, and unto thee did Clytemnestra devise doom.' 'Therefore,' says Agamemnon, 'be not thou over-kind to thy wife, nor tell her all things,¹ but *thou* wilt not be slain by thy wife; too wise is she, and too prudent of heart, Penelope daughter of Icarius.' And he goes on to draw a strong contrast between Penelope and Clytemnestra. But Odysseus has implied the same contrast with *Helen* as Penelope does in ψ , though both in λ and ψ it is only hinted at in a very delicate manner; the poet does not care to say anything strong against the canonized Helen, whom too he has himself excused as much as he could in δ .

Upon the whole then I would say that, even granting my explanation to be fanciful and strained (though I believe in it firmly myself), at any rate it is better not to resort to the futile expedient of bracketing this passage because the object of putting it in is not clear.

ARTHUR PLATT.

¹ The following translation of these words (*μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφασκόμεν*), once given me amid the sympathetic laughter of a profane male class, deserves record: 'Do not tell your wife every story that you know.'

THE 'TRAGIC POET' ALCAEUS.

A glance at the index of tragic poets in Haigh's *Tragic Drama of the Greeks* reveals the names of several of the lyric poets who for some reason have been enrolled with the tragedians by ancient writers. It would be interesting to know how to account for this fact in each instance. The presence of Arion in the list requires no explanation. The statement of Suidas about the *δράματα τραγικά* of Pindar is no longer taken seriously. As regards Xenophanes, Wilamowitz (*Homericische Untersuchungen* p. 243, n. 13) might have adopted the language of Bentley concerning the comic poet Agathon in Suidas, announcing: 'I will make bold to expunge this Tragic Xenophanes out of the Catalogue of Mankind. For he sprung but up like a mushroom out of a rotten passage in Eusebius.' The passage in Eusebius under Olymp. 61³ = 534/3 (ii. p. 48, Schöne) is amended to

read: *Ξενοφάνης φυσικός <καὶ Θέσπις> τραγωδοποιός*. This should be added to Haigh's notice. A satisfactory explanation of Suidas' statements about Simonides and Alcaeus has not, so far as I know, been offered. And yet, as I think, it is not far to seek so far as concerns Alcaeus.

Suidas says: *Ἀλκαῖος Ἀθηναῖος τραγικός, ὃν τινες θέλουσι πρῶτον τραγικὸν γεγονέναι*. No other ancient writer knows of a tragic poet Alcaeus. In default of something better one might be tempted with Dieterich (Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyc. s.v.*) to adopt the suggestion of Meineke (*Hist. Crit.* p. 247) that a tragic Alcaeus was invented on account of the corruption or misunderstanding of the title of a play of the comic poet of this name, who flourished about the beginning of the fourth century. In support of this view the words *Alcaeus in Coelo tragoedia* in Macrobius *Saturn.* 5, 20 are

quoted, a corruption, as Fabricius saw, of the title *Κωμωδοτραγῳδία*. But the last part of the notice of Suidas is against this explanation. The tragic Alcaeus is pushed back to the very beginning of tragedy. There must be some explanation of this. The origin of the error is more likely to have been a misunderstanding of some notice about the lyric poet.

Now the passage in Aristoph. *Thesm.*, 159-170, is precisely of the kind to have given rise to such a misunderstanding. Agathon is represented as explaining his theory of the prerequisite to good poetry—good looks and good clothes. 'It is contrary to the spirit of poetry for a poet to be wild and shaggy in appearance. Ibycus, Anacreon, and Alcaeus were dandified in their dress and bearing. Phrynichus, too, was beautiful, and beautifully dressed; therefore his dramas also were beautiful,' etc. The *κηδεστής*, catching at the familiar name of Phrynichus, the tragic poet, then proceeds to illustrate the reverse of Agathon's proposition:—

ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὁ Φιλοκλῆς αἰσχροὺς ὦν αἰσχροῦς ποιεῖ,
ὁ δὲ Ξενοκλῆς ὦν κακὸς κακῶς ποιεῖ,
ὁ δ' αὖ Θέογνις ψυχροὺς ὦν ψυχροῦς ποιεῖ.

It was inevitable that some grammarian should see in this passage an allusion to a tragic poet Alcaeus. We are not surprised to learn from the scholia that before the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium Ἀχαιοῦς, the tragic poet, had displaced Ἀλκαῖος in the current texts. Aristophanes restored Ἀλκαῖος, doubtless for good reasons, and Dindorf has ably defended it. The attempts of modern scholars, seizing upon the pretext of the early variant, to substitute their own conjectures for both the original word and the variant, have not been successful, though Fritzsche's *κῶ* Κεῖος (to secure a chronological sequence in the names!) and Hermann's *ἀρχαῖος* have found favour with some. If there had been an old variant *χῶ* Κεῖος we should have explained at one stroke the tradition about both Simonides and Alcaeus. As it is, it seems to me that the case of the latter is at last fairly disposed of.

The index of poets to which I have already referred is a most convenient collection of material, valuable for reference on account of its completeness. For this reason I may be pardoned for taking the opportunity of calling attention to a few omissions, which may be remedied in a second edition. Four names should be added, Astydamas III,

Aristocrates, Ariphron, and Polychares. The Astydamas who represented the Athenian guild of *τεχνῖται* before the Amphictyonic Council in *C.I.A.* ii. 551 is designated as a *ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας*. The inscription cannot be dated before 279 B.C. But this person cannot be identical with the second Astydamas, who won his first victory in 372. Aristocrates, *ποιητὴς καινῆς τραγῳδίας*, won at the Charitesia at Orchomenos about 75 B.C., *C.I.G.* Meg. Orop. Boeot. 1761. Two pairs of choregi set up a stone, *C.I.A.* ii. 1280, to commemorate three victories, the poets being Dicaeogenes, Ariphron, and Polychares. Köhler rightly dated the inscription about the beginning of the fourth century on account of the synchoregia, and recognized Dicaeogenes as the tragic poet of this period (*Hermes* 2, p. 26). Now we have choregic inscriptions pertaining to all of the lyric and dramatic festivals, but the practice of nominating two men to bear the charges of the choregia seems to have obtained only for the dramatic contests at the City Dionysia, and only for a decade or two. Therefore, although Ariphron and Polychares are nowhere mentioned as tragic poets, there is no other course open but to accept them as belonging to the same category as Dicaeogenes. Brunck (*Insc. Choreg.* p. 106) has consistently done this, identifying Ariphron with the poet hitherto known only as a dithyrambic poet of this period, Ariphron of Sicyon. The name Aradas must give way to Pharadas in the inscription which gives the victors at the Musaea at Thespiae, now published in *C.I.G.* Meg. Orop. Boeot. 1760. The date established by Dittenberger is the first century B.C., not the third, which Haigh gives following the earlier publications. The date of the appearance of Ameinias at Orchomenos should be given as the first century instead of the second, according to the last publication, *C.I.G.* Meg. Orop. Boeot. 3197. In another instance the corrected dating is not given. The important inscription *C.I.A.* ii. 1289, recording the victory of Phanostatus, is no longer to be dated 332 with Kumanudis and Foucart, but 307, as Köhler demonstrated in *Ath. Mith.* 3, 236 sqq. Judging by the occasion of the lyric events and especially by the fact that the comic victors are given last, we may safely conclude that the occasion was the Lenaea. The statement that 'Theophilus won the prize for tragedy at the Dionysia for 387' is misleading, if not positively wrong. *C.I.A.* ii. 971 c, to which reference is made, is a mass of confused notes, jotted down by Pittakis, of

readings taken from no one knows how many fragmentary inscriptions, belonging to different classes. So far no one has succeeded in solving the puzzle. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the items belong together which Köhler selects as constituting the list of victors for 387. Köhler himself advances this merely as one combination out of other possible combinations. It would have been better if he had kept such guesswork out of the *Corpus*, for it is now current in all of our handbooks as if it were the authorized version of an inscription. The Theophilus is in all probability not a tragic poet at all, but the well-known comic poet. One is surprised to find the name of Datis in the list unbracketed. On the other hand, is Mesatus to be rejected summarily? Bentley declared that no such poet is ever mentioned except in the spurious Euripidean

epistle to Cephisophon, but he did not know of the scholium to Arist. *Vesp.* 1502. It was certainly a clever suggestion of Meineke that the name rested on a misinterpretation of ὁ μέστος in the text. But the writer of the scholium at least did not misinterpret these words. And yet he could not have indicated more clearly that there was a tragic poet of this name than he does in the words οὐ τὸν τραγικὸν λέγει Μέστων. A real blemish is found under Nicomachus. A poet of this name once defeated Euripides and Theognis. He was the author of an *Οἰδίπους*. There was another Nicomachus of Alexandria, also author of an *Οἰδίπους*. Haigh proposes to identify them, explaining that the poet who defeated Euripides 'was born at Alexandria, but subsequently migrated to Athens.'

EDWARD CAPPS.

NOTES ON SOPHOCLES'S *ANTIGONE*.

No satisfactory emendation of ἄτης ἄτερ in v. 4 has been suggested. It seems hardly likely that any such is forthcoming. Are not those scholars on the right scent after all that maintain the integrity of ἄτης ἄτερ and seek the corruption in the negatives? I cannot think that the simple change of οὐτ' to οὐκ before ἄτης ἄτερ satisfies all the conditions of the case; nor would the change of that οὐτ' to οὐδ' do so without some further change in the sentence. However, I venture to think that οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ is right, so far as it goes; only we need to make the rest of the sentence conform to it. It is to be observed that in οὐτ' αἰσχροὺς οὐτ' ἄτιμον in v. 5 we have a positive and a negative term of nearly the same meaning conjoined. Now if in v. 4 we are right in maintaining, as above, the soundness of ἄτης ἄτερ, we have in οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ what is practically the same as a positive and a negative term of similar meaning correlated as parts of the same (negative) phrase. If v. 5 is to offer anything that shall at all exactly balance this, we naturally expect after οὐτ' αἰσχροὺς something like (as far as the sense goes) οὐδ' ὀνειδούς ἄτερ or οὐδὲ τιμῆς μέτα. This brings us to what I venture to suggest as possibly the original text here:

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ
οὐτ' αἰσχροὺς οὐδ' ἔντιμον ἔσθ', κτέ.

I may add here that the reading advocated in v. 3 by Mr. Paley and suggested *inter alia* by Mr. Blaydes—<οὐκ ἔσθ'> ὅποιον οὐχὶ νῶιν ζώσαιν τελεῖ—has long seemed to me pretty certainly right.

What I have said in this *Review* (vi. 73) about v. 24 needs some correction. Two glosses, χρησθεὶς δικαίῳ καὶ νόμῳ and κατὰ χθονός, have indeed been used to make v. 24 (they were mistaken by some one for a verse accidentally omitted and then added in the margin, because they happened to scan as a trimeter); but κατὰ χθονός was a gloss on χθονί, which once stood at the end of v. 25. The word νεκροῖς at the end of v. 25 (in its traditional form) is due to a gloss νεκρόν on νέκυν in v. 25. It is to be noticed that v. 26 is spatially just about the length of the word νέκυν longer than v. 25. The position of the gloss νεκρόν just after χθονί at the end of v. 25 would aid the process of corruption. I subjoin what I conceive to have been approximately the condition of the text of vv. 23-26 with the glosses.

χρησθεὶς δικαίῳ
'Ετεοκλέα μέν, ὡς λέγουσι, σὺν δίκῃ καὶ νόμῳ
κατὰ χθονός
ἔκρυψε τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἔντιμον χθονί, νεκρόν
τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν.

M. Tournier gives the right text, only he does not rightly explain how the present text arose, but talks of a 'glose νεκροῖς à

χθόνι, qui a été l'origine de l'interpolation'. However, it is to M. Tournier's note that I owe indirectly this fuller explanation of the genesis of the present text.

In v. 33 should we not read ταῦτα in the place of ταῦτα?

In v. 38 εὐγένης and ἐσθλῶν κακή are not properly contrasted terms. Properly contrasted would be εὐγενής and δυσγενής, or ἐσθλῶν ἐσθλή (or equivalent) and ἐσθλῶν κακή. This brings us to the original form of the verse:

εἴτ' ἐγγενής πέφυκας εἴτ' ἐσθλῶν κακή.

The parodos of the *Antigone* is unfortunately considerably mutilated. It seems pretty certain that the anapaests balanced, or rather that the anapaests are practically part of the strophes, as Mr. Tyrrell prints them in his *Parnassus Library* text. Vv. 157 and 161 are both defective, as well as v. 112. It is quite possible too that there were several 'strophic rhymes' in vv. 100-162 that do not appear in the present form of the verses. Thus in vv. 136 sq. βακχεύων ἀνέμων | ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἐπέπνει may have been the original arrangement of the words in order to balance ἐκ μέν δὴ πολέμων | τῶν νῦν θέσθε λησμοσύναν (150 sq.). So too the reading of L in v. 157, ἐλελίζων, inclines one to suppose that in v. 139 μέγας Ἄρης στυφελίζων was the original order of the words. (Of the restoration of v. 117 I have spoken elsewhere: see *Class. Rev.* ix. (1895), p. 15, and *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxviii., *Proceedings*, pp. xi.-xiv.)

In v. 320 there are at least two points of interest. First, δῆλον is unsatisfactory grammatically. The interlocking of the words—the hyperbatic arrangement—is plain. We have surely the common idiom of δῆλος with εἶναι and a participle. We shall thus accept the reading δῆλος of Aug. b. The gender of the participle ἐκπεφυκός is not strange. It is due merely to attraction to the predicate substantive—a common enough phenomenon. We come now to the question what that predicate noun was as Sophocles wrote it. Professor Campbell decided (with Messrs. Blaydes, Jebb and Tyrrell) in favour of λάλημα, adding to the citation of Eur. *Androm.* 937: 'And this word fits more closely to the context of the present passage. "Fie, 'tis too clear you are a born chatterbox." "Then it is clear that I never did this deed." But this is to use a false interpretation of v. 321 to support a reading in v. 320. For v. 321 means—Reiske's γ' for δ' after τό can hardly

but be right—"without having ever done that deed at all events." Against the idiom of this verse (for which cf. *O.C.* 651, 848, 924; Plat. *Euthyd.* 283 C, 285 E) Professor Tyrrell's conjectural reading οὐκ οὖν τό γ' ἔργον τοῦδ' ὁ ποιήσας ποτέ sins quite as much as Professor Campbell's translation. Is there then not good reason for accepting as the Sophoclean form of these two verses (320 sq.) this?—

—οἶμ' ὥς ἄλημα δῆλος ἐκπεφυκός εἶ.

—οὐκ οὖν τό γ' ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας ποτέ.

(CREON. What a born knave you are!

GUARD. Without having ever done that deed at all events.)

That from Creon's point of view ἄλημα connotes sophisticated cunning, from the Guard's criminality, is not against this interpretation. (See Xenophon on ὕβρις in *Anab.* 5. 8, 3.)

It may be added that in Eur. *Androm.* 937, quoted by Professor Campbell, there is good reason in the sequence of ideas to regard the verse as made up of two expressions closely related in meaning and to read:—

σοφῶν πανούργων, ποικίλων ἀλημάτων.

The scholiast on the passage in the *Antigone*, it may be added, interprets ἄλημα (as he read) by πανούργος.

The first antistrophe (342-352) of the splendid πολλά τὰ δεινὰ chorus contains a famous crux. I venture to think that the combined acumen of Hermann and Semitélos has restored the original form of vv. 349-352, though it seems not to be commonly so thought. I hazard a short discussion of this famous passage. To do it justice we must consider the first antistrophe as a whole. This antistrophe, like the strophe, falls into two portions closely related to each other but clearly distinguished. The division falls at the same place in each. As in the strophe vv. 332-337 (πολλὰ—οἶδμασιν), or, excluding the introductory words πολλά—πέλει, vv. 334-337 (τοῦτο—οἶδμασιν), deal with man's commerce with the sea; vv. 338-342 (θεῶν τε—πολεῖον), with his commerce with the land: so in the antistrophe vv. 343-348 (κουφονόων τε—ἀνὴρ) deal with the capture of birds, beasts and fishes (I note that Professor Tyrrell's ἀγρεῖ is probably right); vv. 349-353 (κρατεῖ δέ—ταῦρον) with the taming of beasts (see the schol. and Semitélos on v. 349). περὶ ὧν ὑπ' οἶδμασιν is answered by περὶ φραδῆς ἀνὴρ and ἵππε εἰσι

γένει πολέων by οὐρεῖόν τ' ἀδμήτα ταῦρον.
(My reason for preferring the reading πολέων to πολέων is thus plain; of ἀδμήτα as opposed to ἀκμήτα I shall speak presently.) Now if, in the second half of the antistrophe, the part that deals with the taming of beasts, we keep the traditional text, we shall have the words κρατεῖ—ὄρεσσιβάτα explained by λασιαύχενά θ'—ταῦρον. But ἵππον and ταῦρον are evidently but species of the genus ἀγραύλου θηρὸς ὄρεσσιβάτα, and we should, therefore, expect the substantives expressing the two species to be in apposition with the substantive expressing the genus, not the sentence containing the names of the species to be in apposition with the sentence containing the name of the genus. Professor Semitélos has escaped the difficulty (rightly, I think) by writing

κρατεῖ δὲ μηχαναῖς ἀγραύλους
θήρας ὄρεσσιβάτας,

But this correction is reciprocally related to the correction of v. 351 sq. Here Hermann, accepting the reading ἔξεται as containing merely an error due to pronunciation (I presume), proposed to read ἵππιον (for ἵππον, in order to get — —) ἔξέτε' ἀμφιλόφον ζυγοῖ. Hermann's defence of ἔξέτε' seems to me pretty satisfactory, and it is accepted by Professor Semitélos; but ἵππιον will hardly stand. Here Professor Semitélos again comes to the rescue and finishes his good work by the neat supplement ὃν after ἵππον. Thus we read our appositives

λασιαύχενά θ'
ἵππον, <ὃν> ἔξέτε' ἀμφιλόφον ζυγοῖ,
οὐρεῖόν τ' ἀδμήτα ταῦρον.

Professor Semitélos does not indeed accept ἀδμήτα; but it seems to me that after κρατεῖ μηχαναῖς and ζυγοῖ he should have preferred a word that meant 'untamed,' 'unbroken', to one that meant merely 'unwearied', 'strong'.

Professor Blass's discussion of the πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ chorus in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* for 1897 (pp. 477-480, *Zu Sophokles' Antigone und Platons Protagoras*) is worthy of attention, though it does its eminent author no great credit. I venture briefly to criticise it here.

Professor Blass sets out to show that the word παρείρων in the second antistrophe (v. 368) is sound. To do so he begins at the beginning of the second antistrophe (σοφόν τι τὸ μηχανόν κτέ.). The first sentence of his argument seems to call for some com-

ment: 'der vers totè mèn usw. ist, wie Sauppe zu Plat. Prot. 344^d anmerkt, dem dort citierten verse eines unbekannten dichters nachgebildet: αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς totè mèn κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός.' It might appear from Professor Blass's language as though he thought that Sauppe had been the first to point out this connection. But in the Erfurdt-Hermann edition of the *Antigone* of 1830, of which I have used not only my own copy but one that bears on the fly-leaf Sauppe's signature as 'studios. philol. Lips. 1830', the note on v. 364 contains the addition by Erfurdt: 'Poetae obversatus videtur Theognidis locus, quem laudant Xenophon. Mem. I. 2, 20. et Plato Protag. p. 589. Heind.' To this Hermann adds: 'Versum, quem dicit Erfurdtius, αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς totè mèn κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός, alius potius quam Theognidis esse, ex Xenophonte colligi potest'. It can hardly be regarded as proof of any internal connection between the *Protagoras* and the *Antigone*, if we find the same 'familiar quotation' in each work in different contexts, especially as this same 'familiar quotation' appears in Xenophon in still another context as a favourite saying of Socrates. The coincidence is such that it proves nothing for Professor Blass.

But he goes on to cite *Prot.* 320 C sqq. in proof of a striking similarity between Sophocles and Protagoras 'oder Platon—man weisz ja nicht, wie viel etwa der Sophist in der schrift περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως hier... von selbst vorgetragen hatte—' in the account of the development of civilisation. τέχνη, he says in effect, is the key-note of both passages, and in the *Antigone* we are to understand with παρείρων the words εἰς τὴν τέχνην, the participle having the sense of 'einfügend in, verbindend mit'. One must be forgiven for thinking of Nestor's words of mild surprise in B 80-81. But let us examine this matter of similarity. Surely the difference between the two passages is quite as striking as the similarity. In Plato Epimetheus leaves mankind ἀκόσμητον, so that the theft of fire by Prometheus is necessary in order that man may obtain the εὐτεχνος σοφία; ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἦν, says Protagoras, ἄνευ πυρὸς αὐτὴν κτητὴν τῷ ἢ χρησίμην γενέσθαι. The πολιτικὴ τέχνη was with Zeus, into whose citadel Prometheus was no longer allowed to enter;¹ therefore he could do no more than go into the common workshop of Hephaestus and Athena—

¹ Why, we are not told. Is there here a trace of the tale of the Lost Paradise? and have the Διὸς φυλακαί (321 D) anything to do with Genesis 3, 24?

evidently in the lower town!—and steal thence for man's behoof *τὴν τε ἔμπυρον τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*. Thus far there is surely no parallel between Plato and Sophocles. But before we pursue our examination of this matter further, I wish to say something about a textual corruption that Professor Blass—with others—has tried to get rid of. The words *διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν* in *Prot.* 322 A cannot be right. Whether Professor Blass's *συντεχνίαν* for *συγγένειαν* helps matters, may fairly be doubted. Some time ago I hazarded a correction in the *Classical Review* (viii. p. 11), viz. *διὰ τοῦτο*, and tried to suggest the motive of the corruption. In regard to the motive I have nothing to add here; but I venture to suggest what is perhaps a better conjecture of the original form of the words, viz. *δι' αὐτὴν* (i.e. *διὰ τὴν θεϊαν μοῖραν*). If this conjecture really reproduces the manus Platonica, the passage has been corrupted either by a gloss (as I have suggested) or by a fancied correction (by supplement) after the loss of *Υ*.

To return to the parallelism, we find that in Protagoras-Plato man, gifted with the 'fire-skill' and thus in possession of a part of what belongs to the gods,¹ first invented a religion, then began to speak, to prepare and procure houses and furniture, to cultivate husbandry. But since men had not *πολιτικὴ τέχνη*, they dwelt separate and were soon almost destroyed by wild beasts, against which they could not wage war, because the *πολεμικὴ τέχνη* is a part of the lacking *πολιτικὴ τέχνη*. Thus men began to congregate and seek to protect themselves by building cities. But they trespassed against one another, because they had not the *πολιτικὴ τέχνη*, and were soon again scattered. Poor humanity is at length rescued from its plight by Zeus's gift of *αἰδώς* and *δίκη*, in which every man must have his share.

But what has all this to do with the chorus in the *Antigone*? There are many wonderful things, says the poet, but none more wonderful than man. He devotes himself to perilous navigation (is master of the sea). He wearies by ploughing the great goddess Earth (is master of the land). He catches in nets the nimble-witted birds, the wild beasts, the fishes in the sea. He tames the horse and the bull. He taught himself (and here in the second strophe we come for the first time on something the

least bit like chronological development²)—he taught himself speech, thought, liking to live in towns, building of houses. All resources has he in himself; nothing future, save death, will he encounter helpless; even remedies for overwhelming diseases has he devised. With all this wonderful capability man turns sometimes to evil, sometimes to good, in the latter case loyal to the laws and to his oath,³ standing thus high in the state: a man without a country is he whose boldness makes that which is not beautiful—evil—to dwell with him (i.e., as the chiasmus shows, he that *ἐπὶ κακὸν ἔρπει*): may none that does such things (that *τὰ μὴ καλὰ ἔρδει τόλμας χάριν*) be either neighbour or fellow-partisan of mine.

Where the 'enge berührung zwischen dem Protagoras und der Antigone' is to be found in the passages compared, I for one cannot discern. A connection between Protagoras's *μῦθος* and the Orphic poem quoted by Sextus Empiricus (see Professor Blass's article, p. 478) is more probable perhaps but is not proved.⁴

A marked difference between Protagoras's tale and the chorus in the *Antigone* consists in this, that in Sophocles the independent activity of man is dwelt upon; nothing is said of supernatural interference. This Professor Blass ignores.

Professor Blass's attempt to smuggle the word *τέχνη* into the first antistrophe of the chorus in the *Antigone*,⁵ in order to make it the subject of the second strophe, should be considered a lamentable failure. Albeit *ἐδιδάξατο* seems to be found only here in the sense of 'taught himself', yet that is justified, as Matthiae saw,⁶ by the circum-

² If we seek to see chronological development earlier in this passage, we shall find man ploughing with the *ἵππειον γένος* before he has tamed the *ἵππος*.

³ What Sophocles wrote where *πατέρων* stands may not be absolutely certain, but I believe that Professor Jebb is right in thinking that Reiske's *γεραίων* is it. The word *πληρῶν* in the scholion to v. 368 cannot well be a corruption of *πατέρων*. But *πατέρων* in the text might come from *γεραίων*, or from *πληρῶν* unclearly written as a gloss on *γεραίων*. At all events the righteous man is intended to be described as *νόμιμος καὶ ἐνορκος*. Professor Blass seems to have misunderstood *θεῶν ἐνορκον δίκαν = θεῶν ὅρκους*. (With *πατέρων* for *γεραίων*, cf. *παρόντα* for *γέροντα*, *O. T.* 971.)

⁴ The *μῦθος* as Protagoras relates it has, as Professor Blass notes, no strict logical sequence. In this Plato may have wished to parody his sophist's naïveté. Whether this be so or not, the story is certainly naïve. If an 'Orphic' poem underlies the *μῦθος*, it in turn will have been based on a primitive legend.

⁵ By reading *ἵππον ἔχει τέχνη ἀμφίλοπον ζυγόν*.

¹ We find here, as Professor Blass remarks, in Protagoras's tale a very clumsy attempt at connecting primitive art and primitive worship.

⁶ *Gr. Gramm.* 496, 8 *ad fin.* ('Media statt der Passiva'), 'Soph. *Ant.* 354 καὶ φθέγμα—ἐδιδάξατο, wo

stances of the case. Man 'invented', or, more forcibly, he 'taught himself.' *ἡῦρετο* would come nearest, perhaps, to *ἐδιδάξατο* here, but would not nearly so well express Sophocles's meaning. *ἐνυπέφρασται* = 'has devised', seems still more easily justified. Indeed, is either of these words more surprising than *αὐτοφώρων* = 'which he caught himself perpetrating' (*Ant.* 51)? and has not Sophocles—in the spirit of the higher Greek poetry—oftentimes strained a word or phrase—enriched its connotation at the expense of its denotation?

It would thus appear that Professor Blass's <πόρ> after *πάγων* is an infelicitous, as well as needless, conjecture. What Sophocles wrote here cannot, perhaps, be said with certainty. One may content himself with <ὑπ>*αἰδρεία* (or <ὑπ>*αἰδρία*) as possibly right. (Palaeographically better is the *διαίθρεια* of the Campbell and Abbott edition.)

Though a connexion cannot be made out between Protagoras's myth and *Ant.* 332–375, yet it is possible that the passage in the *Protagoras* where the quotation from the old poet occurs may have something to do with that chorus. In the chorus in the *Antigone* near the end of the second strophe stand the words *νόσων ἀμυχάνων* in the sense of 'overwhelming diseases'; near the beginning of the second antistrophe stands the reminiscence of the old poet. In *Prot.* 344 C we find the words *ὃν ἂν ἀμύχανος συμφορὰ καθέληι* quoted from Simonides and followed by an exposition of the term *ἀμύχανος* = *ἀμύχανον ποιών*, 'overwhelming', as there used. Three classes of *ἐμύχανοι* are cited as rendered *ἀμύχανοι* by *ἀμύχανοι συμφοραί*,—the skipper, the farmer, the physician. 'For the good can become bad as well, as is witnessed by another poet, who said: *αὐτὰρ—ἔσθλός.*' If this is more than mere coincidence, Plato may in writing the passage just quoted have had the chorus of the *Antigone* in mind. But this is a mere possibility.

A feature of *Ant.* 332–375 that has an important bearing on the interpretation of that passage both in whole and in part is the duality that runs through it, of which I have already cited a striking instance. But not only have we seamanship and husbandry, capture of the lower animals and taming of the lower animals coupled (vv. 335–353); we find speech and thought, town-inhabiting temper and building of houses,

nach dem gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch *ἐδιδάχθη* stehen sollte. Aber *ἐδιδάχθη* heisst, er lernte von andern passive, *ἐδιδάξατο*, er lernte durch eigene Thätigkeit.

frost and rain, resourcefulness and resourcelessness, escape from death and escape from disease (vv. 354–364), evil and good, law and oath, civic dignity and civic disgrace, neighbour and partisan (vv. 365–375). The clear perception of this pairing of ideas in vv. 354–375 shows one that *φρόνημα* is sound, that *ἀστυνόμους ὀργὰς* is also sound and has the simple meaning given above, and that *φεῦξιν* is probably sound. Professor Semitelos changes *φρόνημα*, *ὀργὰς* and *φεῦξιν*. *παρέστιος* seems pretty clearly = *πάροικος*, 'neighbour', and *ἴσον φρονῶν* = *συστασιώτης*. Local and political proximity are thus coupled.

Vv. 450–452.¹ Creon dismisses the guard (vv. 444 sq.) and turns to Antigone with the words *σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι—μή μήκος, ἀλλὰ συντόμως—| ἥδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν τάδε*; (Here Cobet's *ἥδησθα* is certainly right. But the explanation given by Messrs. Wolff-Bellermann, Jebb and Humphreys of the construction of *κηρυχθέντα* I venture to think wrong. *κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν* = *ἀπορρηθέντα κηρύγματι*. The participle is not impersonal but agrees with *τάδε*.) Antigone answers: *ἥδη τί δ' οὐκ ἔμελλον; ἐμφανὴ γὰρ ἦν* (sc. *κηρυχθέντα μὴ ποιεῖν τάδε*). Then Creon: *καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους*; Antigone: *οὐ γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε | οὐδ' ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη, | οὐ τοῦσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισαν νόμους | οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὠϊόμην τὰ σά | κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα* (possibly *ὡς τᾶγραπτα* with Bruneck and Aug. b) *κάσφαλή θεῶν | νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερβαλεῖν κτέ.* If we construe Antigone's answer as is customary, we begin: 'Yes; for from my point of view it was not at all Zeus that proclaimed this'. The next verse would then naturally mean 'nor was it that Justice that dwells with the nether gods'. But the next verse would then mean 'who (referring to Zeus and *Δίκη*) defined these laws for mankind'. *τοῦσδε νόμους* here ought to mean the same thing as *τοῦσδε νόμους* in v. 449. But this is absurd—at least it is generally so considered. Prof. Campbell does not find it so. He annotates: 'The iteration of *τοῦσδε*, in contrasting the law which she obeyed with the edict of Creon, is dramatically appropriate, and there is no difficulty in the vague use of the demonstrative'. Similarly Wolff-Bellermann: '*τοῦσδε νόμους* mit deutlicher scharfer Beziehung auf Kreon's Worte 449'. In their Critical Appendix (5th ed.) we read further: 'Durch

¹ The following note was read before the American Philological Association at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 6 July, 1898.

Valckenaers fast allgemein aufgenommene Konjektur τοιούσδ' ἐν—ᾧρισεν νόμους wird die beabsichtigte Zurückbeziehung auf τοῦσδε νόμους 449 zerstört'. I must agree with the majority that the traditional text is indefensible here on account of the preceding τοῦσδε νόμους and that Prof. Campbell and Messrs. Wolff and Bellermann are wrong. But before dealing directly with Valckenaer's generally received conjecture I wish to return to v. 450 and to ask whether it is necessary to make Ζεὺς the subject of ἦν. As I read the verse, and as it seems to me almost, if not quite, necessary to read it, Ζεὺς cannot be taken as subject of ἦν, but must be predicate. My feeling for Greek certainly imperatively demands this. Let us see what this leads to. 'Yes; for not at all in my eyes was the proclaimer of these things Zeus, nor (was he) that Justice that dwells with the nether gods, who (Zeus and Justice)'—did what? Not 'defined *these* laws among mankind', but 'defined *the* laws among mankind': not τοῦσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ᾧρισαν νόμους, but τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ᾧρισαν νόμους. Some scribe under the influence of τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους (449) made the natural blunder τοῦσδ' for τοὺς here. This is substantially the course of interpretation and reasoning by which I arrived at what I believe Sophocles to have written here. But I am not the first to suggest this reading. Erfurdt had already reached the same result somewhat differently. I quote his note from the Erfurdt-Hermann *Antigone* of 1830: 'Vulgo τοῦσδ', quod mihi etiamnum displicet. Quum enim τοῦσδε νόμους non intelligi possit nisi de iis legibus, quarum paullo ante vv. 443, 445 [= 447, 449] mentio facta erat, nominatim de edicto, quo Polynicem sepeliri vetuerat Creon, haud video equidem, qua ratione convenient ista verba cum antecedentibus. Quippe sic dicitur ea lex Deorum niti auctoritate, a quibus constitutam esse Antigona modo negavit. Deinde quae Thebanis data fuerat, quo jure ἐν ἀνθρώποις condita vocari potest? Itaque non dubito scribendum esse τοὺς, quo admissio οἱ ἐν ἀνθρώποις νόμοι, ut cum Xenophonte Memor. iv. 4, 19, loquar, sunt οἱ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ κατὰ τὰντὰ νομιζόμενοι. Sic πᾶν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χροσίον, in toto orbe terrarum, Xenoph. Ages. 8, 6. Supra v. 193 pro τῶν August. b. et Dresd. a. pari lapsu τῶνδ' exhibent.'¹ That is an admirable

¹ It is worth while more fully to compare the passage in the *Memorabilia* cited by Erfurdt. It is as follows: 'Ἀργάφους δὲ τινος οἰσθα, ἔφη, ὃ Ἰππία, νόμους; τοὺς γ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρᾳ κατὰ τὰντὰ νομιζόμενους.—The τῶνδ' in v. 193 (which is the

statement, so far as it goes. Let us turn now to Valckenaer's famous conjecture.

This rests on two assumptions: (1) That Ζεὺς is the subject of ἦν; (2) That τοῦσδε νόμους in v. 452 must mean the same thing as τοῦσδε νόμους in v. 449. Of these assumptions I believe (1) to be wrong and (2) to be right. I am sorry that the argument against (1) is so intangible. If both assumptions are right (as I deny them to be), then Valckenaer's conjecture τοιούσδ'—ᾧρισεν νόμους rises to the dignity of an emendation. Mr. Jebb (no sure guide in such matters) says it 'is a certainly true correction'. It involves, it may be noted in passing, two changes, that of οἱ τοῦσδ' to τοιούσδ' (to my mind a rather violent change) and that of ᾧρισαν to ᾧρισεν. The scholion ἡ Δίκη, φησί, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ᾧρισαν ὥστε θάπτεσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς could be an explanation of Erfurdt's text; it could also be an explanation, as it is generally supposed to be, of the traditional text.

Erfurdt's reading involves an interesting question to which I shall presently refer. But before doing so, I wish to speak of another reading that has been proposed in v. 452. This differs from that of Erfurdt only in a minute detail, viz. in substituting τοὺς γ' for τοῦσδ'. This was proposed by Professor Semitélos independently—ἐξ ἐμῆς διορθώσεως, as he expresses it—but had been anticipated by Vauvilliers. Though Professor Semitélos thinks the γ' is not otiose (ἀργόν) but περιέχει τινὰ εἰρωνείαν καὶ πικρίαν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐνταῦθα, I fail to see its force. As we have seen, τοὺς in place of τοῦσδ' is easily justified.

The interesting question alluded to above has to do with the reference of the relative οἱ. I have already explained it as referring to Ζεὺς and Δίκη; but it may be said (the objection has already been made by Boeckh and not well answered by Mr. Semitélos) that it should be Ζεὺς and ἡ ξύνουκος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη and that it cannot rightly be said that Zeus and this special phase of Δίκη (discussed by Mr. Semitélos in his explanatory notes) defined the laws of mankind. It is not enough to answer with Mr. Semitélos that the context shows that Antigone has in mind only burial-laws. That is simply not true, it seems to me. The answer is a simple one, I believe, but quite different, viz. that here, as elsewhere, the relative clause regards the antecedent noun in its most general sense,

reading of L) is due to τῶνδ' immediately above it in v. 192

not in the modified sense that it bears where it stands. This is not an isolated phenomenon. The tendency to gravitate, by a sort of centripetal force, from the specific to the generic, as a sentence lengthens out, may be amply illustrated in Greek and need not be dwelt upon here, nor need we glance at *οστις*. For the simple relative clause I will bring forward a few examples. Others are doubtless to be found. I do not know of any adequate—in fact of any—discussion of the phenomenon. Thus in *Αλ.* 463–5 Ajax says *πῶς με τλήσεται* (Telamon) *ποτ' εἰσιδεῖν | γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ, | ὧν αὐτὸς ἔσχε στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν*; Here *τῶν ἀριστείων* means specifically the arms of Achilles, *ὧν* means *ἀριστείων* generally, as is recognized in the Schneidewin-Nauck note: 'ὧν wird angeschlossen als ob Aias nicht τῶν ἀριστείων, sondern allgemein ἀριστείων gesagt hätte.' In Euripides's *Andromache* Andromache reports that Hermione says of her that she wishes to dwell in Neoptolemus's house in her stead *ἐκβαλοῦσα λέκτρα τᾱκείνης* (sc. *Ἑρμιόνης*) *βίαι, | ἄγῳ τὸ πρόσθεν οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἔδεξάμην, | νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπα* (vv. 35–37). Here the *ἄ* in *ἄγῳ* refers not to *λέκτρα τᾱκείνης* but to *λέκτρα* meaning Andromache's relations with Neoptolemus. In Plato *Protag.* 357 E we read *ὥστε τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ ἡδονῆς ἥτιω εἶναι, ἀμαθία ἢ μεγίστη, ἥς* (sc. *ἀμαθίας* in general, not merely *ἀμαθίας τῆς μεγίστης*) *Πρωταγόρας οὐδὲ φησὶν ἱατρὸς εἶναι κτέ.* So Lysias 7, 18 *πῶς ἂν οἷός τ' ἢ πάντας πείσαι τοὺς παριόντας ἢ τοὺς γείτονας* (my neighbours), *οἱ* (neighbours in general) *οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἀ πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν, κτέ.*: Lys. 32, 24 *τὸ ἡμῖσι τούτοις ὀρφανοῖς οὖσι λελόγισται, οὓς* (orphans in general) *ἢ πόλις οὐ μόνον παῖδας ὄντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησαν* (makes), *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὰν δοκιμασθῶσιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφήκεν ἀπασῶν τῶν λητουργιῶν*: Isaeus 1, 13 *καὶ τεκμηρίοις χρήσθαι μὴ τοῖς μετ' ὀργῆς πραχθεῖσιν* (by Cleonymus), *ἐν οἷς* (acts of anger in general) *ἅπαντες πεφύκαμεν ἀμαρτάνειν, κτέ.* I close this discussion with a Latin example (the only one I have at hand) from Justin (8, 2): *et externae dominationi, quam* (sc. *dominationem*, not *externam dominationem*) *in suis timuerunt, sponte succedunt.*

In v. 540 Mr. Blaydes has already suggested what I venture to think is the right reading: *ἀλλ' ἐν κακοῖσι σοῖσιν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι*. The verse is somewhat like Eur. *Alc.* 318, where I am glad to see that Mr. Hayley agrees with me in upholding *οὐτ' ἐν τόκοισι σοῖσι θαρσυνεῖ, τέκνον*.

Boeckh's support of the assignment of v. 572 to *Antigone* is a noteworthy instance of the invasion of classical philology by sentimental bad taste. That vv. 754 and 576 should also go to Ismene is reasonably certain. The symmetry of the passage alone seems to demand it. It is possible that the verses between 571 and 575 have been disarranged and should be read in this order (I prefix vv. 569 sq. because v. 570 seems to need a slight correction by punctuation):

- KP. ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χατέρων εἰσὶν γύαι. 569
 IC. οὐχ' ὥς γ' ἐκείνῳι τῇδέ τ' ἦν ἡρμοσμένα. 570
 KP. ἄγαν γε λυπεῖς καὶ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν λέχος. 573
 IC. ἢ γὰρ στερήσεις τῇσδε τὸν σαντοῦ γόνον; 574
 KP. κακὰς ἐγὼ γυναῖκας νιέειν στυγῶ. 571
 IC. ὦ φίλταθ' Αἴμον, ὥς σ' ἀτιμάζει πατήρ. 572
 KP. Αἰδὼς ὁ παύσων τοῦσδε τοὺς γάμους ἔφν. 575

One cannot wonder that a woman of Antigone's temper fairly loathes Ismene. For all that, in this scene Sophocles has given us a masterly characterisation of a certain sort of mawkish sentimentality—a characterisation as true to the life as it is disgusting.

In v. 593 may not *ἀρχαῖα τὰ Λαβδακιδῶν* (so E) *ὀρῶμαι οἰκῶν* (balancing v. 582 *εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἀγευστος αἰὼν*) be what Sophocles wrote?

In vv. 599 sqq. unless we read <δ> *τέτατο θάλος* and *ἀμὰ κοπῖς* the words *λόγον τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν* *Ἐρινύς* would seem fitly to characterize the words of the chorus rather than the conduct of the heroine.

Though it is not my intention to defend here the authenticity of v. 904 sqq., I venture to remark that the verses are not so bad as they have been often said to be. Professor Semitélos has rightly, I venture to think, corrected *εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφν* to *εἰ τέκν', ὧν μήτηρ ἔφν*, in v. 905. V. 912 seems to have given Aristotle no trouble—if the MSS. are to be trusted. In v. 904 I think it may be fairly asked whether the traditional text would not mean 'and yet it was I that honoured you in the eyes of right-thinking people.' If that be so, we should accept, as Mr. Blaydes has done, Arndt's *καίτοι σέ γ' εὖ τίμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὖ* 'and yet I certainly (γ') did right in honouring you in the eyes of right-thinking people.' And here I may remark that in *O.T.* 597 the

emphasis seems to be in favour of Musgrave's αἰκάλλουσι as against the traditional ἐκκαλοῦσι. (I find that Meineke takes up this point much as I have done in the *Analectu Sophoclea* appended to his edition of the *Oedipus Coloneus*.) 'Now by all am I greeted, now all salute me, now those that want something from you,'—if we keep ἐκκαλοῦσι, a word of essentially different meaning from the two others used of Creon and rather contrasted with χριζοῦσι, we must, I think, read ἐκκαλλοῦσ' ἐμέ; but if we read αἰκάλλουσι we have a third verb of

similar meaning with the other two used of Creon and forming a climax with them and, furthermore, not requiring the emphatic form of the pronoun (for which there is no manuscript warrant) in place of με. Aris- totle *rhet.* 1371 *a* says καὶ τὸ κολακεύεσθαι καὶ ὁ κόλαξ ἡδύς· φαινόμενος γὰρ θαυματοῦς καὶ φαινόμενος φίλος ὁ κόλαξ ἐστίν. Does not this defend αἰκάλλουσι from the Greek point of view?

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ON SOME PASSAGES IN PROPERTIUS.

[CORPUS TEXT, 1894].

1. ii. 34^b, 29—30.

Aut quid Crethei tibi prosunt carmina
plectri?

Nil iuuat in magno uester amore senex.

Crethei Ω erecthei v(mg.)μ [N has Erechti] plectri Palm. lecta Ω.

I quote from Dr. Postgate's critical note. These vv. are generally connected with ii. 34, 1—26, addressed to Lynceus, a friend of the poet.

The data to determine the reading in v. 29 are perhaps too slight to make for certainty. But it is plain that erecthei of v μ is only an emendation of N's reading *Erechti*, which N and v would derive from their common source (Housman, *J. Ph.*, xxi, p. 103). It has been suggested that *Erechti* itself is a disarrangement of the letters of *Crethei* (Housman, *ibid.* p. 155). The reference would be then either to Epimenides or to Homer (whose mother was *Cretheis*). In favour of the latter is v. 45 below and i. 9, 11, plus in amore ualet Mimnermi uersus Homero.

But another suggestion may be worth making; that, namely, both *Crethei* and *Erechti* are corruptions, independently, of *Aratei*.

Aratus, the astronomer-poet of Soli, in Cilicia, had obtained an importance in literature which may seem strange to us considering his subject, to say nothing of the treatment. See Professor J. B. Mayor on Cic. N.D. ii. § 104. Professor Mayor rejects the reading *Arateis* there, but the form of the adj. is proved by two other passages in Cic.

The letter *e* is often confused with *a*. Thus at ii. 1, 66, N has Tantelea for Tanteleae, at ii. 29, 11, 24 at and et are variants. Then again *c* and *e* are confused *passim*. Thus the steps from *Aratei* to *Cretei* and to *Eretei* would be almost simultaneous. *t* before a vowel has often *h* appended: Therodamanthes Ω at i., 20, 6. Thus we have on the one hand *Crethei*; on the other *Erethei*, and the change of *e* to *c* and transposition does the rest without involving an 'anagram.'

The allusion to astronomy in vv. 51 *sq.* now becomes clear. If we assume that Lynceus is still referred to in the second person here then *uester* of v. 30 implies that he was also from Soli, which from his name (in that case not a pseudonym) he might well be.

Plectri is necessary in v. 30. Housman reading *Cretaei*—*plectri* compares Sil. 8, 596, *Smyrnaeis aemula plectris*; a parallel to *Aratei*—*plectri* may be found in Stat. Silv. i. 3, 101, *Pindaricis*—*plectris*.

2. iii. 7, 45—6.

uiueret ante suos dulcis conuiua Penates,
pauper at in terra nil nisi fleret opes.

So Postgate, after Bährens, in v. 46. I am not aware that Jacob's reading *nil ubi flare potest*, 'where blowing is of no avail,' has been supported by what seems a remarkable parallel: Lucretius, vi. 138 *sqq.*

Nam quid possit ibi flatus manifesta docet
res;

hic ubi lenior est in terra cum tamen alta
arbusta euoluens radicibus hausit ab imis.

ibi=in the upper air; *nisi* (*n*ⁱ) is just as likely to be a correction of *ubi* (*u*ⁱ) as *vice-versa*.

3. iii. 7, 21—4.

iii. 18, 29—30.

I discuss these passages together as I contend that they were originally continuous. They are respectively

Sunt Agamemnonias testantia litora curas
qua notat Argynni poena minantis aquae.
hoc iuvene amisso classem non soluit
Atrides,

pro qua mactata est Iphigenia mora.

and

hic olim ignaros luctus populabat Achivos,
Atridae magno cum stetit alter amor.

The first of these passages does not seem to belong to the elegy, that on Paetus, wherein it is embedded. Whether we put the scene of Argynnus' death (v. Dr. Postgate's note in his edition of 1885) on the East or the West of the Aegaeon, there is equally an absence of any point or reference to the case of Paetus, except—and this the detail of the passage does not favour—the circumstance that they were both young and both drowned. It is not here my province to criticise the text of these vv., but I would adopt Hertzberg's *Athamantiadae* in v. 22, thus preserving the usual form of the legend which made the river Cephissus in Boeotia the scene of Argynnus' death.

There is a similarly strong case for the view that dislocation has brought the second passage to its present place. Coming as it does in the middle of the elegy on Marcellus it disturbs the whole train of thought. The reference in *hic—luctus* is most obscure (v. again Dr. Postgate) and the point of the comparison—that the fatal malady was apparently causeless in the case of the Greeks as in that of Marcellus is considerably enfeebled when we remember that in the first instances multitudes were sent to Orcus, in the latter only one. If the poet wished to suggest that Apollo had slain Marcellus, whether violently or οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσθιν ἐπιχώμεος, it is strange that he should compare his single case with that of many slain at once: also *ignaros* is rather ignorant of the cause why they were

slain than of the god who slew them (v. 8). Compare *Iliad* i. v. 64, where Achilles labours under no mistake.

It is, however, in the phrase *alter amor*, v. 30, that I find a proof of I think a most convincing kind. The connection of 29 and 30 suggests that the *alter amor*, the change in Agamemnon's heart, was the cause of the *luctus*. Now this makes the reference in these words clearly to Chryseis. But if Chryseis is *alter amor* who is *primus*? Argynnus, to whom the first passage refers.¹

On the other view *alter amor* is Briseis. She did it is true cost Agamemnon dear, but in an entirely different way, and *later*. If Propertius meant to refer to Briseis he has most inartistically allowed us to think at one and the same moment of two quite disparate kinds of *luctus*; that which reflects the scene at the beginning of the *Iliad* and that which is set forth in its later books when the *μῆνις* has begun to work.

If the second passage follows directly after the first *hic luctus* is the grief of Agamemnon for Argynnus described in v. 3 of the first passage? I should say that the six lines as I assume them to be in unity belonged to a separate poem, though it is not difficult to find a place for them amid the copious mythological references of Propertius.

It may be noted in conclusion that vv. 37—8 of

ii. 1.

Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles,
hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden.

with similar motif of heroic friendships are also out of place where they are found. Are these part of the same context as those discussed?

4. iv. 7, 69.

Sic mortis lacrimis uitae sanamus amores.

Mortis is corrupt. I propose
Sic moris; lacrimis, &c.

Moris is G. Sing. of *mos*, and we may translate 'Such is our wont'; cf. *ut Domitiano moris erat*, Tac. Agr. 39, where *ut* is voucher for *sic* with this idiom.

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¹ In conclusion then I agree with the view taken by Dr. Postgate (1885).

QUIDEM IN AUGUSTAN VERSE.

I HAVE felt some curiosity as to the distribution of *quidem* in Augustan verse. The particle is felt to be mainly a colloquial one, and by far the greater number of instances quoted in the dictionaries come from the comedians and Cicero. L. and S. do not quote one instance from serious poetry. On the other hand, the useful index to the Delphin Vergil gives *quidem* 'passim,' though it quotes all the instances of *equidem*, which, as a matter of fact, is commoner. This is hardly satisfactory. I give here the result of my researches. I cannot, of course, absolutely guarantee that I have overlooked no single instance.

Vergil, once in the *Eclogues* (9, 37); eleven times in the *Georgics* (i. 126, 390; ii. 48, 125, 212; iii. 217, 501, 567; iv. 457, 489, 501); seven times in the *Aeneid*, nearly all in the later books (iii. 628; ix. 796; x. 385; xi. 49, 378; xii. 234, 808); also *quandoquidem* four times.

Horace, nowhere, I think, in *Odes* or *Epodes*; only five times in *Satires* and *Epistles*, namely, *Satt.* i. 10, 51; *Ep.* i. 2, 13, 9, 7; ii. 1, 43, 219.

Tibullus, thrice (i. 6, 7; ii. 4, 51; 5, 61), besides once in pseudo-Tib. (iv. 6, 5).

Propertius, four times (ii. 3, 39; 8, 28; iii. (iv), 12 (11), 9; 13 (12) 3.

Ovid, *Heroides* 1—15, thrice (4, 121; 6, 147; 10, 143); *Amores*, thrice (ii. 6, 36; 13, 3; iii. 7, 7; *Ars Amat.* seven times (i. 9, 235, 446, 681, 699; ii. 319; iii. 489). *Tristia*, eleven times (i. 1, 73, 123; ii. 29, 139, 241; iii. 4, 1; 12, 35; iv. 1, 66; 10, 61; v. 2, 55, 14, 29). *Metamorphoses*, i—iii., twelve times (i. 209, 438, 488, 519; ii. 434, 436, 593, 667, 822, 855; iii. 247, 557); *ibid.* xiii.—xv., seven times (xiii. 160, 493, 751; xiv. 188, 458; xv. 578, 598).

The general result is that the particle is not so rare in Augustan poetry as the dictionaries might perhaps lead one to expect. The commonest case is where the word comes as the second word in a line (ille quidem, prima quidem, &c.), simply emphasizing the first word. It often is clearly concessive, followed by *sed* or *tamen*. We find *ne . . . quidem* in Ov. *Her.*, 4, 121, &c.

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A BODLEIAN MS. OF OVID'S *IBIS*.

Among the Canonici MSS. there is a late XVth or early XVIth century codex of the *Ibis* (Canon. 20), which hardly seems to have received sufficient attention. Prof. Ellis in his edition cites several good readings from it, especially l. 323 *aleuas*; but besides this it corrects 6 of the remaining 12 test passages put forward in his introduction ch. viii. p. liii.: these are ll. 84, 178, 256, 359, 513 and the omission of the interpolated distich after 130; in two it is nearer the right reading (l. 335 *passae*, 502 *thaleceae*), and in one it gives a fresh variant (600 *orpheon- esque satae*). There are also several readings for which I can find no parallel in the apparatus criticus either of Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum*, which I have used for my collation, or of Merkel's or Ellis's editions. Perhaps the most noticeable are ll. 30, 265, 292, 309, 337, 380, 404, 418, 450, 463, 510, 534, (and 540, 563 *sq.* which agree with Merkel's B.E. and d.g. respectively). At l. 245 the reading is *suae horae*, which appears

in the Aldine edition, but in no MSS. The order in which the lines are written is very remarkable; it is as follows:—1–14. 17, 18. 15, 6. 19–40. 43–6. 41, 42. 135–278. 339–438. 441–522 (tr. 471, 2 post 474, et om. 507. 8). 525, 6. 523, 4. 537, 8. 527, 8. 531, 2. 529, 30. 533, 4. 539, 40. 535, 6. 541–8. 563, 4. 549–62. 565–636. 279–328. 47–132. 329, 30. 439, 40. 461, 2. 331, 8. 637–44. But apparently the changes were made intentionally by the scribe, as at the end of several of the longer transpositions (ll. 278, 328, 132, 338) he places a small stroke in the margin. It may be noticed that he as well as modern editors places l. 135 after l. 42.

Publii Ovidii Nasonis Sulmonensis in *ibim*
liber feliciter incipit.

2 inane. 10 in aduersas. 12 suo. 17 com-
plector. 20 is. 22 om. est...ille. 23 dii
(et semper). 25 grates meritas. 27 audiet.
30 quo...deditus.¹ 32 tempora. 36 quam.

¹ Conjectured by Birt.

40 rapta. 135 iaculis...iapyges. 137 pabula mollia. 139 bella geram tecum. 140 dabo. 47 fauentes. 50 petit. 52 brevis. 54 licambes. 55 bactiades. 62 ibis. 74 manes. 76 nectis. 84¹ chaos. 85 malefido digna ranuntur. 86 peragunt. 90 pasyphes. 98 fauere ~~mæ~~ ueto. 109 clarus. 119 putere. 121 de facta. 124 optatamque fugit. 125 spiritus ortus Deserat. 127 eueniet. 128 et laeua. 130 semper perfide mortis. 131 saepe. 132 aufer et. 140 dabo. 142 exanimis. 143 tunc. 150 inique. 159 torta. 162 poenae. 167 carpent. 169 ilico. 182 ditia. 189 transcribes...monumenta uirorum. 190 manibus. 193 erit et. 197 in ida. 198 et...captat. 212 aclos. 229 imbuerant. 233 iunxerunt. 239 infans fumis. 241 inuimus. 242 cadant. 245 suae...horae. 247 et me. 248 dent modo dent. 249 accedant. 250 experiare. 253 paeantuis. 256 armatusque [inermis open²]. 257 aliena. 259 trepidosque. 260 urbis. 265 praedicente. 272 et thamire. 275 melior tumidis. 277 sollertiquae. 280 secta trahuntur. 281 redimi. 282 cinyphis. 283 subsidio praesens sit numen. 284 nihil. 285 utue. 287 horestei...coepit. 292 corpore pascit aues. 293 hecratides...quintus. 295 aminciaden. 299 capiti achei. 301 chillide. 302 op. (om. primat) hostili. 303 pyrri. 304 abracias. 305 nataue ut aeacide. 306 nefas. 308 saucos. 309 casto. 310 quae cecidit. 311 inue. 312 quam. 313 utue...parentes. 317 A^t ut oliuifera...sicone profectis. 318 morti. 319 leonis. 321 ingulare pherei. [323 aleuas³]. 325 utue milon. 327 quaeque in (om. cetera). 329 lemneus. 331 utue leuridamaster...thrasilli. 332 larisseis. 335 passae [hippomeneide⁴]. 336 in actea destituaris. 337 sic tibi uexatos cum uita. 439 utue. 461 cassandrae dominus. 462 in-cesta. 345 dryantidae. 346 ingenio. 347 etheo. 348 calliroes. 351 iunxit uenerem. 352 neci. 357 canacis...facis. 359 thyeste. 362 tibi uel pterela. 366 brachia...fores.

378 spinga. 380 facies...tectata tori. 384 toanteae. 396 turba. 403 uindice fusis. 404 temporibus nexus dexamenique pater. 405 satusne. 406 abisse. 407 scyron...poliphemone. 409 ad auras. 411 gerens. 413 quae. 415 achemenides. 417 talis eris nec cum. 418 qua tua maphor erit. 419 ut. 429 solis ad. 434 tereidesque. 444 facti. 445 atque tuis. 446 sidonia sparsi. 447 pithoides. 449 exiguo est...libello. 450 coniecta...spargat. 455 nec uir nec foemina. 463 aeneius. 466 theodotus. 470 dixit hoesque. 471 maia est. 475 macedo...iacta est. 479 speculatus. 485 eipsenore. 487 uocante. 495 theneseae. 496 urbe. 497 omits et. 499 lindia. 502 thaleceae. 503 ligurigitem. 505 uultus. 510 regia turba. [511 aleuae]. 512 leotipidae...uiro. 515 astacidaeue⁵...cadauera. 523 athenas. 524 inuitus. 527 orestae. 533 siluis. 534 hebi sanguine cretus auo. 535 perue. 539 murrae. 540 urbis.⁶ 541 achemo. 545 harpacides. 548 mimnermi.⁷ 549 utque syracusio. 551 nuda que. 552 phrygii. 558 cnosia. 559 ueluti. 560 malum. 562 machareus tu. 563 qualem iam capta cum flammae. 564 patrum...arce. 568 icarei. [569 acerno⁸]. 572 iactaque. 575 corebi. 576 argolicisque. 577 eathrae periturus. 581 ut cum damarictone. 585 utque...aborto. 586 batitus ipse. 587 si misso (sic) liquidum...disco. 590 ab idena. 595 coturnorum. 596 utq (om. cetera). 597 dilaceret. 600 orpheon-
esque sutae. 601 altheae...praesentibus. 603 compraensa. 605 pentheliden...lycinum. 609 milon...deducere. 611 inguen. 612 contulit. 619 falso. 621 ethalon...spoliaberis indius. 623 quemque. 625 pectora. 628 om. Phrygi...timido est. 629 rhoesus. 630 rhoesi tunc. 631 rhamneta. 632 hyrtacides hyrtacidaeque. 633 climadeue. 635 utue. 639 sunt. 641 roganti. 642 sed.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ Chao, ed. Rubei. an. 1474.

² Ed. vet. apud Micyllum.

³ Conjectured by Scaliger.

⁴ Ed. Aldina, an. 1502.

⁵ Conjectured by Sanctius: Merkel cites from C.

⁶ Conjectured by Housman: Merkel cites from B.E.

⁷ Suggested by Ellis as a possibility: Merkel cites from d.

⁸ Conjectured by Politianus.

SOME ITALIC ETYMOLOGIES AND INTERPRETATIONS.

(Concluded from p. 355.)

IGNIS IN THE ITALIC DIALECTS.

Skr. *agnis* may represent primitive AGNIS, OGNIS or EGNIS; O. Bulg. *ogni* AGNIS or

OGNIS; Lat. *ignis* has been derived from EGNIS; Lith. *ugnīs* demands either a special phonetic explanation of the special pleading sort (v. Brugmann, Grundriss I² §148) or

must have had its initial vowel deflected by some popular etymology (cf. the author in *Modern Language Notes*, ii. 229, and Bartholomae, in the *Wochenschrift fuer klass. Philologie*, 15, 1052). The form AGNIS is on as good a footing as OGNIS, while EGNIS has the support of Latin *ignis* only. Let who will take comfort in the e/o gradation as a support for OGNIS, but when we deal with finished words, without reference to their semantic cognates, we must not put both EGNIS and OGNIS to the score of the primitive period.

In two places in the Italic dialects a word for fire other than $\pi\upsilon\rho$ seems to be used. I cite from von Planta's text (*Grammatik der Oskisch-Umbrischen Dialekte*) No. 274, a part of a Marrucinian inscription: *asignas ferenter auiatas toutai maroucai ioues patres oeres tarin cris iouias. agine iafc esuc agine asum babu poleenis feret 'prosciae feruntur auspicatae Marrucae Iovis-patris ocris Tarincris Ioviae pompa. eas illa pompa assatum...fer.'* I understand *agine* as a locative and *babu* I interpret as an onomatopoeic word equal to Lat. *papa* 'food.' The consonantal relations of b/p are repeated in Lat. *bibit* 'drinks,' *potus* 'drunk.' Thus I interpret the inscription to contain directions for fetching *prosecta* to the (altar-) fire on a mount sacred to Jove, and then to burn them in the fire along with a pap of fine flour (*poleenis*: Lat. *pollen*).

The other passage is in the Agnone inscription (von Planta, No. 200): *aasai, purasai, saaktum, tefurum, alttrei, pute-reipid, akenei, sakahiter* 'in ara igniaria sanctum *holocaustum* in altero utroque—sancitur.'

The real difficulty in the above is the word *tefurum*, I take it. I note that in Umbrian *tefra* is practically a dual, being 3 times qualified by 'two' and 1 time by 'three.' We must therefore take *altreii putereipid* here as a distributed dual. Thus I translate the passage: On an altar fit-for-fire the consecrated *tefura* are to be offered, one on one fire and one on another.' For the use of two altars I refer to the scene in Schreiber's *Atlas*, Plate XVII. 1. The entire inscription mentions in fact several altars (v. especially the obverse B), not all of which, probably, were for burnt offerings.

If the above interpretations are correct, and they seem to me more plausible than the current ones, then Italic along with Sanskrit and Old Bulgarian warrants AGNIS.

That AGNIS was the primitive form is no new contention for me (v. *American Journal* NO. CXVIII. VOL. XIII.

of *Philology*, 17, 24 seq). We must after all, so far as it is possible, find the further kin of any word that we study, else no progress in semantics.

I can now strengthen my plea for the kinship of Lat. *ignis* with *agit*: Ennius, *Epicharmus* iii. *agilis* hic | est de sole sumptus *ignis*; Varro, *Bimarcus* iv.; et pater divum trisulcum *fulmen igni* fervido actum | mittat; Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 702: phalarica venit | *fulminis acta* modo; *ib.* x. 633; *agens hiemem*.

In the Rig-Veda *ajirā* 'active' and *ajirācoci* 'quick-flaming' are characteristic descriptions of Agni and, with full allowance for alliteration in Sanskrit, alliteration will not account for the Latin collocations cited.

I have already pointed out (l.c.) that in Greek *αἰγ-λή* 'radiance' stands beside *ἀγλαός* 'radiant, shining' and thus *αἰγ-* and *ἀγ-* form two possibly related bases; and further that *αἰγ-* 'goat' stands beside Skr. *ajā-* 'goat.' I am quite willing to believe that *αἰγ-λή* has no connection with *ἀγλαός*, considering these words alone, or that *αἰξ* 'goat' has no connection with *ajā-*; but taking them together the recurrence of the same phonetic abnormality can not well be set down to separate phonetic accidents. Therefore when I find that in the Rig-Veda there is a root *ej-, ij-, ing-* which is a pretty fair synonym of *aj-*, I conclude that the primitive roots *AIG-* and *AG-* had been confused by some semantic association to such a degree that derivatives of either will be found with meanings in accord. We may then keep the roots separate, if we choose, to suit some phonetic system, but logically it amounts to an identification of the two roots.

The special vowel color of *ignis* may of course be due to its coming from *IGNIS*, in the weakest grade to *AIG*, rather than to its having been put in fore-rhyme with *ictus* 'lightning,' as I have before suggested.

Conceivably cognate with *AIG-* is the root *YAG-*: 'sacrifice (with fire),' weak grade *IG-*. In Sanskrit, *Agni* and *yaj-* with its derivatives are in perpetual association. It is not impossible then that Lat. *ignis* belongs to *YAG-*, and this root I have already claimed for Lat. *Indigetes* (*Classical Review*, 12, 19).

A further Greek word is *αἴγῃ* 'sunlight, firelight,' cf. Skr. *ajās* with the meaning 'shine' reported by native lexicographers but not yet verified in the literature. In the same vowel grade is Albanian *agume* 'dawn' with *ag-* from *AUG-*. If we reverse our diphthong after the *xy/yx* gradations

now in vogue we find in Sanskrit *vakṣi* 'flame,' *vājra-* 'thunderbolt,' and *vāṇi-*, a standing epithet of Agni, further possible cognates. Projecting all this upon an Aryan background we get the following bases on which words for 'fire' are built, viz. :—

(1) AG-,—Skr. *agnī*, O. Bulg. *ognī*, Osc. *ageni-*, cf. Gk. *ἀγ-λαός* 'shining.'

(2) AIG-, alternating with YAG-, Gk. *αἰγ-λή* 'shine,' Lat. *aeger* 'ill' i.e. 'feverish' (cf. Gk. *πυρετός* 'heat, fever' for the sense), and *ignis* 'fire.' For YAG- I note also Gk. *ἀγνίζα* 'burns' (Sophocles).

(3) AUG-, alternating with WAG-, -Gk. *αὖγ-ή* 'light,' Alban. *agume* 'dawn,' Lith. *ugnīs* 'fire.' The Sanskrit forms from WAG- have been mentioned just above. Possibly Lat. *vagus* 'wandering' belongs here; for the meaning cf. *se agit, agitur* 'wanders, moves.'

I have passed in silence over the fact that AGNIS has a pure guttural and AG- appears in the *satem*-languages as a palatal-spirant.¹ I have seen no reason to change the view already expressed in these pages (Vol. II. 298) that the triplicity of gutturals, however completely established for the close of the primitive period, must not be taken too seriously. That *k̐* *k* and *kʷ* are the product of a single K, the first when the environment was palatal, the second in the neighbourhood of unrounded gutturals, the third in the neighbourhood of rounded gutturals,—this supposition, I say, is on the same basis as the fact that in Greek the triplicity of *τ κ π* harks back to the unity of *kʷ*. It is no more a glottogonic speculation to assert the primitive unity of the three Aryan gutturals than it is to acknowledge the possibility of the analogical intermixture of the three series. It is true that in the interests of method the scholars of the last few decades have slighted anything but word for word comparisons, but the science of semantics will demand the arrangement of words in groups. I need not point out how in the verb there was a reason why AG- should take a palatal direction, and how no such reason existed for the noun AGNIS. This is not inconsistent with the usage of Skr. *ajirā-* Lat. *agilis* as epithets of AGNIS. Alliteration and figura etymologica are in essence the same thing. Figura etymologica may cease to be felt and alliteration remain, or consciousness of alliteration be lost and idiom remain. By way of specific defense of the *ġ/g* alternation here involved I may note that in a very recent collection of a mass of material (Bezenberger's *Beitraege* 24, 218, seq.) Hirt has reached the (glottogonic) conclusion that

palatals and pure gutturals are the product of more primitive pure gutturals.

LATIN ANNUS 'YEAR.'

The legitimate inference from the most probable etymologies of isolated words has seemed to me to be that *-āgn-* yielded in Latin *-ān-* or *-ānn-* (cf. *Classical Review* l. c.). Brugmann's examples in the last edition of the *Grundriss* (I, §762, 3) are not isolated words, and therefore prove nothing.

I now have another example of the phonetic change I contend for, viz., *annus* 'year,' which seems to appear in the dialectic forms Umbrian *acno-* and Osc. *aguno-* (?). (cf. von Planta *Grammatik*, Vol. II., p. 603). That in these dialectic forms *-cn-* is the product of *-tn-* as von Planta suggests has nothing to recommend it on the Italic side and is but an attempt to save the relation with Gothic *aþn* 'year,' and the vague reference of *annus* and *aþn* to Skr. *atati* 'wanders.' For myself I must refuse in the main to accept a primitive form that rests on but two languages unless the only possible base of each of the two words recorded leads to the base reconstructed for the primitive period. The *-nn-* of Lat. *annus* does not infallibly go back to *-tn-*.

Believing with von Planta that the dialect words cited most probably mean 'year,' and being convinced that *-cn-* is a possible orthography for *-gn-* in the later as well as the earlier Umbrian tablets, I can see no reason why Lat. *annus*, Umbr. *acno*, Osc. *aguno-* may not be referred to a common Italic base **agno-* : AG- 'drives.'

To understand the development of meaning we must picture to ourselves a nomadic state of civilisation, where there was an annual migration, cf. Caesar's account of the Germans (B.G. iv. 1). Now in a cattle-raising community the driving up of the cattle may have given the name to the year, or first to a season of the year. In the Western part of the United States where cattle-raising is the prevailing occupation the annual *round-up*¹ of the cattle verifies the assumed state of things. Strangely enough our English forefathers used the term 'drift-of-the forest' to designate an annual or semi-annual *drive-up* of the cattle. Still another *motif* back of the stem **agno-* 'year' might be an annual chase of a hunting folk.

That the derivation of *annus* 'year' from the root AG- 'drives' is not pure fancy

¹ It is curious that *annulus*, 'ring,' is also explained by 'round-up.'

seems to be attested by the use of ἀγεί in Greek and *agit* in Latin with words meaning time. We may fairly conclude that the locution *annum agit* is an instance of *figura etymologica*.

We may base an argument against the originality of the *-m-* in *sollemnis* 'every-year' on the possibility that *-m-* for *-nn-* is due to labialisation from the lost *v* of **solvo-*.

OSCAN *amnūd* 'CAUSA.'

The possibility of explaining this word as a derivative from the preposition *ambi-* is not to be denied, but on the other hand it is impossible to prove that derivation. True we have *supīnus* and *pronus*, but who shall tell us that *supīnus* is not a compound like Skr. *ūrdhvā-sānu* 'with back up' and all the more as *sānu* 'back' appears in the weak form *-snu* in compounds in the Rig-veda. We can hardly question that *sānu-*, *-snu-* are extant in Lat. *sinus*. The Sanskrit word means 'ridge, back,' and according to Grassmann, 'surface of the soma-strainer'; *sinus* means 'bosom, bag of a fish-net, garment,' whence we may infer that their primitive meant 'curve, fold, bend.' So we might derive *supīnus* from prim. Ital. **supe-snus* 'with back under.'

The chief difficulty with the word *amnūd* is the passage where it is rendered by 'circuitu' (von Planta, *l.c.* No. 127, 17).

The current interpretation of that passage is, I am convinced, incorrect. All that is left of the word before *amnūd* is the initial letter *r-*, and this has been expanded by conjecture to *rehtud* 'recto' a word not elsewhere recorded in Umbrian. We may just as well restore **reginum* 'regionum.' This makes of the passage in question: *pai teremennū mū (inikad) tanginūd priftūset r(eginum) amnūd* the following sense: 'which bounds have been set up (or approved) by common agreement by way of augural-bounds.' This interpretation yields, I submit, a sense superior to the interpretation now in vogue.

What was the word from which *amnūd* 'causa' got its start? If we first construct *amnūd* as a derivative of *ambi-* and define that by *circuitus*, how shall we pass to *causa*? First by making *circuitu* a prepositional case meaning 'around,' and then assume a development on the lines of Greek ἀμφί or περί? Possible, but hardly probable, and certainly very roundabout.

I propose the following explanation, in the hope that it may seem to others as it

does to me to excel the current one in directness. I would define *amnūd* etymologically by our English prepositional phrase 'by way of,' German 'wegen.' Its Latin cognate, in form merely, is *agmine* (abl.), but in Sanskrit the same word *ājman-* means 'way.' In Oscan *-mn-* is the product of *-gmn-*, though there is no reason why we may not suppose that *g* was lost in this combination in the Italic period.

OSCAN *regvinum*, UMBRIAN *ekvine*.

Supposing that the forms *regvinum raval-anum* are those that really occur on the obverse of a Nucernine coin (cf. von Planta, *l.c.* No. 215 a), and that *ekvine* is meant by the *ekvi ne* of the Iguvine tablets (IIa, 13), I propose the following interpretations for these almost hopelessly difficult words. I will assume that the *v* of both words is parasitic, due to an anticipation of the labial character of the stem *-no-*; or what amounts to the same thing, that *-vi-* is a way of representing a *-ū-* sound; or that it is the result of contamination of anaptyctic *-u-* and *-i(e)-* which would normally vary in the same paradigm to suit the vowel quality of the inflected syllables. If these suppositions may provisionally pass, then I venture to interpret the coin legend as 'Regionum Ravalanorum,' though to what locality the latter of the two words is gentile adjective I can form no conjecture.

As to Umbr. *ekvine* in the sentence *tra ekvine fetu* 'let him sacrifice across the *ekvino-*,' we may perhaps find a clue from the words *persninnu pert spinia* 'let him offer a prayer over the *spinia*' which occur later in the same tablet (36). We are accustomed to understand *spinia* as some sort of a table or altar, and I therefore look for the same sense in *ekvine*. Elsewhere the word *traf* occurs in Umbrian only with the object *sancta-*, and this again seems to mean some sort of 'dike' or 'enclosure about the place of sacrifice' unless it means 'altar.' The word *echinus* 'hedgehog' borrowed into Latin from Greek is the word I see in *ekvine*. The sense 'pot, jar, earthenware' is found in both Greek and Latin. The sense of 'altar,' which I would see in Umbrian, may be a special metaphor of that language: I note that in Homer a group of small islands is called Ἐχίναί, while the Italians, as Virgil tells us, called certain rocks rising up in the sea *Aræ*. The origin of the metaphor may have been very different, however. There is in Guhl and Kohner's *Das Leben der*

Griechen und Römer a cut of a little Greek altar (Fig. 43) with no little resemblance to the volutes and echinus of an Ionic column.

UMBRIAN AMPERIA (IIa 29.)

This word von Planta regards as not yet certainly interpreted. Not much certainly is to be said for Buecheler's *qua pes deficit*, which is a rather lame-footed explanation after all. The text gives us the sentence

amperia persnihmu. Very little certainly to hazard a guess upon. I propose to render into Latin by *ampullas precamino*. It seems that *-r-* in Umbrian sometimes stands for Lat.

-l-, and though the equation between *amperia* and *ampulla* is not absolutely free from objection the sense it furnishes is of the best. Prayers to the sacred vessels were even a characteristic feature of Italian worship (cf. the author in *Trans. of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 29 23), and in line 31 of our tablet we actually have *veskles-persnihmu* 'vasculis precamino.'

LATIN *infula* 'BAND.'

The etymology of Gk. *ἐπενήνοθε* can hardly yet be considered clear. Prellwitz (Woerterbuch, s.v.) gives up the problem, but later, s.v. *ρόθος* 'bastard' gives the old comparison with Skr. *andhá-* 'blind.' It seems to me, however, that we are on safer ground if we refer *andhá-* 'blind, dark' to *adhás* 'under' and its antonym *ádhi* 'over,' a pair whose contrasting meaning shows their pronominal origin (cf. the author l.c. 29 27). The base, according to Prellwitz, was *ENEDHO-*, a base that involves some subtleties of gradation.

The word *ἐπενήνοθε* in every occurrence in Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns may be rendered by 'covered.' It is affirmed of hair on the head and shoulders, nap upon a shaggy cloak, ointment upon the head or body, dust on the shoulders. This is the whole story.

As to its formation I would explain *-ενή-*

νοθε by *ἐνήνοχα*. Its 'root' I take to be *-voθ-* and its primary meaning 'binds.' The Sanskrit cognate is *apinahyāti* 'binds together, covers' (cf. *Rig-Veda* x. 68, 8).

The word *ρόθος* is cognate. I note Skr. *náhu-s* 'friend, neighbour.' It is very curious that the same relation of meaning recurs in O. Fr. *bastir* 'sew, baste' and *filz de bast* 'bastard,' *bast* meaning 'illicit union, liaison.' In *liaison* the same metaphor remains. Is metaphor the permanent thing in language? At any rate the relation between Skr. *sūnás* 'son' and its numerous cognates with *sūnā* 'woven basket,' *sūtra* 'yarn' appears to show the same metaphor (cf. Lat *suit* 'sews'); the puzzle of *filius* 'son' may perhaps be lightened by setting it alongside of *filum* 'thread' (: *figit* 'fastens.') If *filia* could be proved to be older than *filius* then some one might draw us a picture of a primitive Italic 'spinster' to put as a companion piece to the famous Aryan 'milkmaid.' In the terms of our metaphor *servus* 'bondman,' degraded in sense like *ρόθος*, belongs with *serit* 'binds.'

Latin has also an interesting cognate to the root *NEDH-* 'binds,' viz. *infula* ('head-) band,' from *EN-NAEDH-LO-*, with the Italic initial syncopation. At some period before historical Latin began **enflo* was the form of the stem. If we divide this **enflo* there is a choice between explanations for the *-f-* of *infula*; the *f* was either felt as initial in a compound or *-nfl-* when heterosyllabic (cf. the author l.c. p. 25) was not further reduced. This last explanation is applicable, mutatis mutandis, to the word *infra* 'beneath.' With the proper explanation of *combretum* 'rush' as *con-sertum* (cf. the author, l.c. p. 18) the only thing to negative the claim that *-NDHR-* yielded *n-fr* in Latin disappears.

EDWIN W. FAY.

(Lexington, Va.,)
March 14, 1899.

P.S.—Von Planta in the Addenda to his *Grammatik* has anticipated this explanation of *infula*.

Austin, University of Texas,
August, 1899.

ON THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF JUVENAL.

LINE 19 of the longer of the new fragments of Juvenal is presented by the codex as follows :

his languentem animum seruant et seria uitae.

Herr Max Maas who has published in the last number of Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik* (1899), pp. 419 *sqq.* a text of the new fragment, wherein the emendations published in the *Classical Review* of May and June are laid under contribution with good results,¹ together with a translation into German, renders the Latin as follows : 'Für die bewahren sie das wenige was ihnen von Seele und Lebensernst geblieben ist.' But it will be seen that the words which I have put into italics can hardly be said to represent the Latin as it stands. Mr. Herbert Richards wrote to me in the course of last summer suggesting that 'et seria' conceals 'ad seria,' and this, I think, is right. But further change is required as 'languentem,' which has every appearance of being genuine, is still unsatisfactory. It will cease to be so if we shift it two words further on in the line, thus :

his animum seruant languentem ad seria uitae.

'For these creatures they keep the soul which is sickened for life's serious work.' The use of *ad* needs no illustration : still compare Virgil *Aen.* 6. 5 'cessas *ad* uota precesque, | Tros, ait, Aenea.' I take the opportunity of assuring Prof. P. Thomas (see *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* No. 7, 1899, p. 5 of the *extrait*) that the colon I placed at the end of v. 19 was intended to serve the

¹ On p. 422, it may be noted in passing, 'H. Jackson' is an error for 'S. G. Owen.'

same purpose as his comma, that is, to show that the phrase 'quicquid praeterea scit qui docet' was to be construed after 'dis-cunt' in the preceding line.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Magonum pueros uera ac miserabilis urit debilitas. follisque pudet cicerisque relictis.

Hitherto, so far as I know, nothing has been printed about the exact meaning of the words 'follisque pudet cicerisque relictis' : but I am told that the meaning which I attach to them is not that which in general finds favour. So I venture to record my interpretation.

At first sight, taking *follis* to stand for the scrotum, and *cicer* for the testicles, and supposing *relictis* to mean 'left behind' (comp. *relictis rebus*, *passim*), I translated : 'they are ashamed of their empty bag and the peas which they have lost.' To this, my friends, Professor Postgate and Professor Platt object, the former that *relictis* should mean, not 'left behind,' but 'left in their possession,' the latter that *cicer* should mean, not 'peas,' but 'pod.' I am not prepared to say with Professor Postgate that *relictis* cannot mean 'left behind' ; but, on the ground that the unfortunates would more properly be described as 'ashamed of what they still have,' I gratefully accept Professor Postgate's rendering, 'all that is left to them.' Professor Platt's remark, which he backs by a reference to Aristophanes' use of *ἐπέβυνθος* in the sense of *πέος* (see, L. and S.), seems to me indubitably right. Our joint interpretation is then : 'they are ashamed of the bag (the scrotum) and the pod (the penis) which alone remain to them.'

H. J.

25th October, 1899.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ÆSCH. *Agam.* 670, 1.

ὡς μήτ' ἐν ὄρμῃ* κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν
μήτ' ἐξοκέילαι πρὸς κραταίθεων χθόνα.

* ὄρμῃ Wecklein. Dr. Verrall does not seem quite satisfied with this emendation ; but accepts it pro-

visionally. May I suggest ἐν δακῷ, which gives excellent sense without departing very much from the MSS. reading. οἰδματος δακῷ (for waves) is found in Apl. Rhod. I. 1167.

G. F. ABBOTT.

SOPH. *Phil.* 66.—The MSS. read *τούτων γὰρ οὐδέμ' ἄλγυνεῖς*.
 Dindorff corrects *τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλγυνεῖ μ'*.
 Jebb adopts Buttman's emendation:

τούτω γὰρ οὐδὲν μ' ἄλγυνεῖς.

In my opinion, there is no necessity to retain both the ν and μ of the MSS. : the one evidently is a corruption of the other. Nor need we insist on making Odysseus refer to his own feelings, especially as the permission he gives above to Neoptolemus concerns all the Grecian chiefs : *καθ' ἡμῶν* (l. 65).

I venture to propose the mere substitution of ν for μ in the reading of the first hand of the *Laurentianus*, and read :

τούτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλγυνεῖς 'thou wilt cause pain to no one by that.'

G. F. ABBOTT.

* * *

ON SOPHOCLES, *Ajax* 869.—It is ill gleaning after Professor Jebb's harvesting. Nevertheless I venture to suggest that the above passage may not be as corrupt as is so often thought, and to advance a conjecture in support of my view.

Few, I think, will seriously doubt that in the line *κοῦδὲς ἐπίσταται με συμμαθεῖν τόπος* the first and last words, and perhaps too *συμμαθεῖν*, are practically correct. The sense plainly is something like 'no place enables one to learn his whereabouts,' 'no spot makes one cognisant.' The idea of dwelling-places or the like having a story to tell is not unknown, e.g. *Aesch. Ag.* 37, 1090. But even if we allow the legitimacy of Elmsley's construction '*μὲ συμμαθεῖν idem est quod ὥστε συμμαθεῖν*,' we cannot make much out of the traditional text. Suppose it really can mean 'no place knows him so that I could share its knowledge'—what then? Some place *must* know him, for he must be or have been somewhere. And the Greek is so pitiful! Clearly the text is corrupted, —but not much.

I think then that the very slightest of changes will set the line on its feet again. Read for *ἐπίσταται* the almost exactly similar *ἐπικτᾶται*, and we get the statement 'no place takes me to share its knowledge.' Some place certainly has a knowledge of Aias' whereabouts; but it will not communicate it. We have a like use of the verb in *Antig.* 846 *ἐνυμάρτυρας ὑμῖ ἐπικτῶμαι*, where Professor Jebb translates 'ye at least will bear me witness'; Antigone is addressing nature when man has deserted her, and the verb means 'to take a person for the purpose of communicating something to him.' Places may have stories to tell, as I have already remarked; and their silence may be described as a refusal to divulge them by a poet who, like Sophocles, objects to drinking out of the cistern.

L. D. BARNETT.

* * *

EMENDATION OF MANILIUS, V. 372.

Of the bird-fancying tastes which birth under the constellation Cynos produces Manilius writes v. 370):—

*mille fluent artes : aut bellum indicere mundo
 et medios inter volucrum prensare meatus
 aut nido captare suo ramoue sedentem.*

The reading of the last line is Bentley's palaeographically improbable correction for the MS. reading *aut nitidos clamare suis* (with two variants, *nitidis* written over *nitidos* and *dammare* written over *clamare*, in the Gemblacensis). Bentley got his *suo* from a 'codex Venetus,' and if that is right, it is not difficult to find something better than *captare*. Read

aut nido excantare suo ramoue sedentem.

The corruption began by the change of x to s —a change particularly easy in compounds of ex where the vowel was early dropped in Vulgar Latin—and a wrong attachment of the sibilant. An exact parallel is Prop. 3, 11, 58 '*femineo extimuit*' corrupted to '*femineas timuit*.' For *excantare* cf. e.g. Prop. 3, 3, 49, 'ut per te clausas sciat excantare puellas,' and for the meaning Aelian. H.A. 8, 24, *τῷ γὰρ τοι μέλει τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνέων αἰρεῖ τὰ ἀπαλὰ προσπετόμενα τῇ τῆς εὐμουσίας θέλει*, and Mart. 14, 218, 'non tantum calamis sed cantu fallitur ales, | callida dum tacita crescit harundo mora.' The change of *cantare* to *clamare* was perhaps more or less conscious, as *clamare* has the sense of *uocare* in late Latin.

J. P. POSTGATE.

* * *

QUERY ON CICERO, *Cato Maior*, § 28.

CAN any explanation or emendation be offered in connection with the word 'splendescit' in the following passage of Cicero's *Cato Maior* (c. 9, 28):— '*Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce SPLENDESCIT etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute.*'

Can an orator, as such, be said to fail (languescere), if the full clear ring of tone, characteristic of the true orator, acquires increased brilliancy (splendescit) in spite of old age? Dr. Hennings has suggested (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1893) the reading '*s<u>plentescit*' = *sublentescit*. Sommerbrodt considers '*sublentescit*' as not sufficiently comprehensive, hints at a possible reading '*subtenuescit*,' but retains '*splendescit*.' As the passage now stands, a further difficulty presents itself in the subsequent sentence '*sed tamen . . . oratio*,' which takes up the thread of the discourse immediately after '*ne languescat senectute*.' If '*splendescit*' be retained, the sentence introduced by '*sed tamen*' ('but, as I was going to say') loses all point. The '*sublentescit*' of Hennings makes the passage coherent—not satisfactory. The proposed emendation '*subtenuescit*' is scarcely tenable, either paleographically or otherwise. That full clear ring of tone, so peculiar to the genuine orator, does not become thin (*tenuis*) with increasing years, though it slackens and becomes more lingering (*lentum*). Were it not for the laws of paleography, one might venture a third conjecture, '*submitescit*,' which in its sense of gradually becoming more subdued and more mellow expresses the change wrought by old age in '*canorum illud in voce*' and resulting in '*sermo remissus*' and '*mitis oratio*,' which is so suited to an orator advanced in years.

PAUL O. BARENDT.

* * *

REVIEWS.

ROBERTS' *LONGINUS*.

Longinus on the Sublime, the Greek Text edited after the Paris Manuscript with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles and Appendices by W. RHYS ROBERTS, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1899. Pp. x., 288. 9s.

THE lack of a good English edition and commentary has done much to banish Longinus *On the Sublime* from the repertory of English scholars. The attractive and scholarly volume now issued by Prof. Rhys Roberts should restore to the treatise much of that consideration which it enjoyed in the Augustan Age of English Literature, when it had been reinterpreted to men of letters by the version of Boileau. Reaching its own ideal of criticism as 'a last and crowning fruit of long experience' (c. vi.), it deserves a place 'among the Immortals.' Within its own province, which secures it from any direct competition with the *Poetics* of Aristotle, it is the masterpiece of ancient literary criticism, delicate and profound, perennial in interest and fertile in suggestion. And even its technical terms remind us, how little new and independent contribution English has made to the study and analysis of style. Metaphor, climax, period, paraphrase, hyperbole, apostrophe, periphrasis—are they not all naturalised heirlooms, handed down from the schools of Alexandria and Athens? and Prof. Roberts has wisely bowed to the inevitable in admitting *asyndeton*, *anaphora*, *diatyposis* and such like to his translation, paraphrasing their meaning in footnotes.

In lovers of Greek literature it cannot fail to quicken understanding of the specific charms of Homer or Herodotus, Plato or Demosthenes, or to add a sense that literary appreciation is something worth cultivating and worth having, a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ for the enrichment of life. But it appeals to all ages and all schools of criticism. Though the applications are individual, and often delicately subtle and minute, the principles are universal, and the Περὶ Ὑψους gives as good a basis for a critical appreciation of Pope or Tennyson or Rudyard Kipling, as of the Homer or Sappho or Lysias, from whom it draws its actual illustrations. It strengthens faith in the existence and in the study of 'classical' literature, and gives assurance of that survival of the fittest, which guarantees the ultimate prevalence of

genius against the temporary aberrations of envy or stupidity (c. vii. 3-4, xxxvi. 2). Still more remarkable is the note of moral conviction and sincerity that underlies the whole treatment of literary criticism. The secret of style—no less than in Ruskin's teaching the secret of art—lies hid in the depths of character. 'Eloquence is the ring of a great soul'—Prof. Roberts enfeebles the phrase by rendering ἀπήχημα as 'echo' (ix. 2)—is among the aphorisms which give the treatise so much nobility of note. All power of high expression, τὸ ὕψος which he strives to analyse, is the outcome and counterpart of high ideas, proceeding from that 'which lifts men towards the majesty of God'—τὸ ὕψος ἐγγὺς αἶρει μεγαλοφροσύνης θεοῦ (xxxvi. 1). The vocation of the author is ennobling: poet and orator compete with wise men made perfect; they 'write for antiquity,' and stand before the judgment-bar of all posterity (xiii., xiv., xxxv.). If eloquence decays, it cannot be from want of opportunity or even loss of political liberties, but from the deeper and more clinging servitudes of love of pleasure and love of wealth (xliv.).

The general aim and methods of the treatise are well handled in the Second Section of the Introduction (p. 23-37), while the First Section (p. 1-23) deals with the question of authorship. The decision in favour of first century, and probably Alexandrian, authorship might be adopted with even less reserve than Prof. Roberts thinks it right to maintain. The list of authors cited, given at p. 216 in tabular form, goes far in itself to decide the matter; it contains names representing every century from Homer to the first century B.C., and *not one* of later date. The prominence given to Caecilius in the scope and composition of the work, and the passing allusion to Theodorus, are barely reconcilable with third century authorship; while the mainstay of the traditional ascription to Longinus, the reference to Ammonius in xiii. 3, went over to the enemy with fatal effect, when the Venetian scholia revealed the earlier Ammonius, follower of Aristarchus, who wrote τὰ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος μετενηνεγμένα ἐξ Ὁμήρου. The arguments are well marshalled in the Introduction, though the inferences from Vocabulary and Comparative Syntax might be more fully and firmly established.

matter of arrangement the interests of the philologist have from this point been sacrificed to those of the general reader or the literary critic. With a writer so fanciful and often so 'precious' in diction, so free with ἀπαξ λεγόμενα (not very far short of one per page), so loose in symmetry and structure of clause, so mannered in the ordering of words, handling terms and topics outside the beat of 'School' authors, it is no doubt a comfort to have an English version upon the facing page. Such an arrangement is justified by the scheme and intention of the book; but accepting this, and as a consequence the relegation of Notes to the end of the Text, the elaboration of Appendices is needlessly harassing to the Greek student. Variants and sources of quotation are at the foot of the Text. Appendix A headed 'Textual' throughout, first deals with Manuscripts; then passes into 'Critical Notes,' which contain much that is not 'critical' at all. The whole of p. 174 for instance is concerned with interpretation of rare architectural terms; and the artificial severance between the treatment of text and exegesis breaks completely down. Next comes Appendix B, with page-headings 'Linguistic,' which deals first with points of grammar and comparative vocabulary, and then passes into a Glossary, chiefly of Rhetorical terms disposed alphabetically, but including particles like αὐτίκα, αὐτόθεν, γοῦν, μήποτε, πάντη or words such as νᾶναι, πίπτειν and προσπίπτειν, and φαντασία, whose interest is solely exegetical or in some speciality of use. These critical and linguistic Appendices should take the form of Notes, and classification by Chapter and Section would be more convenient than by page and line. Appendix C, called Literary, opens with a good Tabular Analysis of the whole work, which for ease of reference should precede the text; then deals with authors and citations alphabetically, including an elaborate Excursus upon Moses, and giving a last place to the unnamed Longinus. While Appendix D supplements an excellent Bibliography with some pages upon the influence of the work on the French, German, and English Schools of Literary Criticism, which it would have been easy and more judicious to incorporate in the Introduction.

To come to details. Appendix C, on authors cited, is excellent, and on the whole well-proportioned. In referring to authorities, there is some tendency to ignore the obvious, and quote the recondite. Under Gorgias, for instance, it would have been more to the purpose to refer to the appendix

in Thompson's *Gorgias*; and knowledge of Hecataeus may be gained without access to Giacomo Tropea's monograph.

The Translation has been executed with care and skill, and is more faithful to the original than other English versions. Longinus is a difficult author to understand, and still more to translate. The main defect of this translation is want of nerve, and also of lightness of touch. In dealing with a writer, who revels in polysyllabic comparatives and superlatives (ἀξιοθανμαστότερον, σωματοειδέστερον, μεγαλοῤῥημόνεστερα, κ.τ.λ.), who must give big verbs big inflections (e.g. τελεσιουργεῖσθαι, καταρχαιρεσιάζεσθαι, κεκαλλιγραφημένοι), and who habitually overloads both words and sentences, it is deadly to expand ὅπως οὖν into 'in whatever form it presents itself' (xv. 1), or πῶς into 'in a mysterious way' (xiv. 1). The sentence in which the latter occurs may be taken as characteristic: προσπίπτοντα γὰρ ἡμῖν κατὰ ζῆλον ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ οἷον διαπρέποντα τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνοίσει πῶς πρὸς τὰ ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα becomes 'for those personages, presenting themselves to us and inflaming our ardour and as it were illumining our path, will carry our minds in a mysterious way to the high standards of sublimity which are within us.' προσπίπτοντα, πρόσωπα, οἷον, διαπρέποντα, πῶς, ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα are all in succession overdone, and it would be simpler and truer to write 'their great examples kindle our emulation, and are like beacon-lights to raise our souls to ideal standards of excellence.' Or to take a single phrase, 'vividness of form' comes closer to ταῖς τῶν σχημάτων εἰδοποιήταις than 'the visualising qualities of these figures' (xviii. 1). Here and there, e.g. in his 'stomach' for ἀναγκοφαγήσαι (xxx. 1), 'maim' for ἀκρωτηριάζει (xxxix. 3), and 'scale the heights' for ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων (xxxiii. 2), Prof. Roberts has given excellent samples of the thing required, while his 'wizened' is a really brilliant attempt at rendering the rhetorical κατασκελετούμενα of ii. 1. Elsewhere he misses obvious chances; 'a richly caparisoned style' is heavy for the 'jingling his bells' (κῶδωνας ἐξήφθαι) of the original (xxiii. 4), and ἀγῶνος ἐμπλεων (xxvi. 3) is 'in the thick of the fray' rather than 'full of active participation.'

Slips are somewhat numerous, but do not detract from a high standard of general excellence. In i. 4 ἀθρόαν is 'at a stroke' rather than 'in all its plenitude.' In the face of fixed technical usage, it is impossible to give βάθος (ii. 1) the sense 'lofty' or

'profound'; it is unmistakably the opposite, not the equivalent, of *ὑψος*. In ii., and I believe in almost (if not quite) every other passage of the work, *πάθος* and *παθητικόν* should be rendered 'emotion' and 'emotional,' rather than by 'passion' and 'passionate'; *φορά* is 'impulse,' rather than 'momentum' or 'transport' (xx. 2). In iii. 2 and x. 7 *φλοιώδης* means 'superficial,' 'showy,' rather than 'frivolous'; this metaphorical use of *φλοιός* is common in Hellenistic rhetoricians and philosophers, e.g. Diogenes Laertius, Lucian, M. Antoninus, and Plutarch, and *φλοιώδης* hardly deserves to be singled out (p. 211) as specifically Plutarchean. In iv. 3 'speaks of' is very inadequate for *ἐπιφωνεῖ* 'declaims against' or 'denounces.' In vii. 3 *μόνης τῆς ἀκοῆς* is used of the grandiloquence that 'appeals only to the ear,' not that which 'does not survive a first hearing.' In viii. 1 *πεποιημένη* has its technical sense 'poetical,' and *σύνθεσις* (as c. xxxix. shows) is used specifically of the order or arrangement of words. *Ἐποικονομία* in xi. 2 is among the *ἀπ. λεγ.*, but has probably the sense of 'accumulation'—like the rhetorical term *ἐποικοδομεῖν*, which occurs xxxix. 3—rather than of 'orderly arrangement' which misses the force of the preposition. In xiii. the rendering of *στόμα* by 'caves' quite misses the reference to the 'mouths' of seers; the *ἀποχετευσάμενος* is of 'irrigation runnels' derived from Homer, and the translation 'tributary streams' (repeated from Havell) introduces an unfortunate confusion. In § 4 the substitution of *εἰδῶν* for *ἡθῶν*, especially in so conservative a text, seems indefensible, and I should prefer to render 'It is no question of stealing, but rather a reproduction of beautiful traits, or forms or products of art.' In xiv. 3 *αὐτόθεν* cannot possibly mean 'from the very thought,' but has its usual sense (cf. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 1) of 'thereupon.' In xv. *φαντασία* merely means 'imagination'; the translation 'images' and the comparison with Stoic usage (p. 210) only confuse a quite common Hellenistic use of the word. In xv. 8 *προσεκρίπτων* is a misreading or misprint for *προεκρίπτων* (compare xxxviii. 1), and the sense is curiously confused; the author is only pointing out that the limits and province of imagination differ in poetry and in oratory, and that in oratory deviations into poetry and fable and the world of the romantic and impossible are fatally out of place. *Τόπος* in xvi. 1, and again xvii. 1, has its common technical meaning 'topic,' and the rendering 'place' gives bad Greek in both places:

later in the same chapter the technical implication of *ὁρκων πίστις*, associated with *ἀπόδειξις*, *παράδειγμα*, *ἐγκώμιον* and *προτροπή*,—a clear reminiscence of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*—is missed; and there is the same want of perception in translating *ὁ τύπτων, ὁ παθών*, and *ὁ βρίζων* by 'the smiter,' 'the sufferer' and 'insolence' (c. xx.).

In later chapters, the interpretation of *πρόχρησις* (xxvii. 2), a *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*, as 'preferential use,' seems quite impossible, and *πρόσχρησις* should be adopted: *τὰ ἔρμηνευτικά* means 'expression,' just as the substantive in v. 1 and xliii. 3: *ὀλοσχερῶς* (xliii. 4) cannot mean 'in massive images,' but has its usual Hellenistic sense 'in general terms,' and the 'hills and eminences' of baggage quite out-Herod the 'mounds and ridges' of the original. In xxxvi. 3 *τὸ ὑπεραίρον* is transitive, just as *αἶρει* in xxxvi. 1; *κατάρυθμα* and *κατερρυθμισμένα* mean 'reduced to rhythm' not 'over-rhythmical'; *τόνος* (xxxiv. 5) means 'intensity' not 'the tone'; and *ἥθος* has nothing to do with 'character-sketches' in xxix.

Among more debatable points, the author's partiality for such *συν-* compounds as *συνακμάζειν*, *συγχρησθαι*, *συνεξομοιῶσθαι*, *συνηγεῖν* and many more, convinces me that *συνκινεῖν* and *συνκίνησις* imply 'sympathetic emotion,' and not '*commotus animi*.' *περιγραφή* xi. 3—like the common *περιγράφειν* of Stoic writers—means 'circumscription,' in the sense of 'isolation' or *ἐκλογή* of main ideas; and I am tempted, though usage and tradition are here both upon the side of Dr. Roberts, to suggest a *middle* sense for *παρολιγοῦμενον* in xxxiii. 2, as 'an element of disdainfulness,' that is somewhat contemptuous in its disregard of rules and conventions; this seems more appropriate and relevant than to interpret it passively as = *παρορώμενον*. Two difficult passages invite fuller consideration. The first is the well known crux at the end of c. x. *λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ὡσανεὶ ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα <ἐς> μεγέθη συνοικονομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα*, where Prof. Roberts introduces *ἐς* without MS. authority, makes *ψύγματα* accusative to *ἐμποιοῦντα*, and (misunderstanding I think a use of *magnitudines* in Vitruvius) interprets *μεγέθη* as 'big edifices,' and translates: 'For these faults mar the effect of the whole, just as though they introduced chinks or fissures into stately and coörded edifices, whose walls are compacted by their mutual adjustment.' *Μέγεθος* is one of the commonest words in the *Περὶ Ὑψους*, and has *always* the sense 'size, greatness,' and

to that we must adhere here; ἐς has no manuscript support, and the construction with ἐμ-ποιεῖν is intolerable; so indeed is the 'Homeric' architectural sense attributed to ἐμποιεῖν. I understand ἐμποιεῖν in the familiar sense 'to give an idea,' 'produce an impression,' and take the ὡσανεῖ clause, as position suggests, as nominative in apposition to ταῦτα. ψύγματα and ἀραιώματα are clearly architectural terms, indicating superficial or trivial adjuncts, which detract from the sense of structural mass and solidity. 'Chinks and fissures' are misleading. By ψύγματα I understand decorative 'voids' or loopholes, and by ἀραιώματα taper or tracery work of any kind, such as the crockets and finials of medieval architecture. The συντετειχισμένα—and there is no kind of authority for the ingenious but unlikely correction συνεστοιχισμένα—gives the clue to the precise figure present to the writer's mind, that namely of a *rampart* weakened by perforated courses or by ragged embrasure, pinnacle, or parapet work. Finally to συνοικονούμενα—and in this architectural context it is quite unlikely that an original συνοικοδούμενα would have been corrupted—I give the sense 'contracted,' or 'reduced,' which is approached by οἰκονομία in its transition to 'economy.' I would thus offer as a rendering of the two final clauses—in which 'winnowed' is fatal to the imagery employed—the following: 'Carefully selecting their main points and giving them just value, they combined them in a stately whole, allowing nothing flimsy, mean, or trivial to intrude: for such adjuncts only mar the general effect, like loopholes or tracery, giving the impression of reduced mass, if juxtaposed as fretwork in a rampart face.'

Without discussing details in the corrupt ending of c. xlii., I suggest as a plausible reconstruction—συγκοπή μὲν γὰρ κολούει τὸν νοῦν, συντομία δ' ἐπενθύνει τὰ ἀκαιρον μῆκος ἀνανόμενα· δῆλον δ' ὡς ἔμπαλιν τὰ ἐκτάδην ἀπόψυχα—'Curtness cripples the sense, while compression gives point to thoughts that will not bear undue expansion. Prolixity, conversely, is fatal to life.'

To the positive reconstruction of the Greek text Prof. Roberts has contributed nothing, except by resolute adherence to the readings of *P*, which (perhaps consciously) he carries to excess. The retention of ἐπέστραπται in xii. 3, in the face of Bentley's 'inevitable' ἀπαστράπτει, shows serious defect of instinct. True ἐπεστραμμένος (like κατεστραμμένος and συνεστραμμένος) is used of λόγος or of style, and—in a quite different

sense—Demosthenes is said ἐπιστρέφειν τὸν λόγον πρὸς τινα, but that no more justifies Δημοσθένης ἐπεστράπτει than the use of *pressus* of Tacitean style would justify *Tacitus premitur* for 'Tacitus is condensed'! ἐπέστραπται is not Greek, while ἀπαστράπτει perfectly fits the passage, and repeats itself in the καταβροντᾷ καὶ καταφέγγει, and the θᾶπτον ἂν τις κερανοῖς φερομένοις ἀντανοῖζαι τὰ ὄμματα δύναιτο 'one could sooner face thunderbolts unwinking,' of c. xxxiv. In xxxii. 8, as ὁμως αὐτὸ is quite untranslatable, Tucker's brilliant ὁ Μῶμος αὐτοῦ, with its easy dittography, certainly deserves acceptance, unless something better should be offered; the αὐτοῦ, to which the note takes exception, seems to me not only admissible, but necessary; as for post-classical usage, the word occurs in Plutarch, and the personification in Babrius. Similarly ὑστεροφημίας may safely be replaced for ἕτερα φήμης in xliv. 8. Another proposal of Tucker's, εἰδυλλικῶς for ἡδὺ λιτῶς in xxxiv. 2, is properly rejected, for the word is quite inappropriate of Hyperides; but editors have not seen that the clause needs punctuation, and that a comma is wanted after ἡδύ. Then λιτῶς, which is used of simple fare and has nothing to do with 'piquancy,' reinforces the μετὰ ἀφελείας of preceding clause, and qualifies ἐφηνόμενον. 'His gift of characterisation is sweet and well-flavoured, though always *simple* in its flavouring.' In the last clause of c. xxxiii., ἢ οὐδεὶς seems quite impossible; surely ἀλλὰ (for MS. ἦ) has been lost in the termination of preceding ἀνυχέστατα. In l. 7 of the treatise, Spengel's εἶγε—introducing a genitive absolute!—seems no better than MS. εἶτ', or Manutius' εἶτ', and certainly use in i. 4 is not a parallel; ἄτε at once sets all right, and the facsimile shows how easily the error may have occurred.

The Glossary, forming part of Appendix B, contains useful notes, especially on Rhetorical terms, but for Hellenistic Lexicography, particularly of a technical kind, criticism of Liddell & Scott is surely gratuitous. There is but one reference to Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, and that not very happy, for ἐμφερόμενα in xii. 2 means 'that bear upon,' 'that are concerned in,' rather than 'constituent parts.' But for illustration of διαίρειν, διάγραμμα, διάρσις, or again of σχολικός, εὐπινεία, μεταβολή, or almost any of the words here glossed, the stores of the *Thesaurus* would have proved invaluable. As matters of interpretation, δεινότης 'oratorical power' is quite distinct from δεινῶσις 'rhetorical intensification'; the sense of

'craving popularity' attributed to *δοξοκοπεῖν* is impossible in xxiii. 2, and unsuitable to the passage quoted from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*; neither is *κόπτειν τὴν δόξαν* 'to hit (some one else's) fancy' possible Greek: the word is framed on the same model as *γνωμοτυπεῖν*, and means exactly to be 'sententious,' 'opinionated,' of one who 'coins' or who 'raps out opinions' too dogmatically; the sense 'conceit' is quite admissible in M. Anton. xi. 18. *τοῦ περιέχοντος* is of course neuter, not masculine understanding *ἀήρ*, and for usage such passages as M. Ant. iv. 39, viii. 54 give better comparisons than the *Eurip. Fr.* cited; in the same way *τῶν παραφώνων* xxviii. 1 represents τὰ παράφωνα rather than παράφωνα φθόγγοι as given

in Index. It would have been better to omit particles from the Special Glossary, and the notes on *ἀμέλει*, *αὐτίκα* and *γούν* are quite at fault.

Though not free from flaws, the book is a valuable addition to English Classical literature, and deserves a place on the shelves of all scholars and humanists. They will find in it delight and stimulus. The volume is a fragment of a larger literary scheme, which has our heartiest sympathy, and for the execution of which Prof. Rhys Roberts shows himself highly qualified. It is most satisfactory to see English scholars turning their energies to the too neglected fields of Hellenistic literature.

GERALD H. RENDALL.

HATZFELD AND DUFOUR'S *POETICS*.

La Poétique d'Aristote.... Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et MÉDÉRIC DUFOUR. Lille. 1899. Pp. lxiii. 121.

MESSRS. Hatzfeld and Dufour give us a text with a translation opposite and very brief notes below, preceded by an introduction of sixty pages in which some of the main points involved in the *Poetics* are dealt with. The notes are terse and clear, but too few, brief, and elementary to be of much use, except to quite young students; difficulties are not discussed, and very little information is given as to points in the history of the drama. The translation seems to be in most places very accurate. But what do the editors mean by saying that *οἱ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν* (1. 3) is equivalent to *οἱ ὀρχηστὰι*? The notes on *οὐχ ὅτι* (4. 5) and *πρὸς ὃ ἐστι* (21. 4) are far from clear, and perhaps point to some misunderstanding. In 26. 1 the editors fail to see that *λίαν* goes with

φορτική, and that in *ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς προσθῇ* the performer, not the poet, is meant. They do not quite seize the meaning of *τὸ τερατώδες* (14. 2). The text is very conservative, so much so, indeed, that it adheres to impossibilities like the *Ἀθηναῖοι* of 3. 3. One or two things which are, at any rate to me, novelties, do not recommend themselves. Such is the insertion of a stop after *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγωδίας* in 9. 3, and the theory given for 16. 5. The introduction puts clearly and well some of the main doctrines of the treatise, confirming and illustrating what is said from other Aristotelian writings. The most interesting part of it is the rejection of the 'physiological' or homoeopathic theory of the *κάθαρσις*. The editors contend that pity and fear are brought by tragedy to an Aristotelian mean and that comedy in like manner effects an *éducation du rire*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ZIMMERHAECKEL ON CAESAR'S RHINE-BRIDGE.

C. Julius Caesars Rheinbrücke, Comm. de Bell. Gall. iv., 17. Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch von F. ZIMMERHAECKEL, Sekondelieutenant. Mit 28 Figuren im Text und einer Tafel. 12 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1899. 1 M.

THE author of this paper—a reprint from the 29th and 30th vols. of the *Zeitschrift für*

Mathematischen und Naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht—has much the same title to be heard upon his subject as had Aug. von Cohausen, also a Prussian Officer of Engineers. As was to be expected, his criticisms are eminently practical, and to reconstruct the bridge as he conceives it, would, under his guidance, be perfectly simple to his own countrymen. Englishmen

might find it rather less easy, because of a certain looseness of language, and interchange of technical terms, which render Herr Zimmerhaeckel at times quite as difficult as Caesar.

Omitting minor problems, there are, as is well known, two great puzzles in Caesar's account of his bridge-building (*B. G.*, iv., 17), viz. (a) What were the *fibulae* wherewith the trestles were secured? and (b) What was the nature of the outworks—*defensores*—added to strengthen and secure the bridge from damage? As the Commentators have been unable heretofore to arrive at any agreement on either point, the opinion of a practical engineer, familiar moreover with their various views, ought to be of real value.

(a). As to the *fibulae*, all that Caesar tells us is that there were two at each end of each of the cross-beams (*trabes*) which combined with the great main piers (*tigna*) of the bridge to form the trestles; and that these *fibulae* served to hold the *trabes* and *tigna* in position. Nothing being said as to the material, shape, or mode of fixing them, it is not surprising that the Commentators have been tempted to indulge in a little amateur engineering. So Cohausen understands them as 'Durchstecker,' von Goeler as 'Spannriegel,' Kraner as 'Eiserne Bolzen,' Dr. Maurer as 'Keil,' Dr. Rheinhard as 'Zangen,' Köchly-Rüstow as 'Klammer,' and Napoleon as 'Diagonalverstrebung.' Various as these suggestions are, they at any rate do no violence to Caesar's Latin, and any one of them might reasonably serve the purpose in view. In the lack of information, no certainty is possible. Herr Zimmerhaeckel declares in favour of a modification of Cohausen's view, and believes that the *fibulae* were merely bars of undressed wood laid in the alternate acute angles of the X-cross formed by the junction of the horizontal *trabes* with the sloping *tigna*; viz., one *fibula* in the outer and lower angle, the other in the inner and upper angle. To hold them in place they were stoutly roped to each other, the essential point being that, while remaining firmly inter-connected, they should nevertheless move with freedom. This, he says, is a recognised method in modern bridge-building. His view is, at any rate, far the simplest yet proposed, and under the circumstances simplicity was, next to strength, the primary object.

(b). In regard to the *defensores*, the Commentators have displayed an equal freedom of fancy, but without the same excuse; for

Caesar has told us *in extenso* both the manner of constructing the outworks and the purpose which they were to serve. The passage runs:—

Ac nihilo secius publicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis exciperent; et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent. (*B. G.*, iv., 17, §§ 9, 10).

It is here distinctly stated that the outworks on the down-stream side are made of *publicae* arranged *oblique*; that they are beneath the bridge, and built into the fabric of it; and that their purpose is to shelter the piers of the bridge from the force of the stream. On the up-stream side they are constructed in exactly the same way (*item*), but some little distance away; and their purpose here is to protect the piers from the impact of floating objects such as logs or wrecking-ships.

I may perhaps be permitted to point out four points which cannot be ignored if the passage is to be rightly understood.

(1) *Sublica* signifies a *perpendicular* pile. The proof is in §4 of the same chapter, where Caesar says that the great main piers (*tigna*) were driven in the river-bed *non sublicae modo directe ad perpendicularum sed prone ac fastigate*. *Sublica* therefore cannot mean any sort of *sloping* pile.

(2) *Oblique* does not mean 'slanting from the perpendicular,' an idea which Caesar expresses in the passage just quoted by *prone* and *fastigate*. A reference to the Dictionary will show that the proper sense of *obliquus* is 'crosswise on the flat.' It is used *e.g.*, of a snake crossing the line of a road, and here of a line of *publicae* running athwart the line of the stream.

(3) *Excipere vim fluminis* is used only of an object which, being itself higher up the stream, covers and protects an object lower down. See *e.g.*, Livy, xxi., 28. It cannot be made to mean 'resist the thrust of the stream.'

(4) *Item* can only mean that the arrangement of the *publicae* on both sides of the bridge was in the main the same. The only differences were those mentioned—viz., in regard to position (*mediocri spatio*, contrasted with *cum omni opere coniunctae*) and in regard to purpose (*exciperent vim fluminis*, contrasted with *vis minueretur*, &c.).

With the single exception of G. Long—and I am indebted to Dr. Postgate for

pointing out to me that Long, years ago, enunciated a view practically identical with that which I had myself arrived at—I can find no commentator (whether English, German, or otherwise) who has explained the passage without violating Latinity in one or all of these four points. The *fons et origo mali* in the whole problem appears to be the blunder—I cannot trace its first exponent—of translating *excipere vim fluminis* as if it meant ‘receive or resist the thrust of the stream.’ From this it was inferred that the bridge required to be propped up, an idea which Caesar expressly contradicts; and henceforward, at any rate from Kraner’s time, the prop-theory has held the field. I am unable to discover a single commentator, Long excepted, since Kraner’s edition of 1855, who has not accepted the prop-theory in whole or part. Cohausen, acknowledging the presence of *item*, actually put props on both sides of the bridge! But the majority of German commentators from Von Goeler to Hamp have adopted the view approved also by Rheinhard, according to which there was on the down-stream side a prop, and on the up-stream side a V-shaped *pfahlsystem* in front of each pier. This view (which quite ignores *item*, disregards the sense of *sublica* and *oblique*, and makes an absurdity of *vim fluminis excipere*) is approved also by Herr Zimmerhaeckel. It is the popular view in Germany, France, England and America, so far as I have been able to discover. In its simplest form it was enunciated by Kraner, confirmed in the Kraner-Dittenberger edition, and thence borrowed by Messrs. Bond and Walpole. Mr. St. G. Stock (Oxford Press, 1898) adopts it, as improved by Rheinhard, without question. The earlier Oxford edition by Moberly likewise has it, *plus* the impossible arrangement of *fibulae* which Napoleon invented. Messrs. Bryans and M'Dowall also follow Rheinhard, and Mr. Peskett (Cambridge Press, 1895) only differs in substituting for the V-shaped *pfahlsystem* a single pile slanting up stream—a really ingenious concession to that troublesome *item*!

I venture to suggest that the following explanation, in substance that of Long, is the correct one, if only on the ground that it does no violence to the Latin of the text. V-shaped stockades of perpendicular piles were driven into the river-bed in such a way that the apex of each pointed up stream

and its arms therefore lay slant-wise athwart the course of the stream. One such stockade was constructed to each pier of the bridge. As the piers on the down-stream side sloped up-stream, the *defensores* on this side were actually beneath the piers, the latter sloping over and resting upon them, so that the stockade served as a buttress (*pro ariete subiectae*), and pier and stockade could be securely fastened to one another (*cum omni opere coniunctae*). In no other position could the outwork serve *excipere vim fluminis*—i.e., to intercept the rush of the current against the down-stream piers. With the piers on the up-stream side it was different, for these sloped down-stream. As the *defensores* on this side were intended to intercept floating objects, obviously they could not be under the piers; and equally obviously, owing to the slope of the piers, the *sublicae* on this side could only be driven in at some little distance back (*mediocri spatio*); and this again explains why they were not on this side built in to the whole fabric, as were the corresponding works on the lower side.

This explanation gives the only possible value to *excipere vim fluminis*, to *item*, and to *oblique*, while it recognises also Caesar’s own idea of a *sublica*; and the engineering difficulties which it offers are none. The engineers who could manage the great piers would make light of driving these *sublicae*, though they might well have hesitated about handling the colossal ‘props’ of the popular view, even if they could find the trees of which to make them.

Long misunderstood the phrase *pro ariete subiectae*, and on certain other minor points he is in error, and his notes on the passage are not very clear, at times even inconsistent. But he had grasped the main points in the puzzle, and the illustration which he gives shows the *defensores* in the correct position, albeit, ridiculously attenuated in proportion to the rest of the Bridge. His edition was stereotyped as long ago as 1863, and has since been reissued constantly, which makes it the more curious that his explanation should have borne no fruit in the labours of so many later commentators. It would be interesting to learn whether the same explanation has occurred to any commentator of any other nation, only to be passed over in the same inexplicable silence.

A. H. ALLCROFT.

SCHENKL ON GRATTIUS.

Zur Kritik und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Grattius und anderer lateinischer Dichter, von HEINRICH SCHENKL (besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierundzwanzigsten Supplementband der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie). Leipzig (Teubner), 1898. (Pp. 98, viz. 383-480.) M. 3. 60.

THIS is a valuable contribution to the study of the text of Grattius and establishes once for all the relationship of the different MSS. of the poet. But it is also something more. It cannot be too strongly recommended to the student of Latin textual criticism for the light which it throws on two stages in the history of, we may say, all Latin MSS., the stage of transcription from the old to the Carolingian minuscule and the stage immediately preceding the first printed editions. The perusal of Dr. Schenkl's critical apparatus, in which the variants in the sixteenth century copies made by Sannazaro are placed together under the text of the actual MS. which Sannazaro copied, teaches us how and to what extent we are to look for deviations in Renaissance MSS. from their originals. Every editor of Latin authors whose text depends on codices of this period will derive benefit from a study of this critical apparatus. The faults characteristic of Renaissance transcribers are however more or less familiar to us. The critical apparatus of such editions as Schneidewin's *Martial* gives satisfactory indication of them, although not so direct and cogent testimony as is presented to us here. But the textual corruption incident at the earlier period of transcription is, I think, not sufficiently apprehended by Latin editors. The ordinary text-books on Latin Palaeography supply us with a list of the contractions and the forms of letters used by Carolingian but not pre-Carolingian scribes. These contractions and forms of letters are

generally all that the average editor knows about Latin minuscule. And yet, if he reflect how slight change there was in minuscule writing from the introduction of the Carolingian script to the twelfth century, we shall see how little room there was for mistakes in transcription during all that period. The time of all others for corruption of Latin texts was the time when the old irregular minuscule, with its confused ligatures, its perplexingly similar letters, its capricious abbreviations, came to be transcribed into the smooth, regular, unmistakable Carolingian script. It is the knowledge of the peculiarities of pre-Carolingian minuscule that is of most service to an editor in the removal of the corruptions of transcription; and unfortunately, specimens of the early minuscule are few and far between and little information is supplied in the manuals of Latin Palaeography. Students will find of service the remarks of Dr. Schenkl on the peculiarities of the pre-Carolingian script of the parent MS. of Grattius in the Vienna Library (Vind. lat. 277) and his reproductions on p. 477 of some of its characteristic ligatures. But above all they should carefully peruse the facsimile of a page of this MS. in Chatelain's *Paléographie des Classiques latins* (plate 101) and employ Schenkl's critical apparatus to discover the deviations from this original that occur in (1) the Codex Thuaneus, a Carolingian minuscule MS., (2) the transcriptions by Sannazaro. It is high time that the old style of baseless emendation were abandoned and that every editor should be able to account on good palaeographical grounds for any corruption which he ventures to ascribe to the traditional text. The study of books like Dr. Schenkl's Grattius will help to bring about this desired result.

W. M. LINDSAY.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Xenophon. Hellenica I., II. Edited with Introduction and Notes by G. M. EDWARDS. Pp. xlviii., 168. Cambridge University Press. 1899. Price 3s. 6d.

Suetonius. History of Twelve Caesars.

Translated into English by PHILEMON HOLLAND, anno 1606. With an Introduction by CHARLES WHIBLEY. 2 vols. Pp. xxxviii., 283; vi., 311. Nutt. 1899 24s. nett.

The Works of Horace rendered into English Prose. With Life, Introduction, and Notes by WILLIAM COUTTS, M.A., Senior Classical Master, George Watson's College, Edinburgh; formerly Assistant Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. xxxi., 240. Longmans. 1898. Price 5s. nett.

SCHANZ. *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur.*

II. I. Theil. Die römische Litteratur in der Zeit der Republik (2nd ed.). Beck, München. 1898. Pp. xviii., 421. Mk. 7.50.

Latin Manuscripts. An Elementary Introduction to the use of Critical Editions for High School and College Classes. By HAROLD W. JOHNSTON, Ph.D., Professor of Latin in the University of Indiana, Chicago. Scott, Foreman & Company. 1897. Pp. 135, with Plates and Illustrations. Price \$3.

Carmina Anglica Latine reddidit Leo Josia Richardson, Sancti Francisci apud Carolum A. Murdoch. 1899. (Unpaged: 7 versions).

Greek Prose Phrase-book based on Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Plato. By H. W. AUDEN, M.A., Assistant Master at Fettes College. Blackwoods, Edinburgh. 1899. Pp. ix., 112 (interleaved with writing paper). Price 1s. 6d.

Forum Latinum. A First Latin Book. By EDWARD VERNON ARNOLD, Litt.D. Edward Arnold. 1899. Pp. viii., 312. Price 3s.

Separat abdrücke aus den Jahrbüchern für klassische Philologie. By E. DRERUP, W. OTTO, JOH. SCHWAB, and E. DIEHL. Teubner, 1898-99.

THE name of Mr. G. M. Edwards on the title page of a school commentary is a sufficient guarantee that it will be practical and well adapted to its object, and in this edition of books I. and II. of Xenophon's *Hellenics* his careful preparation and cautious judgment do not fail. The most noticeable feature of the book is the pains bestowed on grammatical elucidations, and perhaps its most original the revival of the *variorum* principle. Mr. Edwards quotes freely from the authorities which he has used so judiciously, and the quotation is assigned in conscientious capitals. The effect is a little heterogeneous, especially as the quotations are sometimes banal enough, e.g. that on p. 140 on the policy of Nicias, while at other times, as on p. 153 (III. iv. 18 from Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*), they include matter actually irrelevant or misleading.

In textual matters Mr. Edwards is conservative but not unduly so; and, as he has accepted a correction of mine at II. iii. 31, I will suggest to him that in I. vi. 32 οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκείται, which he justly stigmatizes as ungrammatical, requires only to be changed to οἰκῆται; the pres. subjunctive is not only more appropriate but it has a parallel in Xenophon himself (*Anab.* II. 2. 12, quoted by Mr. Edwards on *Anab.* IV. 8. 13). Also that at II. iii. 36, while παρακηκοέναι 'failed to hear,' (Wytttenbach) is undoubtedly an excellent emendation of παρανενομηκέναι, Xenophon may have written παρανενοηκέναι, 'failed to comprehend,' which is obviously nearer to the letters and may be supported by Plato, *Theat.* 195 A, where the two verbs are joined, παρακούουσι καὶ παρανοοῦσι. In a new edition Mr. Edwards might warn his youthful readers against copying the un-Attic forms as ἔδωκαν (p. 85) and un-Attic usages as the employment of σύν (p. 147) which abound in Xenophon.

All interested in monuments of Latin and English literature will be glad that old Philemon Holland's 'splendid' translation of Suetonius is once more accessible. The translation, of whose exterior appearance it is enough to say that it is in Mr. Nutt's Tudor Series, is preceded by a literary introduction from the vigorous and facile pen of Mr. C. Whibley. Reprints, like this, should of course follow their originals *litteratim*; but this should not be held to preclude the editor from correcting in a note slight errors of the printer or, it may be, lapses of the author. It would not, for example, have been deemed officious to set right the spelling of καὶ ἵνα συντιμῶ πάντα μαλᾶγμα *Moecharum* (vol. i. p. 268) or (*ib.* p. 248) to have made metre and sense of the quotation from Euripides πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν δυσχέρως πεσεῖν—a very ludicrous erratum. Let us hope that the success of this translation of Suetonius may be such as to tempt some publisher to give us the Livy and the Pliny; for of no two Latin authors are good translations into English more needed. To this hope I would join a suggestion. Let the translation be printed as it stands; but let notes be added, correcting the mistakes into which the old translator has fallen and bringing up his work to the level of our present knowledge. Such a translation would be a boon to the lovers of literature and the lovers of scholarship.

It would not be easy to find a greater contrast to Philemon Holland than Mr.

William Coutts. The first paragraph of the preface to his prose translation of Horace gives his view of a translator's duties: 'A version should be produced at once literal and idiomatic.' This sentence with its absurd antithesis may detain us for a moment. Mr. Coutts mixes up literality and closeness, and confuses a 'construe' with a translation. A literal construe is a very useful thing in its way and one which a schoolmaster is most fitted to produce: but we do not understand Mr. Coutts to have aimed at a crib. (He marks the quantities of the proper names presumably for those who have not the Latin before them.) This confusion has its effect upon his versions, of which we now give specimens taken at random: Odes ii. 4. 21 'her arms and looks and shapely calves I praise heartwhole.' iii. 27, 50-60 'O thou, whoever of the gods thou art that hearest this, would I might wander naked amidst lions. Or ere unsightly decay seize on these comely cheeks, or the tide of life ebb from their tender prey, in all my beauty I long to feast the tigers. 'Mean Eurôpé' my absent father chides me. 'Why delay to die? from yonder ash-tree you can bruise your neck suspended by the girdle which happily has followed you.' (Just above 'infamem—iuuencum' (of the beast into which Europa's lover transformed himself) is translated 'the infamous bullock'; what does Mr. Coutts think a *bullock* is?). *Satires* ii. 4. 91 'Add the look and bearing of the author, the sight of whom you, blessed man, don't value much, because you have had the privilege; while I am possessed with no ordinary anxiety to be enabled to approach the hidden springs and quaff the precepts of the blessed life.' *Ib.* 7. 8 *sq.* 'Often was Priscus marked with three rings' [? ringworm], 'again with his left hand bare of them; he lived so irregular (!) as to change his stripe from hour to hour.' *Epistles* i. 10. 15-17 'Is there a spot where the winters are milder, where a more pleasant breeze allays alike the fury of the Dogstar and the commotions of the Lion, when once he has gone mad by receiving the stings of the sun?' What are we to say of the above renderings except that they give only too much support to a view of Horace which a friend of mine once received in an answer in examination; 'Horace had a real love of literature: but he did not contribute to it, unless you count the Odes!' Mr. Coutts does not often abandon his principle of literality, and where he does he is not very fortunate; witness his rendering of Epode xvii. 50 *sqq.* 'and on you the midwife attends (this is to

translate 'tuo cruore rubros pannos lauit') whenever you sally abroad (exilis!) strong after your delivery.' We learn from the preface that Mr. Coutts' version has been revised by three of his 'friends and former pupils': but it will be easily seen by a comparison of the extracts given above with the Latin that this revision has by no means been complete.

The first edition of Part I. of M. Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* was not noticed in this Review, and of Part II. the present reviewer was obliged to express a not altogether favourable opinion. So he takes this opportunity of saying that the second edition with its considerable corrections and enlargement (from 304 pages to 421) may be recommended to all who desire a history of Roman literature clearly and interestingly written, full and accurate in its facts and moderate and sensible in its judgments. It does not indeed altogether supersede the work of Teuffel, but it is worthy to stand beside it.

Since the elements of textual criticism found a place in Dr. Gow's well-known *Companion*, from which several paragraphs in Dr. Johnston's *Latin Manuscripts* are drawn, they have been considered a not altogether superfluous ornament in the school curriculum. Masters who view them with favour will find Prof. Johnston's book a very useful adjunct to their teaching. Its get up is attractive—a convenient quarto with wide margins, clear type and numerous illustrations. These latter include several facsimiles taken from Chatelain's *Paléographie* and one of a page of the now famous *Codex Romanus* of Catullus furnished by Prof. W. G. Hale. It may be mentioned by the way that it is not as good a reproduction as that published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1897, No. 1). The treatment of the subject is clear and not uninteresting, but rather thin and in parts even deficient. For example the guide to the collections of classical manuscripts in Europe requires revision. No account of Oxford libraries is complete which omits those of Christ Church, Corpus Christi, and New Colleges, nor of those of Cambridge if silent upon that of Corpus Christi.

One who has never seen any offspring of the American *Camenae* till now is rather at a loss to know by what standard the Latin versifyings of Mr. Richardson should be

judged; but by cis-Atlantic ones they are sufficiently remarkable. The methods of pioneers are apt to be a little masterful, nor would I count it for much if, when Mr. Richardson wants to express 'at San Francisco,' Saint Francis has to provide himself with a locative. 'The beaver has to climb the tree' again in Mr. Richardson's Alcaic Stanza in version No. IV.

Whose Titan angels, Gabriel, Abdiel,
Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armouries,
Tower, as the deep-domed empyrean
Rings to the roar of an angel onset.

Cuius perampli Gabriel, Abdiel
ipsa antra tangunt viribus angeli
pleni Jehovahae cum profundo
classica concinere caelo.

For *Gabriel* as a dactyl Tennyson is the first classical witness, and Mr. Richardson the first Latin one. Prudentius is freer than Horace, and his editors, in his treatment of prosody: but Prudentius never took such a liberty. *perampli* does, very unhappily for itself, recall Horace's 'ter amplum Geryonen.' 'classica concinere caelo' is the only line in the quatrain which is like Latin poetry; but it is not Horatian. Shakespeare's refrain

'Come hither, come hither, come hither!
Here shall he see
No enemy

But winter and rough weather.'
is transmuted by Mr. Richardson into the following Sapphics:—

'adsit huc! oro properet pedes, nam
perditores hic nequedum fatigant
sive frigus seu "nebulæ malusque
Iuppiter urget."

Mr. Richardson does better than this in some of his seven translations; but it is at the expense of the English original. At the end of the booklet is an 'Index Metrorum,' a provident addition. We might otherwise have been doubtful of the metre of the version of

He who would have beautiful Roses in his garden

Must first have beautiful Roses in his heart.
Visne rosae specie praecllentes tibi
crescant?

est usus fieri primum in corde rosas.

But now we know that it is a Californian elegiac.

All efforts to raise the present low level of junior Greek prose composition must be received with approval. Mr. H. W. Auden's
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interleaved and classified collection of Greek phrases will be useful, though its neglect of accents is unscholarly and from an editor of a series of school classics deplorable. Within ten lines we have *ἔναι* (twice), *ῥομοσε* (twice), *ἐπίοντας*, *ἀνυποστατῶ*, *ἀτακτῶς*. But Mr. Auden can do worse than this: witness page 67 where within two lines we have *εἶλον*, and *σταυρῶματι*.

Professor E. V. Arnold's *Forum Latinum*, which is 'specially intended for the use of those who begin Latin at a rather later age than usual,' is in several respects a notable production. The preface states an important but much neglected principle in words which we recommend to the compilers of similar introductions. 'Those who study a modern language seek to acquaint themselves by ear and eye with the vocabulary and idiom of ordinary conversation, before they pass to the more elaborate style of literature. The endeavour is here made to apply this method to Latin, and to put before the student a collection of detached sentences, graduated in difficulty, and fairly representative of the simple Latin which was once to be heard daily from the mouths of educated Romans in the market-places and in private gatherings.' The sentences referred to are constructed with care and ingenuity; but Dr. Arnold might with advantage have given more attention to the subject-matter of his sentences. This is rather too arid and severe: and sometimes, as in

'The girl took up a sword and overcame the wolf,'
or

'The love of birds led the girls into the wood.'

it may raise a smile. Another point in which Prof. Arnold is ahead of most of his contemporaries is the weight which he assigns to correct pronunciation of quantity. The neglect of this is a blot upon the classical education of the country. It is monstrous that it should be possible to set up for a classical scholar and (what is far worse) as a classical teacher and not be able to read a passage of Latin poetry without making two out of three lines unmetrical. What irony is it when these products of elementary mistraining hold forth on the poetical beauties of Virgil and Horace! Your public school-master smiles at the foreigner who calls a 'ship' a 'sheep'; but with perfect gravity directs his class to pronounce the Latin for 'bone' and that for 'mouth' as *oss*. All

through *Forum Latinum* we see the same independence. Dr. Arnold studies the conditions of each problem of teaching for himself, and refuses to run in the groove. We are a little startled to find the conjugation of our verbs begin with *capio* until we remember how very much used are these verbs in *-io*. Both nouns and verbs are arranged according to their stem, with which no fault can be found; but then the infinitive should have been placed at the head of the paradigm and not the indicative present. The distinction between quantity (short and long) of vowels and weight (heaviness and lightness) of syllables is a clear and practical one. But we cannot equally approve of the new name for the Deliberative or Dubitative Subjunctive, the Subjunctive of the Dilemma, though we may readily grant it to be no worse than the old one. It is only necessary to take Dr. Arnold's first example 'quid agāmus?' *What are we to do?* and change the order of the words *Let us do—what?* to see that the subjunctive differs in no way from that of 'agāmus hōc' in which no one has ever seen or will see dilemma, doubt or deliberation. No one can hope to write an elementary Latin book without some mistakes, nor is

this book quite free; for example, the rule for the conversion of questions in reported speech (p. 275) is incorrect. But as a whole, it may be cordially recommended to all teachers of elementary Latin. Even if they do not teach from it, they may learn from it.

Amongst *Separat-abdrücke* (from the 24th supplement volume of the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*) deserving of the attention of scholars, we mention the following: *Ueber die bei den Attischen Rednern eingelegten Urkunden*, by Engelbert Drerup, a useful monograph on the much-disputed question of the authenticity of the documents inserted in the texts of the Attic orators, *Nomina propria Latina oriunda a participiis perfecti*, conlegit Gualterus Otto and a companion one *N.p.L. oriunda a participiis praesentis activi, futuri passivi, futuri activi* scr. Joannes Schwab, and, from the 25th supplement volume of the same, another elaborate monograph, for which also the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* has been ransacked, and which is of importance for Romance as well as for Latin scholars, *De M finali epigraphica* scr. Ernestus Diehl. These monographs are all published by Messrs. Teubner.
J. P. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

CAMPBELL'S RELIGION IN GREEK LITERATURE.

Religion in Greek Literature; a Sketch in Outline by LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1898. x, 424 pp. Price 15s.

IN 1894-5 Prof. Campbell as Gifford lecturer in the University of St. Andrews gave two courses of lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Greeks. The present volume claims to embody one portion only of the subject then treated. *Religion in Greek Literature* is however understood to include much more than a mere summary of the religious opinions expressed by the principal Greek writers. The author defines his task in a liberal spirit (p. 5): 'I do not propose... to give anything like a complete account of Greek religion. Mr. Farnell's learned work on the *Cults of the Greek States* supplies a want which has long been felt in England,

and deals with the subject of Hellenic worship on lines that are more rational than those followed by many Continental writers. But there is still room for an attempt to exhibit in a continuous treatise the way in which the ritual and mythology reacted upon the higher minds in Hellas, as this is clearly reflected in classical Greek literature. The aim of my endeavour is to trace, not origins chiefly, but rather tendencies—not whence, but rather how and whitherward the religious consciousness in Greece was moving.' Accordingly Prof. Campbell discusses at length not merely the moral and religious ideas to be found in Homer or Herodotus but also such phenomena as hero-worship and the mysteries; he even finds it advisable to incorporate a résumé of Laconian and Athenian cults. In short, the scope of the book is more comprehensive than might have been inferred from its title.

Fifty pages of introductory matter lead up to the subject proper. Various types of

primitive worship are touched upon (animism, reverence of plants and animals, procreation-cults, nature-worship, adoration of ancestors). Certain descriptions of the distinctively Greek spirit are set aside as inadequate (beauty, reason, serenity, moderation). The relations of religion to mythology, to superstition, and to secular life, are indicated. Then follows a somewhat tentative treatment of the early age of Greece with its 'welter of facts and opinions still awaiting settlement.' The view taken is that an immigrant Aryan stock was modified through intercourse (1) with aboriginal tribes and (2) with Semitic traders, but through all modifications retained its identity. The religion of the family in the patriarchal form was its essential core; the institutions of marriage and inheritance were never obliterated; and the sacredness of the hearth persisted through all changes of public ritual. But the Aryan tradition thus evidenced repeatedly absorbed into itself (1) old-world usages that clung to the localities successively occupied and (2) foreign influences operating chiefly at such centres as Argos or Thebes.

An excellent chapter on the *Iliad* characterises each member of the Homeric pantheon and discusses the moral features in the poem. Among various points of interest raised is the question whether heroes were already worshipped. Prof. Campbell inclines to the belief that, as a rule, the poet deliberately and for artistic reasons ignores the divine honours paid to them in his own day. To the same convenient assumption of selective taste he attributes (pp. 54, 68, 76, cp. p. 144) the absence of many primitive customs, superstitions, and immoralities, that appear for the first time in post-homeric literature. A corresponding chapter on the *Odyssey* traces further the beginnings of hero-worship, collects available evidence for the details of early ritual, and notes an advance in mythological and ethical conceptions. We are next taken more rapidly through the poetry of Hesiod, Theognis, the elegiac and lyric writers, and the Homeric hymns. After this the subject of hero-worship is resumed, and sundry other growths more or less closely connected with the transitional period are considered (panhellenic influences, Spartan institutions, Greater Greece, the birth of philosophy). Typical of the succeeding age are Pindar and Herodotus, between whom a good contrast is drawn. But the account given of religion in Pindar is not altogether satisfactory; for, though it makes true points, it neglects great and

important ones. It is surely misleading to say that in the Pindaric odes 'the gods . . . retain all the fulness of individual life' (p. 171). Rather, the gods are omniscient and omnipotent; and the thought of divine perfection is already leading on towards that of divine unity. The gods of Homer and Hesiod were distinguished in part at least by their defects. Pindar allows no ugliness physical or moral to taint them. His theology, perhaps under the influence of philosophy, has been purified and elevated till his separate deities are but traditional names for one God. Again, as regards human life Pindar's creed was two-fold: (1) recognise your limitations; and (2) make the most of them. Where, as happens not unfrequently, either of these commandments occurs apart from the other, we may easily mistake the poet's attitude. Doctrines of this sort should have been outlined with a firm hand, as is done e.g. by Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. grecque*, ii. 375-386. Prof. Campbell's treatment of Herodotus with its distinction between his references to contemporary belief and his own religious opinions is clearer and more adequate. Chapters ix-xii take a survey of the Greek world during the Pentekontaetia. Most of the religious issues of the age are here noticed, including some topics that are only partially or indirectly connected with worship, such as Idealism in Art and the rise of Medical Schools. Due stress is laid on the fact that 'the experience of the race was outgrowing its traditions, and the more advanced minds were having recourse either to innovations in mythology and ritual, or to philosophical speculation' (p. 204). Interest is next concentrated on Athens, and a fairly full account is given of Athenian cults (pp. 209-237). Demeter-worship involves a discussion of the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia. The latter rite is interestingly handled, the parallelism of the Homeric hymn to Demeter and the celebration at Eleusis being drawn out in detail. Foucart's daring hypothesis (*L'origine et la nature des mystères d'Eleusis*, 1895) with regard to the Egyptian source of the whole Demeter-cult is neither accepted nor rejected; but parts of it have a strong attraction for the author. He thinks that the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia may have been originally identical in character, but gradually modified through special influences. He admits, however, that we are by no means forced to consider this original form as Egyptian. On the whole, he concludes, 'it is at least conceivable that some Asiatic

influence working upon an Aryan village rite may sufficiently account for all that is known of the religion of Demeter before the seventh century' (p. 241). Another question of importance here discussed is the relation of Orphism to Pythagoreanism. Prof. Campbell harks back to the old view that, so far as their points of resemblance are concerned, both systems had a common source—Egyptian or otherwise—rather than that either was indebted directly to the other. Accepting Diels' theory that mystic doctrines of similar complexion arose simultaneously at various centres, he supposes that 'besides Egyptian influence, or even apart from it, some phase of pantheistic or at least of ascetic and pessimistic teaching, of which no clear trace remains, existed antecedently both to Pythagoras and Onomacritus' (p. 249). Dionysiac worship, the theme of Chapter xii, brings us back again to the strictly literary aspect of religion. Most writers on Aeschylus sow with the sack the epithets 'solemn,' 'awful,' 'majestic,' 'stupendous.' Prof. Campbell in a fresh and delightful passage dwells rather upon 'a progress from discord towards harmony, from Chaos to Cosmos, from tyranny and rebellion . . . to the triumphs of liberty and order,' and shows how 'the dark traditions of the past, which it is his cue to dramatise, are transfigured with a light from heaven, calculated to lead mankind into a more excellent way.' An interesting sequence of extracts proves that the new light dawned upon the poet himself with increasing clearness. Less space is given to Sophocles in whom no such sudden illumination can be found: it is, however, remarked that in some respects, *e.g.* as regards the law of retribution, the later plays and especially the *Philoctetes* contain the results of maturer reflection. Before proceeding to Euripides Prof. Campbell indicates the philosophic drift of contemporary thought and the religious reaction that it provoked, aptly describing the *fin de siècle* mood as an 'intermediate mental condition . . . in which sceptical doubts and questionings grew side by side with religious anxieties and an increasing scrupulosity of observance.' The views of the ordinary Athenian about divine government are illustrated by quotations from Andocides and Thucydides. The ten pages devoted to Euripides are one of the best parts of the book. Prof. Campbell's interpretation is shrewd and sound. He does not believe in the view that the poet, with a profoundly moral design, so handles the legends that the common folk are enter-

tained, while the more intelligent detect inconsistencies and draw their own salutary conclusions. Robert Browning with his master-word 'There are no gods, no gods; | Glory to God, who saves Euripides!' took the poet too seriously. In truth, towards the end of the fifth century it was no longer the tragedian but the rhetorician or the sophist who was the acknowledged teacher of the age. Euripides' métier was to interest, not to instruct: had not the *θεατροκρατία* already begun? Besides, traditions that are losing their reality are not on that account consciously derided and discarded. 'Men do not so easily divest themselves of the garments of the past; for a time at least they content themselves with shaping them anew, and patching them with vivid colours taken from present things. They do not at once realise that the new piece will rend the old.' For the rest, Euripides' scepticism may have been deeper than is commonly assumed: the pathetic complications of his dramas had more reality both for him and for his audience than their conventional closure. The remainder of the book is concerned with the Aufklärung heralded by the sophists and brought to its zenith by Plato. A good chapter on Socrates and the Socratics deals separately with the historical and the Platonic Socrates. The presentation of Plato's own teaching rests of course on Prof. Campbell's well-known theories about the chronological order of the dialogues. He truly observes that in the later writings Plato's ethical conviction assumes more and more the nature of a religious confidence, while retaining unshaken its essentially metaphysical foundation. 'For once in the history of Greek thought religion, philosophy, and ethics are interfused' (p. 350). Here is the culminating point for the historian of Greek religion. But justice is done to the genius of Plato's great rival. 'Religion is not the word that first occurs to one in thinking of Aristotle. Yet in steadily regarding him one is aware of an elevation and a colossal greatness which is not dissociated from religion in the truest sense. The very keystone of his philosophy consists in a conception of the divine life, and of the divine nature, which is really sublime. The description of the philosophic life in *Ethics* x, if more calm, is hardly less impressive than the speech of Diotima in the *Symposium*; and the account of God in *Metaphysics* xii is in a similar strain.' A few pages are added on the religious opinions of the post-Aristotelian schools and such 'cultivated persons' as

Pausanias, Plutarch, and Lucian. Finally, an interesting estimate is made of those elements in Greek thought which may be looked upon as a permanent contribution to the religious inheritance of the world.

A significant feature of Prof. Campbell's work is the extensive use that it makes of archaeological evidence. Inscriptions are frequently cited, including the mystic gold tablets lately found in Greek tombs of S. Italy, Sicily, and Crete. Architecture, sculpture, painting and the minor arts are all pressed into the service, and often point a moral fitly enough. Some peccadillos, however, should be corrected. The allusion on p. 234 to 'the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos, said to have been founded by Phaedra during her passion for Hippolytus,' assumes that the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos was identical with the sanctuary of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῳ—an identification which has been rightly called in question: see Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 333 f., Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., p. 243 f. 'The string-course of marble pigeons' mentioned on p. 235 belonged not to 'this Troezenian goddess' but to Aphrodite Pandemos: Frazer, *ibid.*, p. 245 f. Again, it is dubious whether the figure of Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, on the famous vase that depicts the weighing of silphium-bales (Baumeister *Denkm.* iii., 1664) is 'a manifest caricature': Welcker thought so, but Jahn disagreed with him. In any case it does not amount to 'a proof of the unpopularity of one of the kings' (p. 157). On p. 186 the statement that 'Xerxes, in Herodotus, is led onwards by a spiteful deity' might have been illustrated by the Darius-vase at Naples (*Handbuch: Atlas zur Arch. d. Kunst*, Taf. xiv., D), in some ways the most remarkable vase in existence: it shows the sinister figure of ΑΠΑΤΗ sent down from the presence of Zeus to delude the monarch in his council-chamber.

On the other hand Prof. Campbell is sensible of a certain danger attaching to one department of archaeology. 'Recent researches,' he says, 'into the culture of prehistoric times have tended rather to obscure the abiding interest of the age of classical literature in Greece' (p. v.). This warning is not indeed uncalled for at the present day. One of the most subtle and seductive forms of disproportionate study is certainly that which interests a man in the investigation of origins to such an extent that he omits to trace subsequent growth and ultimate decay. But intent upon avoiding this peril the author goes too far in the

opposite direction and somewhat underrates the importance of primitive customs and cults in the general development of Greek religion. They are, he contends, 'the leaf-mould out of which it springs, whose quality is indicated by the weeds that grow upon it; but they have little to do either with the deeper roots or the spreading branches' (p. 14). The fact is that primeval sentiment and superstition were so persistent in Greek life as to form an appreciable element in the highest thoughts of speculative philosophy. It might, for instance, be argued that Plato's deification of the natural kinds is but the last term of a series whose starting-point was the animal-worship of the Mycenaean age. And if the metaphysician himself was not wholly free from such traditions, the religious attitude of the people at large is often unintelligible without them. We demur then to statements of the following kind: 'To suppose . . . that any light can be thrown upon the spirit and meaning of Euripides by connecting the action of the *Bacchae* with some ritual of which the traces remain, say, amongst the Russian peasantry—though the process may be ingenious, and some such far-off connection may have a real existence—is a mode of commentary which confuses more than it enlightens' (p. 14). The allusion is presumably to Mr. Bather's able article on 'The Problem of the *Bacchae*' in the *J.H.S.* xiv. 244—263. But the choice of this example is an unfortunate one; for it might well be maintained that the primitive character of the cult portrayed in the *Bacchae* throws a most valuable light upon the spirit and meaning of Euripides. May not part of the poet's purpose have been to recall men's minds from latter-day subtleties to fundamental instincts and to advocate a form of religion which, as distinguished from most Greek cults, drew largely upon the emotions of its devotees, rousing and raising them to an enthusiastic elevation otherwise unattainable? Some such purpose is indeed half suspected by Prof. Campbell when he comes to consider the play more closely (pp. 309—311). Again, we are told that Xenophon's picture of Ischomachus training his young wife, 'idealised though it may be, teaches us more about Attic religion than the information that the person thus instructed had danced the bear-dance at ten years old, or had carried the sacred basket in honour of Athena at fourteen' (p. 339). It does teach us more about Attic religion, if by that we mean the motives and aspirations of the

Attic moralist: but it may be surmised that in the mind of Ischomachus' wife the bear-dance and the basket-carrying bulked larger than the protreptics of her husband.

This failure to appreciate the part played by primitive and popular modes of thought here and there betrays the author into a positive misinterpretation of facts. Looking backwards from a civilised to a semi-civilised age he falls occasionally into the error of explaining early customs from a later standpoint. He tells us, for example, that the priests of Zeus at Dodona 'still in Homer's time lay upon the ground, no doubt watching over the life of the tree, *not taking time even to wash their feet*!' (p. 38). The real meaning of this singular practice is obscure, and it may be questioned whether Dr. Leaf and Mr. Bayfield have got to the bottom of the matter when they assert (on *Il.* xvi. 233) that 'the Helloi sleep on the ground and do not wash their feet, as preserving the habits of a more primitive time, with the conservatism which marks all cults.' Dr. Jevons (*Introd. Hist. Rel.*, p. 78 f.) shows that at an early stage of social development holy persons are frequently forbidden to wash, perhaps lest the taboo-infection should be conveyed by the water to others. He compares (*ibid.* p. 63) the *ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες* of Dodona with the priest and priestess of Artemis Ὑμνία, whose washings were not like those of common folk (Paus. viii. 13, 1), and also (*ibid.* p. 365) with the Eleusinian Demeter who abstained from washing for nine days (*h. hom.* v. 50 f.). The epithet *χαμαιεῖναι* is best explained by the oracular powers ascribed to the Earth. To sleep on it was to be in close contact with its peculiar virtues and ensured true dreams, &c. Gaia was honoured at Dodona in connexion with Zeus (Paus. x. 12, 10), and Drexler in Roscher, *Lex.* I. ii. 1572, 54, thinks that this was no accidental association, but due to her character as 'wahr-sagende Gottheit.' An analogous case is that of the Flamen Dialis, the feet of whose bedstead were smeared with fine mud (Gell. x. 15), perhaps—so Mr. Frazer suggested in the *Class. Rev.* ii. 322—as a substitute for sleeping on the ground. It was of importance that he too should receive oracles in dreams; hence possibly the further restriction which forbade him to touch or even name beans (Gell. x. 15, cp. Plut. *quaest. conviv.* viii. 10, 1). Again, we must get back to naïve and unsophisticated notions if we are to understand why, when the horse of Achilles breaks into human speech, it is the Erinyes who check his utterance

(*Il.* xix. 418). It will not do to say that the Erinyes 'seem here to personify a law of nature' (p. 70): Homer was not Sophocles. We must recollect that the Greek mind in its infancy imagined beasts as well as men to be capable of doing or suffering wrong. This is only a particular application of the general principle that savages regard the souls of animals as human (Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, i. 467, ii. 230), and it certainly survived among the Greeks into historic times. Animals were actually tried for murder at the Prytaneum (Aristot. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 57, cp. Plat. *Legg.* 873 D). A moral lesson is drawn from animal life in the fable of Hesiod, *O.D.* 203 ff. Archilochus, *frag.* 88, Bgk., says of Zeus, *σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει*. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 59, makes Apollo or Pan or Zeus send the Erinyes to avenge the outraged cultures. There was even a proverb *εἰσὶ καὶ κυνῶν Ἐρινύες* (*Paroem. Gr.* i. 397). The Erinyes, then, were the punishers of wrong-doing amongst animals as much as amongst men. And here the horse Xanthus, who had just foretold that Achilles should fall *θεῶ τε καὶ ἀνέρι*, was about to reveal too much: he is therefore stopped in the act by the Erinyes. Prof. Campbell is entrapped into a similar anachronism when he states (p. 214 f.) that in the cult of Artemis 'the rite of initiation, by which young girls were consecrated to her service, was *fancifully* associated with her Arcadian favourite, the bear,' and recalls Lobeck's suggestion 'that *ἄρκτος* as applied to one of these young catechumens may have been originally derived from *ἄρχεσθαι*, "to begin." The word once chosen would soon,' he urges, 'come to be identified with the animal whom the goddess loved.' But this is to forget that the *ἄρκτεία* does not stand alone. The *πελειάδες* at Dodona, the *μέλισσαι* and *ἑσσηνες* at Delphi and Ephesus, have indeed been assailed by the rationalist: but what of the *ταῦροι* of Poseidon at Ephesus (Athen. x. 425 C.) and the *ἵπποι* of the Iobaccheia (Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, II. i. 1171, 53)? Can they all be explained away by means of popular etymology? Besides, Prof. Campbell himself admits that 'the worship of animals and the strange rites attending it . . . left undoubted traces on Greek culture' (p. 8). Is not the *ἄρκτεία* precisely one of these traces? On p. 63 Poseidon's powers as an earth-shaker are attributed to 'a natural association between the raging billows and the earthquake by which, as in the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, the earth is rolled in surges to and fro.' This conception

of seismic waves is perhaps too advanced for primitive reflection; yet, it is true, there was in Arcadia an oak-forest with waving foliage which went by the name of Πέλαγος (Paus. viii. 11, 1, 5, 10). Less probable is Riddell's conjecture, adopted on p. 90, that black bulls were offered to Poseidon (*Od.* iii. 6) because of 'the darkness of the deep, the ἔρεβος ὑφάλων of Sophocles.' Black victims were regularly sacrificed to the powers of the underworld; a black ewe to Ge (*Il.* iii. 103 f.) and to Teiresias (*Od.* xi. 32 f.), a black bull to Achilles (Philostr. *Heroica* xx. 25) and to the Greeks who fell at Plataea (Plut. *Aristid.* 21), black rams to heroes (Paus. i. 34, 5; v. 13, 2; ix. 39, 6; Strab. vi. 284) and to Typhos (Ar. *Ran.* 848), a black lamb to Hiems (Verg. *aen.* iii. 120), Nox and Tellus (*ibid.* vi. 249 f.). The chthonian character of Poseidon sufficiently accounts for both his earthquakes and his black victims. That Delos should have been chosen as the birth-place of the sun-god because 'some pious soul, perhaps a pirate withal, may have seen some glory of sunrise on the rocky cliff and wondered' (p. 117) is hardly to be inferred from *h. hom.* i. 135 ff. It savours too much of the old picturesque interpretations of ῥοδοδάκτυλος and εὐθείεος. Lastly, Mr. Frazer has made it probable (*Golden Bough*, ii. 213 ff., 233 f.; *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 341 f.) that the Spartan διαμασίγῳσις was in its origin not merely an endurance test (p. 39) but a primitive religious purification.

Another pitfall in the path of a writer on this intricate subject is the exaggeration of foreign elements. Egyptian influence on Greek life was in the main external and, apart from a few legends (Io, Epaphus, Danaus, &c.), had little to do with religion. Prof. Campbell may, however, be right in holding that Orphism 'had a root in some imperfect knowledge of Egyptian rites' (pp. 191, 247—250), though he admits that 'the chief doctrine of the Orphics, the immortality of the soul, combined with metempsychosis, and with the hope of ultimate deliverance from the body, is essentially different from the Egyptian belief in the Ka.' The Egyptian element in Pythagoreanism, which he is inclined to credit (pp. 191, 248 f.), is also probable enough (Jevons, *Introd. Hist. Rel.*, pp. 320—324), but requires further proof. Abstinence from beans at least does not spell Egypt; see Lenormant in *Dar.-Sagl. Dict. Ant.* II. ii. 947; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iv., p. 240 f. On the other hand, Foucart's Egyptising hypotheses as to the origin of Demeter-worship should have been

more decisively rejected. And Egyptian traits in the cult of the Argolic Hera (p. 239) and of Dionysus (p. 269)—unless by Dionysus is meant Zagreus—need substantiating. That the Gorgoneion of Greek art originated in the Arabian Besa (p. 49) is a highly precarious hypothesis. J. Six, *de Gorgone*, p. 94, has discredited it, and Furtwängler, once a believer, has now recanted (Roscher, *Lex.* I. ii. 1705, 55). Babylonian elements are rightly relegated to the background (pp. 9 f., 14 f., 45, 107 f., 142, 163); and no stress is laid on Aeschylus' possible acquaintance with Persian learning (p. 280) or the indebtedness of Plato to Zoroastrianism (p. 349). Adolph Holm remarks (*Hist. Gr.* i. 101) that 'of late a decided reaction has set in against the popular theory of the great influence exercised by the Phoenicians on Greece.' Prof. Campbell cannot be reckoned among the reactionaries. He finds Phoenician traits not only in Heracles (pp. 137 f., 159 f., 190), Aphrodite (pp. 159, 189, 234), and Cadmus (p. 35, *alib.*), but also in Demeter Achaia (p. 190), Poseidon at Onchestus and Corinth (pp. 111, 159 f., 189), Athena Onca at Thebes (p. 189), Despoina at Lycosura (p. 189), Dionysus (pp. 160, 189, 269), the Cabiri in Samothrace (p. 159), the Dioscuri (pp. 159 f., 189) and Helen (p. 189), Minos (p. 35, *alib.*) and Daedalus (p. 35). He even leans to Bérard's view that Zeus Lycaeus was a Phoenician Baal (p. 37); Farnell, *Cults*, i. 41 f., and Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iv., p. 385 f., are content to recognise here a wolf-god; and the latter explains the two pillars that stood in front of his altar as perhaps columns for determining solstices and equinoxes. On p. 35 the Phoenician settlement at Thebes is well defended against the current objection that Thebes was too far inland for so maritime a folk by the analogous occupation of Tamasus in Cyprus. The suggestion is also made that Semitic influence in early Greece would account for 'the readiness with which, in later times, oriental symbolism and magic obtained so wide a hold on the Hellenic mind' (p. 35). Phrygian contact is admitted in the case of Rhea (p. 239), the Ephesian Artemis (pp. 39, 191), and Dionysus (pp. 243, 251). On pp. 194, 286 f., attention is drawn to the curious fact that 'Attic tragedy from the first revolved continually about the legends of Thebes and Argos.' This is usually explained by the large part that both traditions had played in epic poetry; but here two further explanations are offered; (1) that the birth of tragedy coincided with the reign of Pisistratus, who

allied himself with Argos and probably with Thebes; (2) that Argive (= Tantalid = Phrygian) and Theban (= Cadmean = Phoenician) stories fascinated the cultured Athenian by the contrast which they presented to Hellenic moderation and reflection.

In an undertaking of such wide compass there are bound to be gaps and omissions. One of the most noticeable of these is Aristophanes, to whom no separate treatment is accorded. Xenophanes, too, is dismissed with less than a page, though from a religious point of view he is a significant figure. Hesiod's so-called 'Delphic' phraseology deserves at least a mention (see *Class. Rev.* viii. 381 ff.); and the same may be said of Bacchylides' misuse of religious epithets (*ibid.* xii. 343 ff.). Indeed, the importance of cult-epithets in general is hardly realised. Bruchmann's *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* is in itself a store-house of religious beliefs; and one of the most pressing needs of modern archaeologists is a similar collection for the prose-writers. Hades is κλυτόπωλος in Homer, not ταχύπωλος as is implied on p. 70. That Hermes' epithet Ἀργειφόντης 'dimly alludes to another part of his legend, not mentioned in the Iliad' (p. 63) is the view of a minority now-a-days: see Pauly-Wissowa II. i. 703, 51 ff. And that Athena Alea 'in accordance with her title . . . gave shelter to the fugitive and even to the criminal' (p. 143), if true at all, is not the whole truth: see *ibid.* II. ii. 1974, 21 ff. The reason of Hephaestus' lameness (κυλλοποδίων) is left undetermined on p. 65, where Prof. Ridgeway's theory deserves a place. He points out that the divine smith (Hephaestus in the south, Völundr or Wieland in the north) is lame simply because the human smith was lame; the lame man in a primitive community was useless as a warrior and was therefore left behind to forge weapons for the rest.

Some questionable statements of a miscellaneous sort may be noticed here. The equation 'Uranus = Varuna' (p. 44) is probably but not quite certainly correct: see Schrader-Jevons, *Prehist. Ant.*, pp. 130, 412, 417, Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 28. What evidence has been adduced for the identification of Athena Onca with the armed Aphrodite (p. 142)? The latter was undoubtedly of Eastern origin (Farnell *Cults*, ii. 653 f.), but whether the former was Phoenician or not is a moot point (Farnell *ibid.* i. 300; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v., p. 49; Dümmler in Pauly-Wissowa, II. ii. 1949, 23 ff.). That in early times 'the chief anxiety of the living was to prevent

the spirits of the dead from coming back again' (p. 228) is a statement needing qualification: see the important article on the funeral law of Iulis by Dr. Jevons in the *Class. Rev.* ix. 247 ff. On p. 280 it is said 'that in Aeschylean tragedy the dead, even when deified, are never spoken of as blessed': surely *Pers.* 633 μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς sufficiently disproves the dictum. Why should we trace Spartan influence in the crown of wild olive awarded at Olympia (p. 153)? The prize was in all likelihood determined on religious, not economical, grounds: cp. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii., pp. 484, 573. Prof. Campbell doubts the view 'which refers peculiarities of Spartan marriage customs to a survival from savage life, before the family had become a settled institution' (p. 150), but offers no definite alternative. He thinks (p. 270) that Dionysiac festivals were first instituted by 'the wise tolerance of some Greek ruler,' who allowed his subjects once a year to give vent to the exuberance of their animal nature, thereby at once indulging and regulating emotions that could not be suppressed. This homoeopathic hypothesis seems to be based on the legend that, when the Proetides were seized with madness because they would not accept Dionysiac rites, Melampus cured them by chasing them μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινοῦ ἐνθέου χορείας from the mountains to Sicyon (Apollod. ii. 2, 2). But the interpretation of the whole myth and of others like it (Minyades, Pentheus) is far too uncertain to warrant any such inferences: see Voigt in Roscher, *Lex.* I. i. 1054, 10-36, Bather in *J.H.S.* xiv. 260 f., Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v., p. 382 f. That Zeus Teleios had a priest of the family of Buzugae at Athens (p. 211) is an isolated and meaningless fact unless *C.I.A.* iii. 294 be supplemented by Plut. *conjug. praec.* 42, as is done by Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa, III. i. 1095, 19 ff. On p. 112 Theognis is said to have given the first clear utterance to that strain of pessimism which so often appears in Greek literature: but in *Il.* xxiv. 527 f. the store-house of Zeus has two jars of evil to one of good (unless indeed the text preserved by Plato, *Rep.* 379 D is correct), and the fixed epic phrase δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν points in the same direction; on pessimism in Hesiod see Warr, *The Greek Epic*, p. 234. That Thales' philosophy in some sense found an echo in contemporary minds is scarcely to be inferred from the Pindaric proverb ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ. (p. 165): see W. Christ and Fennell on *Ol.* i. 1. Finally, can it be maintained that Epicurus and his

followers combined the atomism of Democritus with the *hedonism of Aristippus* (p. 340)? The pleasure sought by the Cyrenaics was the enjoyment of the moment *ἡδονή* *μονόχρονος* (Aristipp. *ap. Athen.* xii. 544 A), positive in character, and mainly physical. The object of the Epicureans was *ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότης* (Diog. x. 148) resulting from a rational computation of pleasures and pains; it was *ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία* (Diog. x. 136) negative rather than positive; and, though they admitted that the body was the source of all pleasure, yet since memory and anticipation accumulate feeling they aimed at securing mental rather than physical ease (Diog. x. 137): see Ritter and Preller,⁷ p. 386 f., Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 293 f.; Zeller, *Stoics*, etc., p. 474 ff.

Among the happier novelties incidentally offered by the book is the suggestion (p. 116) that Mimnermus in dwelling on the transient character of human life foreshadows the philosophy of change propounded by Heraclitus. On pp. 234, 326 Socrates' dying words 'We owe a cock to Asclepius' are well explained: 'the god of health is regarded as the author of Euthanasia, or painless death May not Socrates have prayed for this as Cassandra did, or rather, had he not prayed for it in *Phaedo*, 117 B, C; and would not Crito receive comfort from the assurance that the prayer was heard?' Ingenious is also the attempt on p. 286 to account for some peculiarities of tragic diction, *e.g.* the use of *τύραννος* with no disparaging association, by the hypothesis that Sophocles wrote not for Athens only but for all Ionia, where despotic government had long been tolerated.

In conclusion, a word or two about externals. Prof. Campbell's style throughout is piquant and full of those felicities of phrase which charm us in his editions of Plato. What could be neater than Solon's 'glorified common sense,' or 'the all-searching humanity' of Sophocles, or the description of the Homeric poems as 'preserving some relics of an immemorial past like flies in amber, while bearing on their surface all the gloss of novelty,' or the statement that 'in the white light of Socrates the several rays which coloured later ethics are combined'? At the same time the general absence of references to authorities, inevitable in a lecture but culpable in a serious book, and the inconsistent use of notes, sometimes incorporated in the text (*e.g.* pp. 156, 293) and sometimes printed at the foot of the page, give the work a slovenly and

unscholarly appearance which by no means corresponds to its character. Misprints are not frequent, but 'Gulf of Lions' (p. 43) should be corrected, and three mistakes in the Byron couplet quoted on p. 303 rectified: presumably too 'henceforward' should be inserted after 'nothing is' on p. 114 (16 lines from the bottom) and 'premetaphysical' read for 'metaphysical' on p. 383. The rather grotesque paraphrase of *h. hom.* vii. 45 ff. 'A bear breaks out amidships, and sits up with threats' (p. 121) might be improved.

If the points to which I have taken exception appear numerous, it must be borne in mind that many of them are details which do not detract from the main lines of argument, while some might be fairly regarded as matters of opinion. In so wide a field a few weeds and barren patches may well be excused, especially as this precise plot has not been fenced in and tilled by British hands before. Prof. Campbell, who in a prefatory epigram modestly describes himself as *καυῆς ὀψιμαθῆς σοφίας*, has given us a book containing the results of wide reading and (so far as his subject proper is concerned) of considerable insight. But he would probably be the first to allow that the final work, if finality on such a theme is conceivable, still remains to be written.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

MACDONALD'S HUNTERIAN CATALOGUE.

Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection. Vol. I.: Italy, Sicily, Macedon, Thrace and Thessaly. By GEORGE MACDONALD. Glasgow: Maclehose. 1899. Pp. lxvi, 496; 30 plates. £3 3s. net.

THE celebrated, yet practically little known, collection of coins and medals bequeathed by William Hunter to the University of Glasgow consists of some 30,000 specimens, of which about 12,000 are Greek and 12,000 Roman. It was Hunter's intention to issue, with the aid of various scholars, a scientific catalogue in seven volumes, but only one volume, dealing with a portion of the Greek series, was ever published. This was the well-known *Descriptio* by Hunter's friend and numismatic adviser Charles Combe. The work appeared at the end of 1782, a few months before Hunter's death,

and was referred to by Eckhel in his *Doctrina* as the 'Catalogus a Combio erudite, nitide et adcurate contextus.' This is a high encomium, but it is one which I feel sure might be applied, and with far greater justice, to the Catalogue that now succeeds (and supersedes) the work of Combe. Mr. George Macdonald's volume shows on every page a minute acquaintance with numismatic literature, and the copious indexes, the accurate descriptions and the chronological arrangement make the work as complete as a numismatist could desire. The book is handsomely printed and is very liberally illustrated, though the plates (executed by a Glasgow firm) hardly reach the uniform level of excellence attained by the London Autotype Company.

Mr. Macdonald's conscientious care has led him to investigate the whole history of Hunter's acquisitions, and in his Introduction he has furnished, from Hunter's papers and from many other sources, a really fascinating record of the formation of the Museum Hunterianum. In a century by no means unproductive of coin-collectors, Hunter was a commanding figure. He began his work rather after the period when it was fashionable to sneer at collectors as 'critics in rust' or as the possessors of headless 'Helens' and spurious 'Othos.' He realised, in fact, the good type of collector foreshadowed in Addison's *Dialogue*; the man who does not merely collect for ostentation but who believes (in Addison's phrase) that a cabinet of medals may 'give a great light to history.' Hunter's career as a coin-collector dates practically from 1770, when he was at the height of his medical reputation in London. In that year he moved from Jermyn Street into his spacious house (now I believe incorporated with the Lyric Theatre) on the east side of Great Windmill Street, Piccadilly, and there arranged his anatomical and other collections. The nucleus of the coin-cabinet seems to have been a collection made at Aleppo by the Rev. William Dawes. The owner died before the purchase was completed, but he had a brother, the Rev. Arthur Dawes, who agreed to sell for £220 and the return of the duplicates. Mr. Dawes unpleasantly insinuated that some of the duplicates were kept back, and Hunter, in one of his vigorous letters (which Mr. Macdonald has done well to print) had to explain to him what a duplicate was. 'It would give me pain' (he added) 'to take your collection for less than what I suppose [its] value to be. What pleasure could it be (and I collect for pleasure) to look at coins

for which you, or your children, ought to have had more money?'

It was Hunter's policy, as it has been the policy of many distinguished private collectors (of Mr. Montagu, for instance, in recent times), to purchase collections *en bloc* and then to sell the duplicates. By the acquisition in 1773 of the Peralta cabinet he brought up his own total to nearly 10,000, and in 1776 he paid £8,000 for the great collection of Matthew Duane, an antiquarian solicitor who still figures in the list of British Museum benefactors. Duane's collection had itself been formed from several cabinets of note, such as those of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Richard Mead, Martin Folkes and the Prince of Torremuzza. In 1782 Hunter acquired a fine series of Roman gold by the purchase of the numismatic portion of the Museum Francianum, formed originally by Joseph de France. Meanwhile, he bought steadily, on a smaller scale, through honest dealers like Thane and old Thomas Snelling. Numerous friends also contributed to his stores, and from Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, he procured many of the gold 'Ptolemies' that form a striking feature of the collection.

Among Hunter's correspondents was Sir William Hamilton, the Ambassador at Naples. Mr. Macdonald publishes several letters from Hamilton which, in the uncertainty of their spelling, recall the epistles of Lady Emma Hamilton. Hamilton disclaimed all knowledge of coins, yet it is clear that he rather valued himself on his numismatic acumen. On one occasion he suggested (unsuccessfully) to the cautious Hunter the purchase of a collection belonging to a scion of 'one of the first familys' in Italy. The owner was a gambler, and the diplomatist's idea was to bargain with the noble gamester when his luck was bad. At a later date, he bought for Hunter, though without Hunter's authorisation, a cabinet offered by an apparently worthy abbé for £330. The collection was duly shipped to London. Hunter, or at any rate the faithful Combe, was at the Docks to receive it, and two other collectors, the Rev. Mr. Southgate and 'Cratchrod,' (Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode) seem to have been lurking in the neighbourhood. The coins were unusually well packed, but the rare specimens proved to be false and the genuine pieces to be duplicates, sometimes to the extent of eight or ten. When re-sold in London this 'choice assemblage' realized about £80. Both Hamilton and Hunter behaved very well about the payment.

For an Appendix, Mr. Macdonald has

transcribed the entries in Hunter's Account Book. The addition sums are worked by the great collector in a somewhat casual way, but it is clear that between 1770 and 1782 he spent on his coins nearly £23,000. One important item of £770 was mysteriously referred to in Combe's *Descriptio* as a collection procured from a certain 'vir apud exteros prænobilis,' an expression which seems to suggest a distinguished foreigner, perhaps a Count. But Mr. Macdonald has unearthed a promissory note of Hunter's which proves that the seller of this collection was the fourth Earl of Sandwich, the notorious Jemmy Twitcher.

In conclusion, it should be stated that Dr. Young, the keeper of the Hunterian Museum, has done useful preliminary work in connexion with the re-arrangement of the collection and that the expenses of publication have been borne with well-directed generosity by Mr. James Stevenson of Hailie. Mr. Macdonald's share in the work has been in every way a labour of love, and all numismatists will hope that he may be able to continue and complete his admirable Catalogue without delay.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Philology. No. 53. 1899.

Emendationes Homericae (Od. x.-xii.), T. L. Agar. *Alba Longa*, T. Ashby. *Colours in Greek*, C. M. Mulvany. *Oxford MSS. of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, De Compositione Verborum*, A. B. Poynton. *Critical Notes on Valerius Flaccus*, J. P. Postgate. *Emendations of Quintus Smyrnaeus*, A. Platt. *Notes on Clement of Alexandria II.*, H. Jackson. *Further Notes on Passages in the Seventh Book of the Eudemian Ethics*, H. Jackson. *On Nicomachean Ethics iii. 1 § 17, 1111 a 8, and Republic viii. 563 C*, H. Jackson.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 23, 3. July, 1899.

Glossarium sive vocabularium ad Oracula Chaldaica, confecti A. Jahnus. *Corrections au texte de César de bello gallico*, L. Constans. On i. 44. 7, 51. 1, iii. 24. 3, viii. 4. 1. *Δύσις προγόνων ἀθεύσαντων*, S. Reinach. In answer to P. Tannery in the last No. Translates 'l'absolution des ancêtres coupables,' and maintains that the reference is to prayers for the dead, which was an Orphic custom, and introduced thence into Christianity. *Une contre-sense traditionnelle sur Virg.* Géorg. i. 489-492. A. Cartault. It is true that the confusion between Philippi and Pharsalia is common among poets later than Vergil e.g. in Lucan, but we need not attribute it to V. and it is possible that it arose from the word *iterum* having been misunderstood. The reference is probably to the two battles of Philippi. *Anciennes gammes enharmoniques*, L. Laloy. Continued from the last No. Among the three kinds of Greek music the enharmonic enjoyed the most favour, the diatonic and the chromatic being much rarer. An extract is given from Aristoxenos in Athenaeus from which we gather that it was in the Dorian mood that the first enharmonic melodies were written, at a time when this scale was not characterized by the suppression of the second note of the tetrachord. The Phrygian mood seems better suited to the diatonic scale. *Sur Horace*, Epode ix. 19, 20. A. Cartault. Refers to the way in which Antonius had collected his vessels as far as possible from the attacks of Octavian, where he kept them for long months. These two lines simply refer to this manoeuvre. *Σπαρτηγὸς ἥπατος, Σπαρτηγὸς ἀνθύπατος*, P. Foucart. On the origin of these expressions.

Un cas unique de cautionnement, T. W. Beasley. On a passage of Pseudo-Aristotle περὶ θανασίων ἀκουσμάτων. *Inscriptions d'Heraclee du Latmos*, B. Haussoullier. *Un nouveau milliaire au nom de Manius Aquilius*, B. Haussoullier. The date of this inser. is 129-126 B.C. when M. Aquilius was in Asia as the first organizer of that province.

Neue Jahrbücher für Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 3. Part 4, 1899.

Die Bildung der griechischen Religion, O. Seeck. On 'Animismus' or spirit-worship. The Phaeacian myth is the earliest representation by the Greeks of the land of the dead. *Heron von Alexandria*, W. Schmidt. H. probably flourished in the first century A.D. Some account is given of his mechanical inventions, illustrated by three plates. *Das Regenern im Quadenlande*, J. Geffcken. Deals with the ancient and modern literature of the Thundering Legion. The polemic of the last ten years on this subject has been rich in results. *Eine neue Philosophie der Geschichte*, O. Treuber. A review of Barth's *Die Philosophie Der Geschichte als Soziologie*, Part I.

Part 5. *Die Bildung der griechischen Religion*, O. Seeck. On sun-worship. The difficulty of the deification of abstractions, such as Victory etc., is met by the consideration that certain aspects of personal gods have by specialization melted away into abstractions. *Ciceros Villen*, O. E. Schmidt. An account with a plate and two illustrations in the text of Cicero's villas at Arpinum and Formiae. *Ein antikes Vereinsstatut*, E. Drerup. A further elucidation of an inscription discovered at Athens and published in 1894 referring to the regulations of the association or guild of the Iobacchi of the third century A.D.

Parts 6, 7. *Die Bildung der griechischen Religion*, O. Seeck. On religion and morality. Spirit-worship and sun-worship had originally no connexion with morality, but morality grew and gradually transformed religion, so that in Homer the latter had reached a height that is worthy of respect compared with what had gone before. But no sooner had Homer become known by written publication than the philosophers, beginning with Heraclitus, denounced the poets, especially Homer and Hesiod, as

teachers of immorality. *Über einige neuere Erscheinungen der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, B. Niese. This is a review of the following works: Schoemann's *Griechische Altertümer* by J. H. Lipsius, Vol. 1 *Das Staatswesen*; Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. 3, Part 1, *Die Pentekontaetie*; Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. 2; Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum*, Vol. 3; and A. Bauer's *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte 1888-1898. Zum gegenwärtigen Stande der Platonischen Frage*, O. Immisch. The 'Platonic question' concerns the genuineness and the chronological order of the Platonic writings. The writer severely criticizes Lutoslawski's 'stilometry' of Plato on the ground of want of philosophical and historical appreciation. The later Platonic investigation has three fundamental divisions: (1) the problem of the Republic, (2) the problem of the Phaedrus, (3) a satisfactory statement of the rules which determine the economy of the Platonic dialogue. The Republic is dealt with first. *Ciceros Villen*, O. E. Schmidt. On Cicero's villas at Tusculum, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, and those on the Latin coast. *Phidyle*, Th. Pfäff. Discusses how far the sentiment of the Phidyle Ode of Horace (iii. 23) is connected with a belief in the moral elevation of the Delphic Apollo.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899.

16 Aug. F. Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (P. Jensen). 'Rich in thought but ineffective.' A. Ludwich, *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrisch erwiesen* (P. Cauer), favourable. L. Adam, *Homer der Erzieher der Griechen* (P. Cauer). 'Does not adequately fulfil its aim.' A. Bauer, *Die Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte 1888-1898* (Schneider), favourable. G. Fougères, *De Lyciorum communii* (A. Körte). 'Shows much acuteness, but would have been better in French.' *Griechische Tragödien*, übers. von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. I. Sophocles' *Oedipos*. II.-IV. Euripides' *Hippolytos*, *Hiketides*, *Herakles* (C. Haeblerin), favourable. M. Wetzel, *Haben die Ankläger des Sokrates wirklich behauptet, dass er neue Götter einführe?* (A. Döring), unfavourable. C. Pascal, *Dizionario dell' uso Ciceroniano* (W. Hirschfelder). 'Useful to some extent, but incomplete.' F. Knoke, *Das Cäcinalager bei Mehrholz* (ed. Wolff), favourable. *Taciti de origine, ritu et moribus Germanorum liber*, ed. J. Holub (U. Zernial), favourable. *Prudentii Psychomachia*, ed. J. Bergmann (J. Tolkiehn). 'Shows want of care and thoroughness.'

30 Aug. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektschriften*, herausg. von Collitz und Bechtel. iii. 2, 1. *Die Inschriften von Lakonien* u.s.w., bearb. von R. Meister. ii. 6. *Die delphischen Inschriften*, 4 Teil, bearb. von J. Baunaek (P. Cauer), very favourable. R. Dieterich, *Testimonia de Herodoti vita* (M. Maas), 'The work of a ripe scholar.' G. Kazarow, *De foederis Phoenisium institutis* (K. Seeliger), favourable. E. Schmidt, *Pergamon* (R. Oehler), favourable. *Taciti vita Agricola*, ed. by H. Furneaux (Ed. Wolff), very favourable. *Taciti dialogus de oratoribus*, by A. Gudeman (Ed. Wolff). An abridgement of the larger edition, favourable.

6 Sept. J. Marcuse, *Diätetik im Altertum* (R. Fuchs), very favourable. J. Vahlen, *Index lectionum* (H. J. Müller). Is concerned with certain corrupt passages in Cicero's philosophical writings. *Cicero, Actionis in Verrem* sec. liber V, comment. da V.

Brugnola (W. Hirschfelder), 'very careful and thorough.' *Tibullus, Untersuchung und Text*, von H. Belling (K. Jacoby), favourable. G. Andresen, *In Taciti Historias studia critica et palaeographica*, I. (Th. Opitz), 'contains very weighty results.'

13 Sept. J. Denissow, *Der Dochmius bei Aeschylos* (Wiedemann) I, very favourable. O. Schulthess, *Die Vormundschaftsrechnung des Demosthenes* (E. Rosenberg). 'The work of a master in his department.' F. Zimmerhaeckel, *Cäsars Rheinbrücke* (J. W.), favourable. *Traité de tactique (περί καταστάσεως ἀπλῆκτου)*, par C. Graux, préface par A. Martin (F. Hirsch), favourable. *Joannis Laurenti Lydi liber de mensibus* ed. R. Wuensch (F. Hirsch). 'Much more complete than previous editions.' E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2-14. Lief. (R. Neumann). 'Not careful enough in chronological points.'

20 Sept. *Lycurgi oratio in Leocratem*, post C. Scheibe ed. Fr. Blass. Ed. maior (E. Rosenberg), very favourable. J. Denissow, *Der Dochmius bei Aeschylos* (Fr. Wiedemann), II. 'Deserves the highest recognition.' *Caesaris commentarii de bello Gallico*, erkl. von F. Kraner. 16. A. von W. Dittenberger (E. Wolff). 'This edition has many improvements.'

27 Sept. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I. Ed. by P. Grenfell and S. Hunt (O. Schulthess), favourable. 'A grammatical index required.' E. Driep, *Antike Demosthenesausgaben* (E. Rosenberg), favourable. *Anarithi in X. libros priores Elementorum Euclidis Commentarii*, ed. M. Curtze (S. Günther). 'A great and difficult work.' E. P. Morris, *The subjunctive in independent sentences in Plautus* (H. Ziemer). 'Of permanent value for Latin syntax.' E. B. Lease, *I nunc and I with another imperative* (H. Ziemer), favourable.

4 Oct. *Pausanias, Beschreibung von Griechenland*, herausg. von H. Hitzig. I Halbband, Buch I (Fr. Spiro), very favourable. H. Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (V. Prášek), very favourable. H. Babucke, *Geschichte des Kolosseums*, H. Rüter, *Das Kapitol*, C. Huelsen, *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols* (L. Ulrichs). All three favourably noticed. H. Gelzer, *Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*. ii. 2. (F. Hirsch). 'Treats of some oriental chronographers who have not yet been taken into account.'

Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. 1899.

April. Koetschau's *Origenes* I., II. (P. Wendland); unfavourable, except as regards the mechanical part. Blass's *Evangelium Secundum Lucam* and *Philology of the Gospels* (P. Corssen). In spite of his admiration for B.'s great qualities as a scholar, the reviewer cannot discover the Logos in these works, which clearly show prejudice.

May. *Anthologia latina* ed. Buecheler (G. Wissowa). very favourable; in some details improvement is possible.

July. Dieterich's *Untersuchungen der Griech. Sprache von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (G. N. Hatzidakis) a step towards the solution of a very difficult problem. A. Mommsen's *Feste des Stadt Athen* (C. Robert); makes no small demands upon the critical faculty of its user. J. N. Sonoros *Der athenische Volkskalender* (Sonder-abdruck aus dem *Journal Internationale d'archéologie numismatique* (the same reviewer) favourable. Lindsay's *Codex Turnebi* (E. Norden) favourable. L. has not completely disposed of the difficulties raised in the C.R. by Sonnenschein.

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1899.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

For the following interesting communication upon the growth of the study of 'The Classics in American Schools' we are indebted to Prof. A. F. West of Princeton University. The statistics which it cites form a conspicuous tribute to the enterprise and devotion of American classical teaching.

'There has been so much misapprehension as to the condition, and consequently so much misgiving as to the prospects of the classics in American secondary schools, that it may be worth while to record here a few facts brought to light by the United States Commissioner of Education.

'In the eight years from 1890 to 1898 the total enrollment of pupils in the various secondary schools has risen from 297,894 to 554,814. This large gain of 86 per cent. represents a rate of increase about four times as rapid as the rate of increase in population and is without precedent in our history.

'If we take all the secondary school studies for which statistics are available for the eight years mentioned, and arrange them in a column according to their rate of increase in enrollment of pupils, we shall get the following tabulated result :

STUDIES	ENROLLMENT IN 1889-90	ENROLLMENT IN 1897-98	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE
1. Latin	100,144	274,203	174
2. History (except U.S.)	82,000	209,034	152
3. Geometry	59,781	147,515	147
4. Algebra	127,397	306,755	141
5. German	34,208	78,994	131
6. French	28,032	58,165	107
7. Greek	12,869	24,994	94
8. Physics	63,644	113,650	79
9. Chemistry	28,665	47,448	65

'Latin is thus advancing faster than any other secondary study, with the possible but entirely improbable exception of English, for which latter study the statistics are not sufficiently complete to warrant a definite statement. In point of absolute numbers Latin also enrolls more pupils than any other study, excepting algebra and (probably) English. It also enrolls twice as many pupils as French and German combined. Greek, notwithstanding its light enrollment, is gaining rapidly, though far less rapidly than Latin. It has almost doubled in eight years. Moreover, the great gain in Latin is likely to accelerate the present rate of gain in Greek very soon.

'Taking the nine studies in the table together, it will be noticed that the classics, history, mathematics and modern languages are the only ones gaining faster than the average, and that physics and chemistry fall below, as do all other secondary studies not detailed in our table, with the one possible exception of English. These facts are discussed at length in the *Educational Review* for October, 1899, and need not be enlarged upon here.

'Thus again are the supposedly moribund classics found to be alive and growing vigorously. *Quasi morientes et ecce vivimus.*'

Messrs. G. Bell and Sons' series of 'Illustrated Classics' forms a welcome novelty in the production of English classical school-books. These appeals to the 'faithful eye' should put into the teaching of the 'dead' languages some of the life which it sorely needs.

FURTHER EMENDATIONS OF THE GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

In a fragment of *Pherecrates* (Meineke, 2, 294: Kock 1, 171), in which ἐκκαρυβδίσαι or ἐκχαρυβδίσαι is apparently used of the act of swallowing down, it is strange that no editor has restored ἐγχαρυβδίσαι.

Plato draws a simile (M. 2, 664: K. 1, 640) from a boys' game: εἰς δ' ἀμφοτέρων ὄστρακον αὐτοῖσιν ἀνίησιν εἰς μέσον ἐστώς, | κὰν μὲν πίπτῃσι τὰ λεῖκ' ἐπάνω, φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἐτέρους δεῖ, | τοὺς δὲ διώκειν.

Dr. Blaydes in his *Adversaria in Com. Graec. Fragmenta*, 1890, has anticipated me in pointing out that Plato wrote ὄστρακον αὐτοῖς ἂν ᾗσ'. But Cobet (*Observ. Crit. in Plat. Com. Rel.* 1840, p. 176) also condemns πίπτῃσι, and the epic form cannot fairly be defended in such a context, though Meineke and Kock tolerate it. Here Blaydes's κῆν μὲν πίπτῃ τὰ γε λεῖκ' ἐπάνω or κῆν μὲν γε τὰ λ. ἐ. π. is not convincing, nor is the τᾶλλευκ' proposed by W. H. Thompson in his note on *Phaedrus*, 241 B, ἔλλευκος being a quite uncertified word. I think it probable Plato wrote κὰν μὲν πίπτοντι τὰ λεῖκ' ἐπάνω, understanding ᾗ, as in Plat. *Rep.* 370E ὃν ἂν αὐτοῖς χρεία. This is really a more accurate way of putting it than the other, though our idiom admits the other way freely. The white side or mark should not be said to fall: it is the shell which falls, and as it falls (πίπτοντι) the white is uppermost.

Some verses of Plato preserved by Plutarch refer to the tomb or monument of Themistocles at Piraeus:

ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τοὺς ἐκπλέοντάς τ' εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
χώπῳ τ' ἄμμιλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Kock (1. 651: cf. M. 2. 679) condemns πρόσρησις because it means not *quod quis alloquitur sed actio alloquendi*, but though unusual it need not be wrong; cf. the concrete use of such words as *φυγή, τέχνη, ξυμμαχία, ἀκοή*, &c. in Greek and similar uses in Latin. We may remember particularly *Peace* 148 μὴ . . . Εὐριπίδῃ | λόγον παράσχῃς καὶ τραγωδία γένῃ with Juvenal's *ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias*. But is πανταχοῦ right? A monument cannot stand everywhere, nor can it be hailed everywhere, but only where it stands. It may, however, be hailed from all sides by men coming and going many ways, and therefore I would conjecture

πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχόθεν τοῖς ἐμπόροις.

We may suppose that πανταχόθεν was corrupted to πανταχοῦ and that then the order was changed. For the general meaning cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1165–68, but that does not help us to the actual words. Kock's περίσημος is too unlike πρόσρησις and leaves untouched the difficulty of πανταχοῦ.

In *Aristomenes* (M. 2, 731: K. 1, 690) ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πρυτάνεις προσήλθομεν we should perhaps write ἐπειδὴ εἰς τοὺς πρυτάνεις, for even in poetry proper (as distinguished from verse) προσέρχονται seems not to be constructed with the accusative of a person. Or can οἱ πρυτάνεις be taken as equivalent to a place?

When someone in *Antiphanes* (M. 3, 105: K. 2, 90) is contrasting the hard lot of the comic poet with the easier conditions of tragedy, he cannot really imagine himself a tragic poet and say Οἰδίπουν γὰρ ἂν μόνον | φῶ, τᾶλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν ὁ πατὴρ Λαῖος, | μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη κ.τ.λ. because he is pointedly contrasting 'we' comic writers (line 17 ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν) with the others. It would seem therefore that φῶ should be φῆ, i.e. ὁ ποιητής of the line before. So immediately afterwards ἂν πάλιν | εἶπῃ τις Ἀλκμέωνα.

The hard thing for comedy is that it has to invent everything for itself—πάντα δεῖ | εὐρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά, τὰ διωκημένα | πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν, | τὴν εἰσβολήν. But no one can justify τὰ διωκημένα, and τῶκο νομημένα (Kock), τὰ διωκημένα (Herwerden), τὰ γεγενημένα (Blaydes) are all most unlikely. I do not know whether τὰ διακείμενα will be thought any better. I should understand it to mean 'the previous conditions,' or the way things had been disposed and arranged (διατιθέναι, διακείσθαι) some time before the action of the play began, τὰ ἔξω τῆς (κωμωδίας) as Aristotle might call it, e.g. the exposure or loss of a child. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 440 D οὕτως οἴεσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα διακείσθαι: Hdt. 9, 26 μονομαχίᾳ ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι = ἐπὶ ῥήτοσι: Hesiod *Scut.* 20 οἷς γάρ οἱ δέικετο, θεοὶ δ' ἐπιμάρτυροι ἦσαν. Διωκημένα cannot mean this, but would have to mean 'things administered' or 'managed,' which is not the appropriate idea.

This passage of Antiphanes, in which the Chremes and Pheidon of comedy are contrasted with the Peleus and Teucer of tragedy, was perhaps in Horace's mind when (*A.P.* 94–96) be contrasted Chremes with Telephus and Peleus.

Cratinus Junior (M. 3, 378 : K. 2, 292) :

- A. ἄνθρωπος εἰ δηλονότι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχεις.
B. κατὰ μὲν Πλάτων' οὐκ οἶδα, ὑπονοῶ δ' ἔχειν.

Hermann's ὑπονοῶ δ' <ὡδ'> ἔχειν has been accepted too readily. Read κατὰ τὸν Πλάτων' οὐκ οἶδα μὲν, ὑπονοῶ δ' ἔχειν.

Alexis (M. 3, 493 : K. 2, 385), describes Sleep :—

οὐ θνητὸς οὐδ' ἀθάνατος, ἀλλ' ἔχων τινὰ
σύγκρασιν, ὥστε μήτ' ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μέρει
μήτ' ἐν θεοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ φύεσθαι τ' αἰεὶ
καίνῳς φθίνειν τε τὴν παρουσίαν πάλιν.

The difficulty is in the fourth line. In the first place read καίνῳς, which is much more picturesque than the adverb. But what are we to make of τὴν παρουσίαν? The structure of the sentence almost requires φθίνειν to have the same subject as φύεσθαι, and τὴν παρουσίαν φθίνειν is a very improbable expression. Kock conjectures τὴν παροῦσαν αὐ πάλιν, i.e. ἡμέραν. But, when we fall asleep, our sleep usually passes away (φθίνει) not that same day but next morning. The poet's point should be that sleep is always being born one day and dying the next. We can get this meaning by the slightly greater change of τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐ πάλιν, i.e. ἡμέραν. We find ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα 'next day,' in *Thuc.* 7, 74, 1, *Plat. Crilo* 44 A, *Ar. Eccl.* 105 and other places, and the omission of ἡμέρα may be paralleled from *Eur. Alc.* 784 τὴν αὐριον μέλλουσιν εἰ βιώσεται. *Pausanias* has ἡ ἐπιούσα (without ἡμέρα) several times, e.g. 2, 19, 3 : 3, 14, 10. About the accusative case there is, I think, no difficulty, for ἡμέραν is very frequently used without any notion of duration, e.g. *Ar. Pax* 1313 ὥς οὐχὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν | πλακοῦσιν ἔστιν ἐντυχεῖν πλανωμένοις ἐρήμοις.

The same poet has a very similar description of love (M. 3, 495 : K. 2, 387) :

ἔστιν γὰρ οὔτε θῆλυς οὐτ' ἄρρην, πάλιν
οὔτε θεὸς οὐτ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐτ' ἀβέλτερος
οὐτ' αὖθις ἐμφρων.

Does not οὐτ' αὖθις show that in the first line the comma should be put after πάλιν, not before it? Cf. the *Γνώμαι μονόστιχοι* 283 καλὸν τὸ γηρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ γηρᾶν πάλιν. After describing Love's curious compound nature, he goes on :

καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεοὺς
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει γέ τι
τοιούτων, ἐγγὺς τ' εἰμὶ τοῦνόματος.

As he has just enumerated no less than seven elements in Love's character, ἔχει γέ τι τοιούτων seems unsuitable. I conjecture either ἔχει μέ τι τοιούτων or more probably (by a reverse change to that suggested above in a line of *Antiphanes* Ποίησις) ἔχω γέ τι. So in *Phaedrus* 239 c we find ἀνὴρ ἔχων ἔρωτα and in *Republic* 575 A ὁ ἔρως... τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν... ἄξει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τόλμαν. Perhaps τοῦνόματος should be τοῦ νο<σῆ>-ματος.

There is another well-known fragment relating to the drama in which a small correction needs to be made. *Timocles* (M. 3, 592 : K. 2, 453) speaks of the relief and distraction afforded by it to an overburdened mind :

ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ιδίων λήθην λαβὼν
πρὸς ἄλλοτρίῳ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει
μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἅμα.

But ψυχαγωγείσθαι τι, not πρὸς τι, is the proper construction, as we find for instance in the parallel passage on the same subject in *Marcus Aurelius* xi. 6 οὗς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ψυχαγωγείσθε, τοῖσι μὴ ἄχθεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος σκηνῆς. Indeed πρὸς is quite impossible in such a phrase. What *Timocles* wrote was no doubt πρὸς ἄλλοτρίῳ τ' <ὦν> ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει, according to the common idiom of εἶναι (γίγνεσθαι) πρὸς τι, to be engaged in something, to give oneself up to something : e.g. in *Diph. incert.* 13 πρὸς τῷ λαβεῖν γὰρ ὦν ὁ νοῦς τάλλ' οὐχ ὄρα. There is no difficulty in the combination of present and aorist participles. Cf., for instance, *Andoc.* 1, 106 νικήσαντες μαχόμενοι τοὺς τυράννους 'having conquered in battle' : *Lys.* 3, 6 ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν νύκτωρ μεθύων 'having come drunk,' or 'when drunk' : *ib.* 13, 67 παραφρυκτωρευόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ληφθεὶς 'caught signalling.' *Ar. Pol.* 8, 3, 12 ἐπιβουλεύοντες φωραθέντες : *Aesch. Ag.* 363 τὸν τᾶδε πράξαντ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον : *Il.* 8, 514. So here it is 'diverted by attending.'

Theophrastus (M. 3, 626 : K. 2, 473)

τὸν τροφέα, τὸν σωτήρα, δι' ὃν εἶδον νόμους
Ἑλλήνας, ἔμαθον γράμματα, ἐμνήσθην θεοῖς.

Kock makes no remark on εἶδον. It is curious that *Meineke*, who suspected it and suggested the by no means suitable εἶχον in its place, did not recognize the confusion of εἶδον with ἦδεν or ἦδη. Cf. *Eur. Med.* 537

Ἑλλάδ' ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς
γαῖαν κατοικεῖς καὶ δίκην ἐπίστασαι
νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι.

Philemon (M. 4, 4: K. 2, 479) speaks of an institution of Solon's less known than most:

στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναικας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ἐστᾶσι γυμναὶ κ.τ.λ.

I have not much doubt that we should read *κοινούς* and *κατεσκευασμένους*; *κατὰ τόπους* can hardly stand alone. *Τοι* is, of course, wrong, but I do not see how to alter it with any confidence. The first four lines of the fragment are incoherent, however punctuated. Possibly the second line should precede the fifth, but this does not remove all difficulty.

Another fragment too (M. 4, 26: K. 2, 500) may be immensely improved by an insignificant change. A justly proud cook soliloquises, parodying *Medea's* nurse:

ὧς ἥμερος μοῦπῆλθε γῆ τε κοῦρανῶ
λέξαι μολόντι τοῦψον ὥς ἐσκεύασα.
νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἡδύ γ' ἔστ' εὐήμερεῖν
ἐν ἅπασιν· ἰχθὺς ἀπαλὸς οἷος γέγονέ μοι,
5 οἷον παρατέθεικ', οὐ πεφαρμακευμένον
τυροῖσιν οὐδ' ἄνωθεν ἐξηριθμισμένον,
ἀλλ' οἷος ἦν ζῶν, κώπτὸς ὢν τοιοῦτος ἦν.

We sympathise with his achievement, but we cannot allow him to express it in bad Greek, like the *οἷον* of line 5. Bentley thought *τοῖον* would do, but *τοῖος* is not used in prose or comedy, *τοιοῦτος* as in 7 being the Attic word. Kock would read *ὀπτόν* from line 7. I would change only one letter of *οἷον* and read *ὄψον* as in 2. The cook speaks of the conversion of the fish into a dish. There is no need to suspect the nominative *ἰχθὺς ἀπαλός*, though *Philemon* might also have used the accusative. The cook concludes

ἀθανασίαν ἠῦρκα· τοὺς ἤδη νεκροὺς
ὅταν ὁσφρανθῶσι, ποιῶ ζῆν πάλιν.

To make the last line scan Casaubon wrote *ὅταν μόνον*, Porson *ὅταν περ*. Perhaps we should read *νεκροὺς* | *ὄντας*, *ὅταν ὁσφρανθῶσι*, π.ζ.π. So Herod. 1, 113, τὸν δὲ ἑωντοῦ (*παῖδα*) *έόντα νεκρόν*, λαβὼν ἔθηκε κ.τ.λ.

Cobet did not quite finish the emendation of

ὦ Κλέων, παῦσαι φλυαρῶν. ἂν ὀκνῆς τὸ
μανθάνειν,
ἀνεπικουρήτον σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίον λήσει
ποιῶν,

(M. 4, 30: K. 2, 533) when he wrote *λήσεις* for *λήσει*. We must also write *σεαυτῷ* for *σεαυτοῦ*. If *Philemon* had used the genitive, its proper place was between *τόν* and *βίον*. The exceptions to this rule are few in the extreme.

A thoroughly sound suggestion of Meineke's is ignored by Kock, when he writes (2, 504: M. 4, 32)

ἡμῶν δ' ὅσα καὶ τὰ σώματ' ἐστὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
καθ' ἐνός, τοσοῦτους ἔστι καὶ τρόπους ἰδεῖν.

Καθ' ἐνός is nonsense and Meineke suggested '*nonne καθ' ἓνα scribendum?*' no doubt meaning it to go with what follows. The point is that, whereas all the animals of a species are alike, in the human race there are as many characters as individuals. *Quot homines, tot ingenia*. You find, taking men one by one (*καθ' ἓνα*) that each is different. Cf. the *καθ' ἓνα* in *Philemon's* remark on the nuisance of friendly questions as to how you are (M. 4, 15: K. 2, 490):

πολὸν μείζον ἐστὶ τοῦ κακῶς ἔχειν κακὸν
τὸ καθ' ἓνα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπισκοπούμενοις
δεῖν τὸν κακῶς ἔχοντα πῶς ἔχει λέγειν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THREE CONJECTURES ON THE *CLOUDS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

625 μᾶλλον γὰρ οὕτως εἴσεται
κατὰ σελήνην ὥς ἄγειν χρὴ τοῦ βίου τὰς
ἡμέρας.

'All the days of one's life' looks natural in English, but even in English 'to keep the days of one's life by the moon' does not look natural or even possible. The more I look at *τοῦ βίου* here the more hopeless it appears to me, I cannot help thinking

that Aristophanes must have written *τοῦπιόν* = *τὸ λοιπόν*. Liddell and Scott quote *τοῦπιόν* so used from a bad poet indeed but a sufficient authority.

743 ἔχ' ἄτρεμα· κὰν ἀπορῆς τι τῶν νοημάτων
ἀφεῖς ἀπελθε.

Read *ἀπόλυε*. *Strepsiades* has just been ordered *σχάσαι τὴν φροντίδα*, and again in

762 he is told to slacken off his thought into the air like a cockchafer tied by a string. (ἐπ' ὀλίγον Herwerden, much further from the MSS.)

1415 κλάουσι παῖδες πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς;

This trimeter appearing amid lines of three syllables longer would be suspicious even if it could be so construed as to make sense, but it cannot. The meaning must be: 'do you think the father *is not* to catch it?' That δοκῶ κλάειν may mean 'I make up my mind to weep' is true enough,

but that has nothing to do with this line. Hence O. Schneider conjectures δοκεῖς δικαίως, but this would still require κλαύσεσθαι, van Leeuwen κλάειν δίκαιον ἤγει or κλάειν δοκεῖ δίκαιον. (For these references I am indebted to my friend Mr. Starkie, viro optime de Aristophane merito). I would accept the last with only a small change. Aristophanes is parodying the Euripidean χαίρεις ὄρων φῶς πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς; It is better then to keep δοκεῖς with <δίκαιον> translating: 'don't you think it right that the father should weep?'

ARTHUR PLATT.

ARISTARCHUS AND THE MODERN VULGATE OF HOMER.

In an article published in the October number of this *Review* I endeavoured to show that the modern Homeric text was identical with the ancient vulgate or κοινή to the extent of 60 per cent. and that of the remaining 40 per cent. of cases, in about half the ancient vulgate was in conflict with another element, while in the remaining half the other element had dislodged the ancient vulgate. I asked the question, What is this foreign element and by what means has it found its way into the modern MS. text?

These results were stated generally, but in fact they are only true of the modern vulgate as composed of the κοινή on the one hand and of Aristarchus on the other, since the only method of ascertaining the κοινή was to consider it the contrary of Aristarchus' reading. The 'other element' therefore in this percentage is necessarily Aristarchus, and before we proceed further it may be well to change the point of view, and starting from the information given us by scholia about Aristarchus' readings to consider how many of them survive in the modern text.

Aristarchus' readings may be found (1) in no MSS. (2) sporadically: by this I mean in from 1—10 MSS. (3) in the family *h*, or in *h* and its dependant *c*. (4) in a minority of MSS., by which I mean from 10—25 (5) in half, (6) in a majority, (7) in all except sporadic instances, (8) in all.

I have mostly confined my calculation to the Italian MSS., which amount to somewhat over 60 on the average for a given case, and I have noticed every place where

Aristarchus' name occurs and included the obvious and recognised cases where it is omitted. I have on the other hand left out questions of pure accentuation, and therefore the greater part of the information we get from Herodian, and have ignored the eccentric variations of individuals who differ equally from Aristarchus and from the vulgate.

A

(1) vv. 91, 97, 108, 117, 142, 157, 168, 309, 350, 404, 424, 432, 434, 435, 447, 522, 585, 598	= 18
(2) vv. 124, 204, 241, 258, 273, 304, 374, 424	= 8
(3) None.	
(4) None.	
(5) vv. 203, 298, 464, 531	= 4
(6) v. 73	= 1
(7) v. 169	= 1
(8) vv. 332, 423?	= 2

B

(1) vv. 192, 266, 300, 355, 415, 447	= 6
(2) vv. 53, 164, 300, 435, 707, 801	= 6
(3) None.	
(4) v. 111	= 1
(5) vv. 163, 196, 462, 516, 798	= 5
(6) vv. 12, 29, 278, 347, 769, 865	= 6
(7) vv. 397, 665	= 2
(8) vv. 435, 733	= 2

Γ

(1) vv. 18, 99, 126, 227, 352, 362, 402, 406	= 8
(2) vv. 351, 326, 415, 436	= 4

(3) v. 259 ?	= 1	(7) None.	
(4) v. 295	= 1	(8) vv. 296, 441.	= 2
(5) vv. 163, 193, 262, 270, 290, 348,		I	
434	= 7	(1) vv. 66, 112, 225, 349, 394, 397,	
(6) v. 51	= 1	509, 580	= 8
(7) v. 57	= 1	(2) vv. 18, 19, 197, 214, 242, 383,	
(8) vv. 10, 292	= 2	488, 632	= 8
Δ		(3) vv. 57, 73, 88, 89, 155, 472, 492,	
(1) vv. 17 <i>bis</i> , 94, 184, 212, 238	= 6	564	= 8
(2) vv. 142 ?, 170, 213, 308, 400, 426		(4) vv. 132, 167, 203, 297, 317	= 5
456	= 7	(5) vv. 274, 324, 399, 401, 455, 584,	
(3) vv. 260, 320, 333	= 3	602, 612, 698	= 9
(4) None.		(6) vv. 32, 270, 446	= 3
(5) vv. 205, 527	= 2	(7) vv. 109, 639	= 2
(6) vv. 148, 277, 319	= 3	(8) vv. 36, 322, 464	= 3
(7) None.		K	
(8) vv. 139, 299	= 2	(1) vv. 124, 127?, 252, 452, 539	= 5
E		(2) vv. 38, 53, 54, 291, 332, 341, 598	= 6
(1) vv. 317, 403, 818, 881	= 4	(3) vv. 161, 431	= 2
(2) vv. 89, 425, 661, 757, 808, 857	= 6	(4) vv. 77, 306, 347, 354, 362, 398,	
(3) vv. 64, 560, 787, 839	= 4	445, 463, 519	= 9
(4) vv. 293, 444, 466	= 3	(5) vv. 48, 427	= 2
(5) vv. 104, 227, 703, 797, 874	= 5	(6) vv. 129, 216, 224, 513	= 4
(6) v. 231	= 1	(7) vv. 146, 176, 346, 413	= 4
(7) vv. 104. 272, 900	= 3	(8) vv. 32, 115, 321, 466, 489, 546	= 6
(8) vv. 249, 416, 443, 609, 700	= 5	Λ	
Z		(1) vv. 290, 392, 424?, 437, 441,	
(1) vv. 121, 415, 475	= 3	455, 564, 773	= 8
(2) vv. 96, 155, 170, 187?, 330, 479	= 6	(2) vv. 72, 92, 368, 439, 451, 686	= 6
(3) None.		(3) vv. 144, 539	= 2
(4) None.		(4) vv. 38, 40, 184, 219, 466, 799	= 6
(5) v. 432	= 1	(5) vv. 672, 688	= 2
(6) vv. 54, 128, 266, 478 ?	= 4	(6) vv. 553, 622	= 2
(7) v. 250	= 1	(7) vv. 128, 129, 537, 538	= 4
(8) vv. 71, 226, 354, 434	= 4	(8) vv. 142, 458	= 2
H		M	
(1) vv. 41, 144, 198, 214, 230, 272		(1) vv. 218, 412, 420	= 3
304	= 7	(2) vv. 26, 283, 340, 465	= 4
(2) vv. 193, 353, 451	= 3	(3) vv. 68, 161, 318, 465	= 4
(3) vv. 12, 110, 130, 241, 336, 420,		(4) vv. 44, 404	= 2
475, 481	= 8	(5) vv. 330, 382, 407	= 3
(4) vv. 62, 64, 73, 197, 259, 452	= 6	(6) v. 142	= 1
(5) vv. 5, 146, 171	= 3	(7) vv. 30, 46, 159, 211, 231, 468	= 6
(6) v. 238	= 1	(8) vv. 147, 281, 451	= 3
(7) None.		N	
(8) vv. 127, 213, 272, 359, 428	= 5	(1) vv. 144, 367, 407, 584, 599	= 5
Θ		(2) vv. 28, 347, 384, 443, 541, 810	= 6
(1) vv. 23, 246, 304, 349, 449, 513	= 6	(3) vv. 399, 449	= 2
(2) vv. 378, 415, 538	= 3	(4) vv. 103, 179, 222, 358, 423, 705	= 6
(3) vv. 7, 408	= 2	(5) vv. 447, 499, 713	= 3
(4) vv. 55, 163	= 2	(6) vv. 234, 287, 318, 415	= 4
(5) vv. 35, 109, 270	= 3	(7) vv. 6, 446, 456, 465, 485, 613,	
(6) vv. 103, 137, 157, 191, 340, 423,		617	= 7
428	= 7	(8) vv. 191, 225, 797, 824	= 4

Ξ			(5) vv. 70, 92	= 2
(1) v. 285	= 1		(6) vv. 17, 384, 393	= 3
(2) vv. 125, 202, 223, 322	= 4		(7) v. 75	= 1
(3) vv. 173, 181, 235, 295, 418	= 5		(8) v. 76	= 1
(4) vv. 202, 249, 438	= 3		Υ	
(5) vv. 376, 400	= 2		(1) v. 114	= 1
(6) vv. 40, 118, 157, 208, 398, 437	= 6		(2) vv. 28, 57, 77, 195, 228, 255, 471	= 7
(7) vv. 62, 72, 236, 349, 389, 412	= 6		(3) vv. 263, 426	= 2
(8) v. 18	= 1		(4) vv. 35, 59, 138	= 3
Ο			(5) v. 84	= 1
(1) vv. 32, 71, 94	= 3		(6) vv. 332, 414	= 2
(2) vv. 82, 211, 232, 252, 272, 417, 563, 626, 680	= 9		(7) vv. 12, 484	= 2
(3) None.			(8) v. 395	= 1
(4) vv. 114, 197, 240, 307, 398, 714, 737	= 7		Φ	
(5) vv. 24, 45, 72, 82, 179, 694	= 6		(1) vv. 321, 323, 586, 587, 611	= 5
(6) v. 621	= 1		(2) vv. 73, 122, 172, 191, 303, 363, 417, 513, 535	= 9
(7) vv. 64, 694	= 2		(3) v. 195	= 1
(8) vv. 10, 17, 86	= 3		(4) vv. 530, 539	= 2
Π			(5) vv. 62, 111, 246, 492	= 4
(1) vv. 5, 16, 53, 71, 504, 638	= 6		(6) vv. 106, 126, 185, 252, 573, 600	= 6
(2) vv. 120, 188, 379, 445, 522, 707	= 6		(7) vv. 217, 249	= 2
(3) v. 144	= 1		(8) vv. 131, 262, 265, 347, 355, 396, 454	= 7
(4) vv. 175, 227, 290, 466, 688, 775, 810	= 7		Χ	
(5) vv. 261, 450, 488, 507, 648, 774	= 6		(1) vv. 42, 122, 315, 475	= 4
(6) vv. 228, 354, 504 <i>bis</i> , 633, 842	= 6		(2) vv. 85, 118, 202, 251, 470, 478	= 6
(7) vv. 254, 716	= 2		(3) vv. 431, 468	= 2
(8) vv. 35, 105	= 2		(4) vv. 73, 416	= 2
Ρ			(5) None.	
(1) vv. 270, 392	= 2		(6) v. 411	= 1
(2) vv. 27, 144, 214, 231, 607	= 5		(7) vv. 48, 69, 198	= 3
(3) v. 202	= 1		(8) v. 83	= 1
(4) vv. 44, 95, 365, 461, 505, 681	= 6		Ψ	
(5) vv. 20, 603	= 2		(1) vv. 422, 879	= 2
(6) vv. 42, 161, 292, 302, 481, 637, 746	= 7		(2) vv. 135, 307, 361, 374, 464, 635	= 6
(7) v. 234	= 1		(3) v. 483	= 1
(8) vv. 149, 456	= 2		(4) vv. 287, 548	= 2
Σ			(5) None.	
(1) vv. 100, 213, 485	= 3		(6) vv. 39, 117, 137, 622, 640	= 5
(2) vv. 14, 34, 86, 506, 568	= 5		(7) v. 48	= 1
(3) None.			(8) vv. 18, 120, 504	= 3
(4) v. 171	= 1		Ω	
(5) None.			(1) vv. 53, 198, 200, 241	= 4
(6) v. 376	= 1		(2) vv. 20, 192, 473, 636, 701	= 5
(7) vv. 124, 471	= 2		(3) None.	
(8) vv. 317, 400, 499 ?	= 2		(4) vv. 97, 110, 331, 347, 418, 518	= 6
Τ			(5) v. 663	= 1
(1) vv. 95, 391	= 2		(6) vv. 38, 215, 344, 546	= 4
(2) vv. 80, 376	= 2		(7) vv. 214, 373	= 2
(3) None.			(9) vv. 125, 148, 341	= 3
(4) vv. 27, 79	= 2		Omitting the details we get the following table :	

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω	
None	18	6	8	6	4	3	7	6	8	5	8	3	5	1	3	6	2	3	2	1	5	4	2	4	120
Sporadic	8	6	4	7	6	6	3	3	8	6	6	4	6	4	9	6	5	5	2	7	9	6	6	5	137
<i>h</i> or <i>ch</i>	0	0	1	3	4	0	8	2	3	2	2	4	2	5	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	49
Minority	0	1	1	0	3	0	6	2	5	9	6	2	6	3	7	7	6	1	2	3	2	2	2	6	83
$\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$	4	5	7	2	5	1	3	3	9	2	2	3	3	2	6	6	2	0	2	1	4	0	0	1	73
Majority	1	6	1	3	1	4	1	7	3	4	2	1	4	6	1	6	7	1	3	2	6	1	5	4	80
All but sporadic...	1	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	2	4	4	6	7	6	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	55
All	2	2	2	2	3	4	5	2	3	6	2	3	4	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	7	1	3	3	67
	34	28	25	23	29	19	33	25	46	38	32	26	37	28	31	36	27	15	13	19	36	19	20	25	664

If we express these results in words, of Aristarchus' readings (amounting to 664 separate instances), between $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$ have left no trace whatever on the MSS.; about $\frac{1}{5}$ are found sporadically here and there in the MSS.; $\frac{1}{3}$ are the peculiar property of one family of MSS., *h*; about $\frac{1}{8}$ are found in a substantial minority of MSS., another $\frac{1}{8}$ in about half of the existing MSS., and another $\frac{1}{8}$ in a majority of them; $\frac{1}{3}$ are found in all the MSS. with casual exceptions, and $\frac{1}{10}$ occur in all MSS. hitherto collated.

Some general remarks may be offered. The separate figures do not claim to rigid accuracy, for omissions have been made here and there where particular passages have not been collated, and more exact collation and the evidence of fresh manuscripts must necessarily alter the details. The proportions on the other hand are probably certain.

The 'sporadic' class deserves notice. Although I have called the agreement of as many as 10 MSS. by this name, the evidence in many cases is only of 2 or 3 MSS., and in not a few of only one. It is evident that the distinction between 'None' and 'Sporadic' is almost formal, and that a very little fresh evidence might largely increase the sporadic class. It is therefore well to reckon them together, and to add *h*, which

till the contrary be proved may be regarded as a particular case of sporadic tradition. The total comes to 306, or about $\frac{5}{11}$ of the whole.

On the same grounds we may combine 'All' and 'All except sporadic,' and get a total of 122, or about $\frac{2}{11}$ of the whole. The middle categories, 'Minority,' 'Half-and-half,' and 'Majority,' combined give 237, or about $\frac{4}{11}$ of the whole. We may therefore say, speaking roughly, that the Aristarchean readings have left no trace in $\frac{5}{11}$ of their total number, are alternative with their contraries in $\frac{4}{11}$, and occupy the field in the remaining $\frac{2}{11}$.

The variations, as between book and book, and category and category, are obvious, and like the sporadic class, suggest conclusions upon the mode of the survival of these Aristarchean lections. This question however needs more evidence before it be directly attacked.

If we take an average between books, there are $27\frac{3}{4}$ Aristarchean variants attested per book: of these 5 are not found, $5\frac{2}{3}$ are found sporadically; $3\frac{1}{2}$ are found in a minority of MSS., 3 in half the MSS., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in a majority; $2\frac{1}{3}$ are found in all MSS. with casual exceptions, $2\frac{2}{3}$ in all MSS. whatever.

T. W. ALLEN.

ELUCIDATIONS OF LATIN POETS.

I.

JUVENAL I 132-146.

Vestibulis abeunt ueteres lassique cli-
entes
uotaque deponunt, quamquam longis-
sima cenae
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis
emendus.
optima siluarum interea pelagique uor-
abit
rex horum uacuisque toris tantum ipse
iacebit.

135

nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et
tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia
mensa.
nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat
istas
luxuriae sordes? quanta est gula, quae
sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter conuiuia
natum!

140

poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis
 amictus
 turgidus et crudum paonem in balnea
 portas.
 hinc subitae mortes atque intestata
 senectus.
 it noua nec tristis per cunctas fabula
 cenas, 145
 ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

Hence sudden deaths and intestate old age. So did the Montpellier scholiast understand verse 144, and so was it understood for many centuries without suspicion or surprise. In 1884 appeared the third volume of Madvig's *Aduersaria Critica*, and in it this note on p. 249 :

‘Sic editur : *hinc* (ex luxuriosis cenis et gulae intemperantia) *subitae mortes atque intestata senectus* cet. *subitae* mortes efficiendi luxuria nihil mirum est, sed quid ea ad testamenta impedienda pertineat, non intellego, neque magis, cur senum maxime testamenta in hac re appellentur. quid potest, si sententia uerborum explanetur, stultius aut peruersius dici quam propter cenandi intemperantiam senes testamenta non facere? una littera mutata efficitur recta et apta sententia : *atque infestata senectus*. *senectus* subitis his et praematuris mortibus infestatur, paucique aut nulli eam consequuntur. eodem pertinent sine ulla testamentorum significatione, quae subiciuntur (*it noua nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas* cet.)’.

Professor J. E. B. Mayor in 1885 (*Journ. Phil.* vol. xiii p. 231) controverted Madvig in words which I will here transcribe ; and to save space I will insert my own rejoinders within square brackets :

‘To me it appears that *infestata*, absolutely used, is intolerably bald, whereas *intestata* is imperatively required by verse 146. Why are the friends angry? [By reason of the scurvy treatment they received in verses 132-141]. Because there is no will. [Why should that make them angry? Suppose there were a will: could they expect a penny? would their patron remember them in his will after neglecting them all his life?] The *senex orbus* [what *senex orbus*? Juvenal mentions none], surprised by death [Juvenal says nothing of any *senex* surprised by death: *senectus* is old age, not the death of an old man], had no time to make one. [He had all his lifetime to make one, from the day when he first acquired the testam-

entifactio : dining and bathing occupy only a few hours of the afternoon.—Prof. Mayor then quotes several passages about *orbi* and *captatores*, who are nowhere mentioned in this satire, and concludes] Thus I have accounted for *intestata* and *senectus*.’

I think not ; but further : Prof. Mayor's contentions, whether right or wrong, do not even address themselves to the main point at issue. He does not deny that the text means what Madvig says it means, and he does not and cannot deny that this meaning is absurd. But unless he denies either the one or the other his cause is lost.

Mr Owen in 1897 (*C.R.* vol. xi p. 400 b) repeats some of Prof. Mayor's remarks and adds these of his own :

‘I proceed to consider *intestata*, about which Madvig (*Adu.* iii 249) found a difficulty, because though indigestion may cause death, it need not have prevented the [? an old] man from making his will . . . But rich old men would naturally often put off making their wills till death was imminent ; partly from fear of being poisoned by their prospective legatees (cp. xiii 25, xiv 173, 251 : see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, i 338 foll.), and partly to keep on the alert the expectations of the legacy-hunters, by whom they were courted and whose special prey they were.’

This may be very true ; but what is supposed to be the drift of it? Madvig impugns as absurd the statement that intestate old age is caused by the habit of bathing after a heavy meal. Mr Owen explains that intestate old age is caused by two other things.

Mr Friedlaender says boldly and plainly ‘*hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus*: soviel als *subitae mortes senum intestatorum*.’ That is impossible. *molem et montes altos* in Verg. *Aen.* i 61 is much the same as *molem altorum montium, honore iudicioque* in Tac. *Agr.* 43 is much the same as *iudicio honorifico*, because *molem* and *montes, honore* and *iudicio*, denote two aspects of one thing. But you cannot take the names of two entirely different things, throw a conjunction between them, and call result a *ἔν δὲ δύοιν* : *mors et Caesar* will never be Latin for *mors Caesaris*. Propertius iii 4 9 can write *Crassos clademque piæ* because *cladem piæ* and *Crassos piæ*, unlike *hinc intestata senectus*, make sense when separated ; but no one desiring to say that bad generalship caused the disaster of Carrhae can express

himself in Latin thus: *hinc* (ex imperatoriae artis ignoratione) *Crassi cladesque*. Therefore I call the device impossible; but if it were possible it would still be futile: the sense is hardly better than before. What should induce the satirist to say that gluttony and imprudent bathing bring sudden death upon *the old*? The old must all die soon, however abstinent. If these practices allow men to attain old age, it is obvious that they cannot be very unhealthy practices. And a retribution which apparently spares the young and the middle-aged and chooses for its victims old men who have neglected to make their wills is not what I should call a *poena praesens*.

Other authors tell quite another story: they say of the luxurious, as David says of bloody and deceitful men, that they shall not live out half their days. Prof. Mayor

quotes Celsus i pr. p. 1, 2 Daremb. 'médicina . . . uix aliquos ex nobis ad senectutis principia perducit.' This is what I expect to hear from Juvenal when I see him use the word *senectus* in such a context; and this is the sense which Madvig obtains by his rather artificial conjecture.

And this is the sense of the MS text. *intestatus*, in virtue of its formation, means the opposite of anything which *testatus* means. *testatus* means *having made a will*, so *intestatus* means *having made no will*: *testatus* means *attested*, so *intestatus* means *unattested*. What Martial vi 29 7 calls *rara senectus* (immodicis brevis est aetas et rara senectus) Juvenal calls *intestata*, that is *adeo inuistata ut teste careat*. In iv 97 he has polished the phrase into immortality: '*prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus*.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

FIVE DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS (OB. 488).

(1) Et nunc, dum in carbaso sudat unus, alter in bombyce, tu endromidatus exterius, intrinsecus fasceatus, insuper et concava *municipis Amerini* (sic) sede compressus, discipulis non aestu minus quam timore pallentibus exponere oscitabundus ordiris: 'Samia mihi mater fuit.'—SIDONIUS, *Ep.* ii. 2. § 2, Mohr's text.

Sid. is addressing a school-master friend called Domitius, to whom he writes from his villa of Aydat, on the breezy slopes of the Mont Dore (in Auvergne), compassionating him on his own sweltering climate. It is full midsummer—"and there *you* are! boy in this corner, boy in that; one in ducks, another in silks; both a sweltering. And Dominie Domitius, beneath his outer blanketing, wears a complete suit of swaddling-clothes; oppressed moreover by the natural situation of the hole called *Camarina* City, . . . he begins with many yawns to expound Terence's 'In Samos was my mother born.'"

'*Camaringi*' is plainly what Sidonius wrote. His friend, who has a residence also in Auvergne, is very unlikely, [at a time when the Gallican Schools of Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux had almost entirely taken over the literary and educational leadership from Imperial Italy], to be keeping a school either at *Ameria* (N., V., T., C., and Mohr, the latest editor of Sid., read '*Amerini*') in Umbria; or at *Camerinum*

(also in Umbria, on a mountain, and therefore unlikely to be referred to as '*sedes concava*') [M., and Clermont-Ferrand Codex, (C-F) read '*Camerini*,' and L.'s reading '*Samerini*' is an obvious perversion of the reading of C-F and M]: or at *Cameria* in Latium.

Camarina (still more anciently *Campus Caii Marii*) which is the modern Camargues, in the Bouches du Rhône, solves all the difficulties. It is within measurable distance of the *two best* MSS. of Sidonius, C-F and L, and from its position in the Rhône swamps would give point to the badinage about the stuffiness of Domitius' municipal residence. Moreover the last sentences of the letter imply that Domitius was at least within the limits of Gaul.

(2) The Paris Library contains among its '*acquisitions nouvelles*' an interesting letter¹ from the great scholar Lipsius to Sirmond, the Jesuit editor, suggesting the following among other clever emendations, which have lain dormant for 300 years. (Date 1596.)

Ep. v. 3 *sub fin.* [to Apollinaris (cousin of Sid., and brother of Alcimus Avitus)].

For '*velut Atticas leges* . . . aere credite incisum' Lipsius reads *Antiquas* (i.e. ancient Roman) *leges*. The Roman Laws of the XII. Tables were certainly exposed on a

¹ *Nouvelles Acquisitions Lat.* No. 1554.

bronze tablet in the Capitol. Unless Sidonius had special sources of knowledge (he had certainly visited Athens, and done the monuments thoroughly, see Ep. ix. 9), the reference to Bronze-incised Laws at Athens does not seem to be justified by the facts. Why did not Sirmond act upon Lipsius' letter? Possibly it never reached him. Parisians perhaps stole documents from *escriitoires* even in the 17th century.

The Bishop of Salisbury, however, has pointed out to me that the Tables of Attic Laws were actually transported to Rome, and these may have been incised on bronze.

(3) *Amantius* was an adventurer in whom Sidonius, Bp. of Clermont, and Graecus, Bp. of Marseilles, continued to take a lively interest, even after the story of his nefarious wooing (vii. 2), and of the marriage settlements, in which the bridegroom, who happens to have bought a suburban garden in Auvergne, poses as a landed proprietor of Clermont. *Amantius* was a pedlar glorified into a 'Reader' under the ordaining hands of Sidonius.

Epistle vi. 8 (to Graecus) ends with a sentence about *Amantius* which is undoubtedly corrupt in the MSS.

Sidonius hopes that in going to visit Graecus, he will find himself on the highway to fortune—'*si hinc* (from Clermont) *ad vestra obsequia festinans, frigoribus fontium civicorum* (there was a cold spring in the middle of Clermont called "Fontgîève" in Savaron's time) *saepe fontem mercatoris anteferat.*' (Mohr etc.)

mercatoribus LCN (N¹ corrected to '*medicatoris*).

mercatoris M.

mediatoris (tui) T. Leo conjectures *caloris tui*.

'*Medicatoris*' (i.e. Bishop Graecus) of N² gives a hopeful sense, but supplies no sufficient antithesis to '*frigoribus*' (connoting 'stupidity').

For

SAEP E FONTEM MERCATORIBUS

I am inclined to suggest

SAPIENTIAE FONTEM MERCATOR BONUS.

For the expression '*sap. font.*' compare '*ad meracissimam scientiae fontem*' (iii. 10). Meanwhile Professor R. Ellis' '*Romanic*' commentator on Sidonius reads '*fontem mercatorum*,' and is of opinion that the man will prosper by means of a judicious teetotalism. '*Fons aquae frigidae...quoniam*

mercatores cum in mercimoniis suis profiscuntur in aliquam regionem, frequentius ex aquâ bibunt quam juxta viam reperiunt, quam ex vino.'

(4) The first genuine line of Epistle 1, of Bk. IX. [I believe the whole muddle, from '*Exigis, domine fili*' (l. 1) to '*celeriter addemus*' (l. 29) is a bad interpolation founded on IX. 16, which it parodies and repeats] presents considerable difficulty.

Mohr reads '*Etsi Apollinaris* (his son) *totius studii in ceteris rebus, tum est in hac certe negligentissimus*' [viz., that he will not apply himself to his books, either for love or licking].

After the word '*Appollinaris*'

F reads '*tuis cui studium in,*' &c.

P „ '*tuis cum in ceteris rebus.*'

C „ '*tuis cui animus cum in cet. v.*'

[Note that the Laudian MS. (L) omits the whole letter. But such lacunae are only too frequent in this great codex.]

The editor Savaron follows P.

Wilamowitz—'*tuis frugi in cet. reb.*'

Taking C's reading '*animus*' as a clue to what Sidonius wrote,

'*Etsi Apollinaris, plus quam animosus¹ in ceteris rebus*'?

seems a probable emendation.

The athletic proficiency of his son Apollinaris is a subject of boasting to Sidonius in one of his quaintest letters (VIII. 6) addressed to the invalid sportsman Nau-matius.

'Shame,' he says, 'to be making war on the poor leverets of the Île d'Oléron! and, all the time, it is not worth their while to be terrified by the ostentatious loosing of your hounds from the leash, since there is little fear of your getting within measurable distance after the start, you and your father. But if my boy Apollinaris was of the party, then I admit there might be more ground for their uneasiness.'

(5) Ep. ix. 14, to the young student *Burgundio*.

Mohr reads, in the last section, '*gaudisque quae facies recreaturis una fruemur.*' So Codices C, M. || '*Recreaturus*' || F. The editors Elmenhorst, J. B. Pius, Savaron, Sirmond, and Luetjohann—'*Recitaturus.*'

(1) Mohr must have meant 'And we (elders) shall together enjoy the pleasure (of hearing your recitation). which will en-

¹ C '*tuis cui animus.*'

liven your composition.' Not very complimentary to the composer. (2) The other editors' reading entails translating 'facies (gaudia),' 'you will give pleasure,' which is not (even Sidonian) Latin: and 'facies recitaturus,' 'you will give pleasure in (while) reciting,' which would be 'facies "recitans" or "recitando."'

For which the following emendation seems likely:—

'gaudisque, tuae facilitatis creaturis (subst. in app. to gaudiis) una fruemur.'

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* * MS., or other, notes of recent research upon the text or elucidation of Sidonius' letters will be welcomed by the author of these suggestions.

THE MEANING OF HELLESPONTUS IN LATIN.

IN Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Rom. rel. incert* 104 we find the words of an old poet (name unknown):

en impero Argis, regna mihi liquit Pelops,
qua ponto ab Helles atque ab Ionio mari
urgetur Isthmos.

The lines are quoted by Seneca Ep. 80: the speaker is Agamemnon, and the 1st line is cited by Quintilian ix. 1 140 with the reading *sceptra* which Ribbeck has (justly) preferred. It is due perhaps to the fact that there is an Isthmos in the neighbourhood of the 'Hellespont' as we commonly interpret the word, the narrow strait separating Asia from Europe (v. Mela ii. 2: terra . . . inter Hellespontum Aegaeumque procurrit et angustias Isthmon . . . uocant), it is due I say to this that another widely different interpretation has not so far as I can see been given. It only needs to be pointed out for all to admit that the Isthmos in question is the *Corinthian* isthmus. Agamemnon is asserting in his 'hot fit of pride' preeminence in the Peloponnese (v. 1): *qua* means '(as far as) where:' the *Ionium mare* is the sea to the west, so we infer that *pontus Helles* here means the *Aegean sea*. (Cf. Silius Italicus xv. 154 sqq.)

It has long been recognised that in Greek a similar meaning of Ἑλλήσποντος is found not infrequently from Homer onwards. Thus in *Il.* 24, 545 we have 'Ε. ἀπείρων: Leaf in his note on the epithet refers to *Il.* ix. 360 on which he says: 'The Hellespont seems to include the N.E. portion of the Aegean sea.' So, except for the hesitancy in the expression, Heyne on *Il.* vii. 86 where the epithet πλατύς is used of the Hellespont, and the meaning 'broad' is as destructive of the truth as 'brackish' is of the poetry;

unless the view stated by Leaf is correct, when the 'broad' Hellespont becomes intelligible.

In Herodotus (i. 57 and elsewhere) the term Ἑλλήσποντος includes the Propontis: and in Thuc. ii. 9 the adjacent country also. But in Herodotus iv. 85 we find the sense in which Hellespont was specifically used by both Greeks and Romans: the strait between Europe and Asia, 400 stades in length, 7 in breadth: ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλέεται. This distinction of title is attested by very many instances: but it does not prevent Antipater of Thessalonica from writing of Amphipolis: (the date is circ. 15 B.C.)

Στρυμόνι καὶ μεγάλῳ πεπολισμένον Ἑλλήσποντῳ | ἥριον κ.τ.λ.—(Mackail p. 223. v. his note.)

It is the chief object of this paper to collect from *Latin* other instances of this peculiar usage, which we shall find to maintain itself beside the other better known meaning through a considerable period. I have used the list of references in De Vit's *Onomasticon s.v.* Helle etc. The exx. under *A.* I regard as certain: those under *B.* less certain.

A. i. [Vergil] *Culex* 335–6.

reddidit heu Graius poenas tibi, Troia,
ruenti

Hellespontiacis obiturus reddidit undis.

The reference is to the destruction of the Greek ships, on their return from Troy, at Caphereus in Euboea.

ii. [Vergil] *Ciris* 410–2.

illa ego sum Nisi pollentis filia quondam
certatim ex omni petiit quam Graecia regno
quam curuus terris amplectitur Hellespontus.

On this passage Wagner remarks 'notandum est, *Hellespontum* hic latiori significatione de omni mari Graeciam adluente dici.'

iii. Ovid *Tristia* i. 10, 15 and 24. Nowhere has the ignorance of a fact easily deducible from the context had a more conspicuous influence for evil on reading and interpretation than in the present passage.

Ovid is describing the journey from Corinth to Tomi. He joined the ship at Cenchreae v. 9. vv. 15-18 stand thus in Mr. Owen's edition.

Quae (s.c. naus) simul Aeoliae mare me
deduxit in Helles
et longum tenui limite fecit iter,
fleximus in laeuom cursus, et ab Hectoris
urbe
uenimus ad portus, Imbria terra, tuos.

No one will ever be able to explain why such a course was steered as the traditional meaning of Hellespont here requires. The ship goes from Cenchreae into the narrow strait only to turn to the left when well up it and stand for Imbros. I say when well up the strait, for 'Hector's city' whether it is 'old' or 'new' Ilium was certainly some miles within the entrance to the Hellespont.¹ This is only intelligible conduct if Ovid visited the city *en route*; which is highly improbable in an exile and is not supported by anything else in the passage. Line 16 too is open to question: it is taken (1) of the voyage through the Aegean, i.e. a *ὑστερον πρότερον* (2) of the threading of the strait itself. The second view has had several supporters, who care little that they thus bring the ship into the Propontis before it turns back to its normal course. Nothing short of mutiny on board would explain this behaviour. Yet the ambiguity of *tenui limite* which could so well refer to the Hellespont is, I think, equally damaging to the first view. Now let us try my specific: the ship's voyage is described evenly and correctly from the moment it leaves Cenchreae: it enters the Aegean (mare Helles): passes between the islands of the Saronic Gulf (*tenui limite* like *gracili limite* *Tristia* v. 6 39-40) and then turns to the left round Sunium, as a glance at the map will show. The first point on its course to Thrace is *Lemnos*, and that is preserved

to us in the reading *Actoris urbe* of the Marciianus, which Merkel adopted in his 2nd edition. For Actor v. Prof. Jebb, Introduction to Soph. Philoctetes. From Lemnoso Imbros, then to Samothrace and so to Tempyra are the concluding stages of this part of the journey.

Ovid then leaves the ship, vv. 23-4:

Nam mihi Bistonios placuit pede carpere
campos,
Hellespontiacas illa relegit aquas.

The reading *relegit* is a correction of *reliquit* which makes nonsense if the 'Hellespont' is the strait, for the ship cannot be said to leave what it has not yet reached. But is *relegit* on that view any better? It must be 'retraced her course over' and implies the erratic direction condemned above: also, it is not natural to say, when ship and passenger part in Thrace, that the ship retraced her path in the Hellespont: what of the stage from Thrace to the Hellespont? Of course *relegit* cannot be = *repetiuit*. Again try my remedy. Ovid goes on foot over Thrace, his ship wins its way back through the Aegean: with which the succeeding words Dardaniumque petit fall now into perfect harmony. *Reliquit* would not express the facts so well, but could perhaps be defended: it has all the MS. authority on its side.

In part of the foregoing I follow Burmann in his edition. (Cf. Ehwald, Bursian's *Jahrsberichte* 43, 272).

iv. Isidore *Originum lib.* xiii. 16 2-3 (date circ. 600 A.D.) The heading of the chapter is 'de mediterraneo mari.' Various *sinus* are named: Ibericus et Balearicus; deinde Gallicus . . . mox Ligusticus. Then Tyrrhenus Sicilicus Creticus. Then § 3 begins 'Inde Hellespontus qui in septentrionem retorquens anfractibus magnis iuxta Graecias et Illyricum in angustias septem stadiorum stringitur . . . Inde diffusus aequore patenti rursus stringitur et facit Propontidem.'

The subject is the same throughout, so that Hellespont is thus the name of the Aegean along with the Hellespont (the traditional) and the Propontis. For the expressions used cf. Manilius iv. 614 of the Aegean:

Rursus et in laeuom refluit uastoque
recessu
Thessaliae fines et Achaica praeterit arua

and the passage of the Ciris above quoted.

¹ The new Ilium was 12 stades from the sea, and a line due north meets the sea east of Rheoteum, which was itself 60 stades (Strabo 596 C) from Sigaeum.

The difficulties of the traditional meaning are illustrated here also, by the note of the editor in Migne's collection (*Patrologia* vol. 83): on *iuxta Graecias et Illyricum* he says 'Pro his uerbis coniectura cuiusdam erat *iuxta Xestum* (sic) *et Abydum*.'

B. i. Pseudo-Ovid *Heroides* 18, 164 (of Helle).

Sola dedit uastis femina nomen aquis.

The epithet *uastis* now becomes reasonable: but cf. Langen on

ii. Valerius Flaccus i. 50.

(me) magni numen maris excitat Helle.

'non proprie Hellespontus magnum mare dicitur sed est omnino epitheton maris.' He compares *ianua uasta gemini maris* of the Bosphorus *Trist.* i. 10, 32.

J. A. NAIRN.

ON THE VERONESE CODEX OF CATULLUS.

There is a general agreement among the textual critics of Catullus that every known codex of their author is derived from a single archetype now lost, usually denominated the Veronensis and abbreviated as V. To recover the contents of the perished manuscript is then the first task of our Catullan criticism. The task of criticism cannot be limited to a recovery of the contents: it must sit in judgment upon them. It must in fact address itself to a decision upon the question whether and how far the hypothetical Veronensis presented an unadulterated text or one disturbed by conjecture or deformed by extraneous additions. For the purpose of clearness it is advisable to define what we understand by V. Accordingly I define V as 'the contents of the ultimate exemplar of the Oxoniensis (O) and the Sangermanensis (G) MSS. (and of such other MSS. as there may be reason for believing to be immediately derived from this exemplar) at the time of making the first copy, so far as these contents can be ascertained by a comparison of the readings and indications in all these MSS.'

Accuracy requires the addition of the words in brackets; but the questions they involve must be postponed till we have the collations promised by Prof. Hale. And, accordingly, what I have to say about V must be understood as referring to that exemplar only so far as we can reconstitute it from the witness of G and O. I would add that though an examination of the characteristics of V must necessarily be subject to revision when all the components of a knowledge of it are before us, there are advantages in attempting the problem now with its conditions simplified.

The sifting of the evidence of G and O then appears to me to indicate the following conclusions: (1) the text of V,—or, if the

exemplar of G and O was not V but a copy of V (a possibility which I have indicated in the rather awkward phrase 'ultimate exemplar' of the definition), then the text of that copy,—contained a certain number of variants or corrections. In considering which these are, it is necessary to throw out of the count (a) readings which appear to have arisen from the scribe of the copy doubting of the meaning of a letter or sign which was obscure in his exemplar, as appears to be the case at 6, 9, where the texts of O and G agree in 'hec' (*i.e.* h' O), while the first-hand of G (according to Schwabe) gives the alternative 'hic' (*i.e.* h'); (b) readings which arose from variants already conflated in V, or at any rate not demonstrably separate there. 'iletas' in V at 63, 6 and 'guioclero' at 66, 6 may be such readings.

The few marginal variants which occur in O must also be discarded. And this for two reasons. Firstly, because such of them as might be considered real variants have little, if any, support in the indications of G. The complete list is 2. 6 libet] at iubet 9 Tecum] at secum 3. 9 silens] at siliens (G has siliens in the text), 12 illud] at illuc; 64. 3 ceticos] at tetidicos (G oeticos); 11 p⁹eā (*i.e.* posteam)]at prōā G p⁹imam (*i.e.* primam), 15 mōstrū] at mōstro 4 (*i.e.* monstrorum). And secondly because, as I suspected from the page reproduced in facsimile in Chatelain's *Paléographie latine*, and as I have since learned to be the case from Mr. A. C. Clark, who, in company with Mr. Madan, examined the MS. with this special point in view, *they do not proceed from the scribe of the MS. itself.*

The view that V contained marginal or interlinear 'adscripts,' (whether corrections, variants, or glosses), is, it is true, no novelty; but in the uncertainties

which at present surround the manuscript tradition of Catullus, it will not be superfluous to collect the least disputable cases. In 23. 2 O has 'cimex at neque ignis,' G has 'cimex aīal (*i.e.* animal) neq^e ignis' (q^e over an erasure). As it is unlikely that a mediaeval monk should have thought *cimex* a term requiring explanation it seems probable that 'aīal' is a mistake of the scribe of G, and that what stood in V was at neque

nec. This view is confirmed first by the erasure in G, and secondly by the very similar phenomenon at 22. 15, where O reads 'attigit ut (=uel) neq^e n^c idem,' that is ut neq^e

'attigit n^c idem.' At 12. 4 G reads falsum ēē (=esse) with a marginal variant assigned by Schwabe to the corrector, at fallum. O has falsum at falsum ēē in the text. At 95. 10 O reads 'At populus ut tu timido, gaudeat ut tu

antimacho' *i.e.* V had populus timido. The scribe of G, who knew a good deal more than the scribe of O, saw what was meant, and simply read it 'timido.' Again at 39. 4 'si ad pii rogum fili | ugetur' O reads 'ad impii regum filii,' G '.pii regum filii' /.at impii.' This means the exemplar had at i

ad pii r.f.; O neglected to copy the 'at' and G copied the 'correction' after copying the text. The curious corruptions in G (bolnei) and O (bonlei) at 61. 232, and their difference are best explained by assuming cor-

rection in V, thus bonei, a tall *i* being mistaken for *l*.

I shall next attempt to show that a recognition of the existence of these adscripts in V will dispose of the suspicion that the tradition of V has been tampered with by the one or the other of our two chief authorities where they present apparently irreconcilable divergence. At 64. 139, 140 G and O seem to be in fundamental disagreement, G reading 'At non haec quondam nobis promissa dedisti | uoce mihi nec hec misere sperare iubebas,' while O reads *blanda*

instead of *nobis*, though in the second line it agrees with G. The discrepancy remains a mystery until we observe that 'nobis,' nob', is a mistake for 'non haec,' nōh', (which Statius conjectured for it), and that it stood thus in the text of V as an inter-linear correction of 'nec hec' in 140, the two lines ending thus

blanda promissa dedisti

nōh'

nech' misere sperare iubebas.

O copied the text of 139 correctly, but wrongly neglected the correction of 140; G miscopied the correction of 140 into 139.

In 64. 353 O reads 'messor' and G 'cultor.' How difficult is the choice between these two words, or, in other words, how apt would be either in itself may be seen from the division among the editors, Ellis, Schwabe, Schmidt, preferring *cultor*, Baehrens, Riese, Owen, Merrill, Palmer *messor*; and it is even more difficult to see why anyone should have wanted 'cultor' as an explanation or substitute for 'messor,' or vice versa. We should have to regard it as a violent and almost inexplicable emendation. But I do not think we need do this injury to the fides of V or to that of either of its copies. V is believed, and not without reason, to have come from Germany, and amongst the confusions of letters in the text of Catullus, few are more frequent than that of *e* and *o*. What if this mysterious pair 'messor' and 'cultor' is merely 'messer' and 'culter' in disguise? The recognition of these German and Latin synonyms will not indeed enable us to decide between the two competing words, because we have no means of determining which of the pair 'messer' and 'culter' stood above the other in V. But it will lift from the tradition the reproach of a wild and wanton alteration. I suggest then that there is no ground for imputing to V, as rendered by O and G, any taint of the cacoethes rescribendi which began to infest the copying of Latin manuscripts in Italy soon after they were written.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, VOL. II.

ON THE NEW EPIC FRAGMENT, ETC.

I can scarcely agree with the editors in thinking that the situation in this fragment is 'posterior to that in the *Iliad*.' The

speaker whoever she may be (and it certainly does look as if she were the wife of Telephus) says that Telephus, if he had not

tripped over a vine, would have killed Achilles then and there 'before he ever met Hector.' She does not assume Hector's death nor show any knowledge of the result of the meeting. She might well enough know that Achilles and Hector were the two great rivals of the two hosts before Achilles had yet seen Hector. I take it to be more likely that she is here lamenting over the wound of Telephus, hoping to get him back to live in peace with her, ἐν θαλάμοις πολέμων ἀπάνευθε, and praying that there may never be any siege of Troy at all.

The style of versification is so much smoother than that of Apollonius, approximating towards that of Nonnus though not dancing in the amazing fetters with which that wonderful person thought fit to bind himself, that it looks to me like an interesting link between the Alexandrine school of imitators of Homer and the late school in which a heartless polish effaced all vigour. This impression is further confirmed by the word γενετήρα, which occurs continually in Nonnus but not that I know of in Greek verse before him.

Recto 6. Read ἀλλ' ὅπασόν μοι καὶ τ[ῷ] ἀμννέμεν. It does not look as if anything could be made of ὅπασον. The scansion of τὸ ἀμννέμεν seems suspicious and the diction worse. If there is not room for τ[ῷ] it is easy to suppose the ι to have been dropped as so often in papyri. One might amuse oneself by ending up with ἐ[λκος ἔχοντι] or ἐ[λκω-θέντι].

8. Read εἰ for η and supply something like σαῶσαι or βιῶναι at the end of 9. 'Grant that Telephus may live if he be indeed son of Heracles.'

14. οὐδὲ <μὲν> is also obvious, but the best supplement would be I think <γὰρ> to connect with 13. Moreover γὰρ would easily drop out before Ἀργείους. Then [ἀρ]ήσομαι.

15. Here sure ground fails, but if φοινίξαντες is the reading one must somehow make a transition to get into the nominative after Ἀργείους. *E.g.*

ξανθοῦ φοινίξαντες ἐ[πεὶ] μέ[γα] χεῦμα Καΐκου
Τηλέφου ἱφί τό[σοι] δάμεν οὐ[κ]έτι θωρηχθέντες.

But I hope somebody can get something

better for the last line. It might just stand for 'fell after throwing away their arms.'

17. Possibly something like [Ζεῦ] τῇλε κλύε τ[αῦτα] only why not τηλόθε? The end looks like [οὔ]ρον Ἀχαιῶν.

Verso 1. βιότου τ' ἀν[α]δέ[δρο]μεν ὥραις would suit the vestiges, like Homer's ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος.

2. ἡδὲ νόησε is a better division as conforming to the practice of Aristarchus.

4. Does θαλασση stand for θάλασσα, θαλάσσης or θαλάσση? Apparently the first.

11. νήπιος ὃ[ς π]έλαγ[ος...κ]άτ[α] θε[ῖν]ον ὀδεύει? If ελαε is indubitable it could hardly be anything but ὃ[ς τ']έλαε[ι], but how could one get any further? So much the worse for one, I suppose.

12. δούρασι ποντοπόροισι τ...ε.ος οὔτι-δανοῖσι. Of the mutilated word both the τ and the ε are doubtful. If the one could be a π and the other a σ a shift might perhaps be made to squeeze in πεπισμένους for πεπεισμένους, or even the whole word correctly spelt. Or could the ε be a θ?

13. By reading μ[ᾶλ]λον ἔλοιτο and regarding the two words as practically a single compound, we may get over the forbidden rhythm, as men do with Homer's ὁψὲ δύνοντα Βοώτην.

With regard to cexii, I have a strong suspicion that the explanation is to be sought in our old friend the scholiast on Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, 109, 110.

I add a few suggestions, deferring further comment:—

Page 23, line 5. τὰς χήρας ἀεί.

„ 40, „ 22. Θακοθαλπάδος (cf. τὰς κο-
χώνας θάλποντες Heron-
das).

„ 63, „ 4. ἀριστοπόνον.

„ „ „ 5. παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι.

„ „ „ 7. πρόσθ' αἰγανέας?

„ 64, „ 17. πέρα.

„ „ „ 24. πάντ' ἄν.

„ 65, „ 22. <καὶ> αἱ.

„ „ „ 27. ἐπί.

„ 73, „ 19. τοῦ δέρματος.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON PAPYRI CCXII. *sqq.*

In the disreputable fragment CCXII. (whose meaning I take to be the same as Professor Platt) the following supplements are not impossible :—

- Col. II. line 7. ὕβρεω[ς ἐκπλέως, for ἔκγονος
rightly queried by the
editors.
„ „ 8. Accepting κατ[άγελως, add
ἀντικρυσ.
„ „ 11. συνῆ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν. Com-
pare the use of σύκινος for
'worthless.'
„ „ 17. Punctuate and read B. οὐκ
ἄξιον γάρ ἐστι; A. διὰ τοῦ-
πον [λιπεῖν. ἄξιον 'worth
its cost.' τοῦπὸν for τὸ
ὀπὸν.

CCXIII. These fragments are so corrupt and mutilated that it seems to be very hazardous to assign them to any one of the

numerous tragic poets of whom works are extant or lost. And it is for the same reason not even certain that the dramatic situation is correctly presented by the editors. Accordingly we must be careful not to deviate far from the letters or the norm of Attic usage. Hence I should prefer, in v. 6, χάλυβι to the 'unknown metaplasm' κάλυβι. In the 9th line θεωρουντι is metrically impossible; θαρρέιτε (or θαρσείτε) imperative is a simple alteration. There should be a stop at μοι.

CCXIX. (a) 22. I think we should read Ταχυθαλάδος 'Quick-incubator.' For the word cf. Geopon. 14. 1. 3 ἐν πάσαις τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις κνίσκει καὶ τίκτει καὶ θάλπει καὶ ἐκτρέφει, *ib.* 4 θαλπούσας τὰ ὠά. There is a humour in the name. The errant cock desires to be the father of a large family.

J. P. POSTGATE.

REVIEWS.

PERRIN AND SEYMOUR'S *ODYSSEY*.

Eight Books of Homer's Odyssey, with Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary for the use of Schools. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1897. Pages 351. Price \$1.65.

It is a pleasure to describe a book which has stood the only satisfactory test to which a school-book can be put, viz. use in the classroom. In the experience of the reviewer few books have come off so well as Perrin and Seymour's *Odyssey*. It contains Books α—δ, ι—μ, and the first 189 lines of ν. Besides the text, which follows Dindorf-Hentze, there is as complete an apparatus for the study of the portions of the *Odyssey* selected as the beginner requires. It is a great boon to both teacher and pupil, and it makes both more and better work possible, to find all the necessary tools in one volume unencumbered with discussions, references, quotations and statistics that are too heavy for the pupil's power of digestion. The vocabulary shows throughout the hand of an experienced workman. The introduction of 69 pages is a marvel of condensation and is, in large part, an epitome of Seymour's Introduction to Homeric Language and Verse. It treats of epic poetry in general and life in the
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Homeric age, tells the story of the Trojan war and gives a brief analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, discusses Homeric style, catalogues the peculiarities of the epic dialect, supplies all necessary information about Homeric forms and syntax, and states with lucidity and conciseness the rules and difficulties of hexameter verse. The bibliographical note is as good as it could well be within so brief a compass, but an additional page or two would much increase the value of the book at this point.

The annotations are made with sound judgment of the pupil's needs. The pilot has steered with steady hand between the Scylla and Charybdis of too much and too little. There is a map of Homeric Greece, and the forty illustrations—sixteen of them full-page—add much to the attractiveness of the book, and also to its practical usefulness as a means of awakening interest in Homeric characters and scenes. Among these are views of Ithaca, Sparta, the Trojan plain, and of the walls of Hissarlik and Mycenae, and reproductions of well-known statues of Athena, Poseidon, Hermes, Penelope, &c., while the smaller pictures in the vocabulary exhibit the peculiar furniture and customs

of the period. Although these illustrations vary considerably in quality the most of them are good, and type and paper are what one expects to see in the output of the Athenaeum Press.

In closing this account of a text-book which deserves a warm welcome from all teachers of Homer, we may note a few slips and blemishes in view of the second edition that is sure to be called for.

On p. xxxiii. *θεσμός* is wrongly accented, likewise *μέν* in β 218. From the vocabulary *πυρός* and *ὑφίστημι* are omitted, also the form *τεύχθαι* under *τεύχω*, and there is no suitable definition for *στόρνυμι* in γ 158 where the object is *πόντον*. The rendering of *μελίγματα θυμοῦ* (a phrase found only in κ 217) as 'tidbits for the soul' seems unfortunate when one notices that these *μελίγματα* go to the dogs. The peculiar use of *ἰστόν ἐποιχομένης* in κ 222 is not sufficiently explained. *Kettle* is not given as a definition of *τρίπος*, although κ 361 requires it. No one of the definitions 'shout, shriek, yell' fits *ιάχω* in β 428. The only meanings given for *προσπύσσομαι* are 'address, greet,' either of which falls short of the sense in β 77. In β 287 *στέλλω* does not mean 'send.'

In the rendering of *παρθεῖτο* in β 105, the causative force of the middle is ignored.

In the note on α 378 *βοάσσομαι* instead of *βοήσσομαι* is given as the Attic future of *βοάω*.

The notes and vocabulary sometimes give different points of view and sometimes they are in positive disagreement, e.g. the note on α 404 when compared with the statement under *ναυεράω*, and the note on β 416, which runs 'ἀνά, adverbial, on board.—*νηός*: locative genitive with *βαίνω*,' while the vocabulary gives the following under *ἀνά*: 'thrice with gen., as *ἀν νηός*, on the ship.' In the note, too, on ι 434 *στρεφθεῖς* is rendered 'all cuddled up,' which fits *ἐλυσθείς* of 433, while the vocabulary correctly renders *χερσὶν στρεφθεῖς* 'clutching.' The text has both *ἡμιν* and *ἡμιν* as the unemphatic pronoun, while the vocabulary gives only the latter. In a few places a word of explanation would not injuriously lighten the pupil's burden; e.g. the beginner is sure to be puzzled by the metrical irregularities left unnoticed in κ 60 and ι 377.

The excellences of this school book are many and great and its shortcomings few. May the number of such books increase!

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HAYLEY'S *ALCESTIS*.

The Alcestis of Euripides, edited with an Introduction and Critical and Exegetical Notes, by HERMAN WADSWORTH HAYLEY, Ph.D. (Harvard). Boston, U.S.A. Ginn and Co. 1898. 6s. 6d.

THIS edition of the *Alcestis* is based, as all modern editions of the play must be, with a grateful recognition of the fact, on Prinz's full and careful collations of the leading MSS. Towards the constitution of the text which the editor gives us, he contributes but little in the way of original emendation, but brings to his task learning and judgment of a high order. His work has evidently been a labour of love, and his thorough discussions are consequently interesting, and they are often convincing. This is true of all parts of the book. First comes an Introduction, enriched by an exhaustive monograph by Dr. J. M. Paton on 'The Myth of Alcestis in Ancient Art.' Then follows the text with all MSS. variants and

the source of adopted emendations at the foot: then a list of 'select conjectures' which have not been adopted, then 'Critical and Exegetical Notes,' and finally a complete metrical appendix, in which Schmidt's notation has been adopted, but which treats the matter independently, and after full study of all the best metrical authorities.

As to the arrangement of the critical matter, it is rather troublesome sometimes to have to look up the same thing in three different places, and it entails some repetition, but the plan has its merits, no doubt. The 'Critical and Exegetical' notes are, as they are intended to be, more the former than the latter. Indeed the book would be truer to its character if one or two simple and obvious exegetical notes had been omitted: such as at vv. 505 f., the explanation that 'the last foot' (of a line) 'can not spondee'—642 *τᾶρα* = *τοί ᾗρα*—*κακῶς ἀκούειν*; so *male audire* in Latin—796 *ᾄδούνεκα* = *ὥς* or *ὅτι* as not unfrequently in the tragedians.'

The number of misprints would seem to suggest that 'readers' in America are not so skilful as in England or Germany. It is an aid to the critical notes, that all emendations that are due to any one later than writers of the MSS. are printed in thick type.

To begin with the Introduction: H. adopts the late Prof. F. D. Allen's view that the Thanatos scene in the prologue was an insertion (though he inclines to believe that it and the Heracles scenes were introduced by the poet himself in order to turn what was at first a pure tragedy into a satyric drama). The arguments on which the authenticity of this scene is impugned turn in the main on the difficulty of reconciling the bodily intervention of Thanatos with the subsequent account of Alcestis's death, burial, and rescue. H. or rather Prof. Allen says, for instance, that 'in the Thanatos scene the notion is that Th. comes to despatch Alcestis in person, goes into the house for the purpose, and is to carry her bodily off to Hades,' whereas 'in the rest of the play the notion is that Alcestis dies quietly in the ordinary way, is buried, and that *then* Thanatos comes to the tomb to fetch her, and is overcome by Heracles, who is awaiting him in ambush.' But Thanatos, when he appears in person, does *not* come to 'despatch Alcestis in person.' He says in vv. 74-76 that his action is to be symbolical: he is going to seal her as his own by cutting a lock of her hair. It is asking too much of the dramatist to insist that such a personification of the powers of darkness should be treated like an ordinary mortal, and that when he disappears from the stage at v. 76 into the house, the audience should be able to follow all his movements behind the scene, and that he should not be allowed to leave the house without their being made aware of the fact. They know well enough that when Alcestis is dying before their eyes it is his work. Such irreverent criticism will next ask how the *deus* gets into the *machina*. If for no other reason, there were not actors enough to allow of Th. being brought on the stage any more.

As to the MSS. there is very good reason for thinking, as H. does, that it is impossible to accept Vitelli's and Wecklein's view that P is a copy of L. Out of the long list given in the Introduction of differences in the first 300 lines between the two MSS. the following seem specially significant of an independent transcription: v. 26 *συμμέτρως* L *σύμμετρος* P; v. 31, which Nauck rightly rejected, is in L, is not in P; v. 47 *νεπτέρων* L *νεπτέρων* P; v. 58 *λέλυθας* L *ἐλύθας* P; v.

74 *κατάρξομαι* L *κατάρξωμαι* P; v. 136 *ὀπαδός* L *ὀπαδῶν* P; v. 145 *πάθοι* L *πάθη* P; v. 157 *θανυάσεις* L *θανυάσει* P; v. 184 *ὀφθαλμοτέκτω* L *ὀφθαλμοτέκτω* P; v. 198 *λήσεται* L *λελήσεται* P; v. 247 *θανεῖν* L *θανῇ* P; v. 289 *δῶρον* L *δωρ'* P.

As to the editions there are many difficulties in the way of the generally received statement, repeated by H., that the Aldine 'followed P, though he made many emendations.' Aldus's editor must at all events have had access to other MSS. as well and have used them largely along with P. For instance he has vv. 31 and 76; neither of these vv. are to be found in P (and the latter is only added in the margin of L by a late hand). Among the special editions of the Alcestis that of Wakefield (1794) should have been mentioned, especially as that scholar is frequently referred to in the critical notes.

The editor's own emendations are as follows: actually adopted in the text are: vv. 348-356 bracketed as an interpolation, 450 *μηδὲς* marked as a suspected word, (760 f *δισσά—ἦδε* marked as an interpolation, but so Earle), 883 *τῆς ὑπερ ἀλγείν* for *τῆς ὑπεραλγείν* (good), 1071 *εἴη* for *εἰ σν* (reading *ἦτις* with Monk for MSS. *ὅστις*) (ingeniously supported): suggested only are the following: v. 573 *οὐδὲ* for *οὔτι* (very likely), 756 *εἴτ'* *ἐν* *χερσὶ* for *ἐν χείρεσσι*, 827 *καὶ πρόσσωπον* for *καὶ πρόσωπον* (Herwerden's *δυσπρόσωπον* far the best emendation), 890 *δ' ἔτ'* for *δέ γ'*, 986 *ἄναξ* for *ἄνω* 784 *τὴν ἡμέραν μέλλουσιν* (?) for *τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσιν*, 985 *οὐ γὰρ σύ γ' ἄξεις* (metrically inadmissible: *γὰρ* should be a short syllable), 921 *ἀσπῶν ὄντες* (?) for *ὄντες ἀρίστων*, 1011 *φίλον* for *φίλος*, taking *ἐξετάζεσθαι* as middle (for this middle use there is no warrant, in the only other place at which the word occurs, *i.e.* Eur., Suppl. 391, it is passive), at Orestes 88 *δ' ἐν δερμίνι* for *δὲ δερμίνι* (good), 1089 *ἀλλ' ἄνευ κοίτης μενεί*, quite unnecessary), 1127 *μή νεπτέρων τι φάσμα γ' εἰσποῶ τόδε*; (*γ'* bad).

In the Critical and Exegetical notes the following points seem to call for remark: v. 185, a good parallel to the pleonastic *πολλῶν* is to be found in the text: 'of making many books there is no end,' 187 H.'s translation is new and sound, I think: 'and oft she wandered through the chamber about (or intending) to go out,' 205 *ὁμῶς δέ, καίπερ σμικρόν, ἐμπνέουσ'* *ἔτι* (the punctuation of F. D. Allen), though cumbrous, is perhaps better than supposing a lacuna before it, or even than taking the *δὲ* as 'irrational,' and imagining a sudden break in the construction, 285 H. treats the

unmetrical Θεσσαλὸν as if it were a possibility instead of a scribe's blunder. It was corrected by Ald., 290 H.'s arguments do not convince me that this line is corrupt. Lit. 'it being suitable for them to die as concerning their time of life.' May not καλῶς ἦκον be equivalent to καθήκον or προσήκον? and if the personal construction εἰ ἦκω βίου is good Greek, is it not enough to warrant the genitive with the impersonal καλῶς ἦκον? vv. 333 and 533 present two difficult cases of the use of ἄλλως. In the former, with all respect to the editor, I think 'besides' is as accurate a translation as is possible, and I do not think the slight anacoluthon in εὐπρεπεστάτῃ (or ἐκπρεπεστάτῃ) is harsh enough to warrant Wecklein's εὐπρεπῆς οὕτω, which H. adopts. In v. 533 I would suggest that the original form of the v. was ὀθνείος ἄλλως, ἣν δ' ἀναγκαῖα δόμοις 'she certainly was no blood relation, but a close tie bound her to my house,' ἄλλως being used almost in the sense of 'anyhow' which it bears at Aesch. Cho. 680 ἐπείπερ ἄλλως, ὃ ξέν', εἰς Ἄργος κίευσ, and being joined to the adj. ὀθνείος in much the same way as it is to a noun in such expressions as εἰδωλον ἄλλως Soph. Phil. 947, 540 on εἰ μολοι add

from Jebb on Soph. Ant. 666 that such an optative is especially suitable in a γνώμη, in vv. 713-721 the MSS. order, with Schäfer's μείζονα ζώης for μείζον' ἂν ζώης, seems far better than the transpositions of Wecklein which are adopted in the text, 870 note l. 4. H. seems to have put 'former' for 'latter.' The explanation that follows is far-fetched. It is the excellence of the 'pledge' of which he has been deprived (i.e. his wife) that is given as the main cause of Admetus's grief, 905 f. H. puts a comma after δόμοισιν and takes μονόπαις as agreeing with τις in v. 903 (?), 930 H. translates the suggested ἔλιπε φιλία 'she has left you, the dear one': but does it not mean 'your loving union has failed'? 1021 H. by an oversight calls Θρηκίας a genitive, referring to 'Goodwin's G. Gr. 1119.'

In following Dr. Hayley into one or two of his discussions I have selected principally those points on which I differ from him, but I hope I have said enough to show that on the whole I have read this valuable study of the play with cordial agreement rather than with antagonism.

E. B. ENGLAND.

STADTMÜLLER'S ANTHOLOGIA GRAECA.

STADTMÜLLER'S *Anthologia Graeca* Vol. II. Teubner 1899. Pp. xcii, 524. 8 Mk.

THIS second volume of the new *Anthologia Graeca* contains B. VII. of the Palatine, B. III. of the Planudean Anthology, in all 748 epigrams, all of them sepulchral. It is only the first part of Stadtmüller's Vol. II. and may be inferred to be on a scale which completely dwarfs Vol. I. For whereas Vol. I. contains no less than six books in 419 pages, this first section of Vol. II. contains only B. VII. in 524 pages. There are besides xcii. pages of prefatory matter, so that the new volume is in every way a great expansion of the design on which the former was planned. The reason of this is twofold. (1) The MSS. have been examined with a minuteness unexampled before, a minuteness which takes account of everything, ierasures, accents, first, second, third hand etc. (2) The criticisms of modern scholars are more fully reported. Hence in the many corrupt passages of the Greek Anthology we have now a tolerably

complete conspectus of opinion to guide us: a circumstance which adds immensely increased value and interest to the book.

In a work so full of laborious research and tentative ingenuity, it is no easy task to select for notice points either specially noticeable or calling for criticism. Stadtmüller offers a large number of corrections of his own: some of these I will mention. 423, 6 τημελέ' ἀχραντον νυμφιδίαν ἄλοχον for τι μελάχραντον or τή μελ αχραντον of MSS. cf. Pind. τημελῆς· ἐπιμελῆς σπουδαῖος. 692, 5 οὐθ' Ἑλλάδι στρωτόν ποτ' for οὐθ' Ἐ. τὸ πρῶτον: this seems very likely. 648, 8 ἀντὴν αὐγάζων δαλὸν ἐπесχάριον for ἐνσῆ or ἐν σῆ: this is very doubtful: 640, 3, 4 νῆα γὰρ ἀπλοῖη πεπεδημένου ἔφθασε κοντοῖς Ληιστέων ταχινὴ δίκροτος ἐσσυμένη for ἔφθασε ναῦταις. 598, 4 σὴν κατέμυσας ὅπα for κατέλυσας. This seems to me doubtful. It may be questioned whether κατέλυσας is not an intentional repetition of φωνῆς σῆς κατέλυσε βίην in the preceding distich. This indeed has an air of weakness: but is it not to be preferred to a surprising, not to say bizarre, effect

like the sudden change of λ to μ ? 198, 6 where MSS. give καὶ θέτ' ἐφ' ὑμνιδίῳ Stadtmüller conj. κεῖθ' ἑ' or καὶ στέγ'. 200, 3 χεῖρα γὰρ εἰς νεαρὴν παιδὸς πέσον for ἀραιάν, a great improvement, though not printed in the text of the epigram. The editor's modesty has rarely allowed him to introduce his own conjectures except in the *app. crit.* below the printed poems, though many of them might well have formed part of the new text. It will perhaps show the character of the volume—its learning, fulness, and compression, to quote the résumé given on p. 427 of the various opinions of critics on 627, 3 Θώνιον Ἀστακίην δὲ μάλ' ἤκαχες.

ῥήνιον P θώνιον Pl^M Θώνιον Pl^E | ἀστακίην δὲ (C) P Pl^M Pl^{In.b.} Ἀστ. τε Pl^{a.s.} | Θώνιον Ἀστακίην τε duas filias appellari censet Brod., de parentibus intellegit Grotius (Θῶμον δ' Ἀστακίην τε parentum nomina finxit Chardon); Thomium (vel potius Θύνιον) puellae Astacene Hipparcho sponsae nomen fuisse vidit Jac.: cf. Steph. Byz. s. Ἀστακός ('τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἀστακηνὸς καὶ Ἀστακίην καὶ Ἀστακίδος καὶ Ἀστακία'); ex oppidis cognominibus (cf. Steph.) Astacum Bithyniae dici a Diodoro veri simillimum vid. cl. ep. 701, in quo poeta Nicaeae urbis Bith. mentionem facit.

Great use has been made of the scholia which are often appended to the Epigrams. Whether these contain valuable suggestions or are on a wrong tack, as happens sometimes, every scholar should know them. Take the following instance of a scholion undoubtedly wrong, yet interesting in its wrongness. 629, 3 P. gives νηλεῖς, οἱ τὸν ἀριστον ἀπόλεσαν οὐδὲ ἐν ἄδου against metre. The schol. is as follows ἵσως εἶδαν ἐν ἄδου πάντως τι τοιούτων νόει δὲ τὸ κώνειον. The Epigram is on the death of Socrates; the νηλεῖς are the Athenians. The suggestion of the schol. is obviously wrong: palaeographically it is improbable (εἶδαν ἐν ἄδου for οὐδὲ ἐν ἄ.: as diction ἐν is peculiar). Yet one part of it is indubitably right, ἐν for ἐν: and there can be little doubt that Brunck discovered the right reading in his οὐδὲ ἐν αἰδοῖ, which Stadtmüller has printed.

Illustrative passages from writers that speak of the same subject as the Epigrams are freely interspersed, especially from authors of wide range like Plutarch. These are most valuable: and almost make the new edition self-complete. Nor does the editor shrink, in crucial and much-debated cases, from quoting the most widely diverging interpretations of modern scholars. This, however, is done judiciously and by no means always: were it otherwise, the com-

pass of the work would have swollen to undesirable length.

The following points seem open to criticism. 176, 5 Ἡ ῥα κακῶν θάνατον τίς ἐφη λύσιν, ὅππότε' ἐμείο, Ξεῖνε, πέλει παθέων ὕστατον οὐδὲ τάφος; for θάνατον τις ἐφη of P. If τίς is interrogative would ἡ ῥα have preceded?

215, 3 a dolphin says

οὐδὲ περὶ σκαλμοῖσι νεὸς περικαλλέα χεῖλη
ποιφύξω τὰμὰ τερπόμενος προτομᾷ

Here surely the 'lovely lips' are the dolphin's, so described facetiously, from the creature's own point of view. Stadtmüller, as Dübner before him, explains χεῖλη of the rims of the ship, and prints Reiske's emendation παρ' εὐσκάλμοιο νεὸς π.χ. That this is not the poet's meaning is, I imagine, indicated by τὰμὰ τερπόμενος προτομᾷ, the gratification of the dolphin in seeing a figure of itself on the ship's prow or stern forming a duplicate to its self-satisfaction in its own disproportionate and unsightly lips.

334, 9 The interpretation of ἐφ' ἀγῶν ἡγεμονίων 'sub ductu proborum magistrorum' or 'coram incorruptis iudicibus' (Jacobs) is short of the poet's intention. ἀγῶν in combination with ἡγεμονίων points quite distinctly to the sacred function of the Roman Emperor.

447 a well-known epigram of Callimachus

Σύντομος ἦν ὁ ξεῖνος, ὃ καὶ στίχος· οὐ μακρὰ
λέξω.

Θῆρις Ἀρισταίου Κρής ἐπεμοὶ δολιχός.

Stadtm. offers Κρής, ἐπόνει δολιχόν. This is hardly an improvement on the Planudean reading κρής ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δολιχόν. But whatever ἐπεμοὶ was, it must have been something in harmony with the concise and singly articulated character of the verse. A word like ἐπόνει would spoil the effect; which indeed is also true of the Planudean ὑπ' ἐμοί. I think Schneider may have been right in retaining δολιχός = a runner in a long race.

712, 5

ὡς τὰν παιδ' ὑμέναιος ἐφ' αἷς ἐσπένδετο πεύκαις
τὰν δ' ἐπὶ καδεστὺς ἐφλεγε πυρκαῖα.

ἐσπένδετο (or ἡπείγετο) is Stadtmüller's correction of ἦδετο, or as P gives it ἦδετο. An easier emendation would be ἡείδετο. Schneidewin already αείδετο.

56, 2

οὐκ ἔλεγον γελοῖον Πάντα πέλουσι γέλωι;

The interrogative mark would be better away. 'It was in no laughing mood I said everything is laughter.'

The following suggestions have occurred

to me in reading through Stadtmüller's volume.

51, 516 Βάκχου ἡματα P, ἡματα Pl. may I think be explained as ἡματα *iaculationes*, with reference to the tossing to and fro of thyrsi in the Bacchic orgies.

96, 3

πρὸς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων κώνειον ἀπλῶς σὺ ἐδέξω
σύ γ' Jacobs: perhaps δέδεξο 2nd pers. pluperf. The fact of this form being generally imperative, does not prevent its also being, as its form suggests, indicative.

131

πρωταγόρην λόγος ὧδε θανεῖν φέρει· ἀλλὰ γὰρ
τοῦτι

ἤκατο σῶμα γαῖαν ψυχὴ δ' αἶτο σοφοῖς.

Perhaps ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ οἱ ἦκε τὸ σῶμ' ἐς γὰν, ψυχὴ ἐσάλτο σοφοῖς.

286, 4 Perhaps Φροῦδα· πάτρης ἐλπίς πᾶσα
τ' ὅλωλε Τύρου.

331, 1 The name Φρουρῆς is possibly a corruption of Φλώρης.

339, 2

καὶ λύπης ὀδυνὴν τὸν βρόμιον παρέχε.

Perhaps λωφησοδύνην; cf. κωλυσανέμας.

386, 3, 4

Αἰδεῶ πολλὸς ὄλβος ἐμῆς ὠδίνος ἀριθμός,
ἣ τέκον.

Read ἦν. *Orci diuitiae sunt turba liberorum meorum quam enixa sum.*

404, 4

εἶδεν ἀλιζάντων σὸν μόρον εἰνάλιον

ἀλιζάντων of P was changed by Jacobs to ἀλίζαντον. I do not see why the genitive should not be retained: 'saw you die the death by shipwreck of men whom the sea violates.'

411, 5 How can Aeschylus be called στόμα πάντων δέξιον? The words would be intelligible of Menander, 'dextrous mouth-piece of every kind of character,' but not specially of the father of tragedy. Ἀξίον (Reiske) seems probable, either in the sense 'that could aspire to anything' or 'worthy to be compared with any.' Somewhat similar is 426, 2, addressed to a figure of a lion on a monument, τίς τᾶς σᾶς ἄξιος ἦν ἀρετᾶς;

427, 10 Κρηταῖνός ὥς τις οἰστοβόλος (Reiske) is not a plausible conjecture for Κρ. ὦτος (or ὦτος) ὁ. of MSS. I suspect ὦτος is a proper name, either actually or slightly disguised, of some famous archer; so 429, 2 νῦν σφιγγὸς γρίφους Οἰδίπους ἐφρασάμην. Yet Stadtmüller's conj. λῶτος, though he has given it up, has much to recommend it.

452, 1

Μνήμης Εὐβούλοιο σαόφρονος ὧ παριόντες,
πίνωμεν.

This genitive μνήμης I believe to be right, sc. κύλικας. In any case it ought not to be altered to μνήμονες, still less to μνήμην.

472, 15 αἰεὶ τοῦτον· σῶι μεμνημένος is possibly τοῦτο τόσον μεμν.

488, 4

ἃ σ' ἐπὶ τυμβῷ
πολλάκι κεκλιμένα· κωκύει ἐκ κεφαλᾶς.

This appears to me to point clearly to κεκλιμένας, which is the reading of Planudes. Construct the words ἃ σε π. κωκύει ἐκ κεφαλᾶς κεκλιμένας ἐπὶ τύμβῳ 'that mother who often moans for thee from a head that rests upon thy tomb,' i.e. utters moans which are heard issuing from her head as it rests on thy tomb.

640, 3

Νῆα γὰρ ἀπλοίῃ πεπεδημένου ἔφθασε ναύταις
ληιστέων ταχινὴ δίκροτος ἐσσυμένη.

Possibly ἔφθασεν αὐτῶς, which word I construct with πεπεδημένου 'idly bound by stress of weather.'

642, 1 For ἐ(sic)βρον καὶ δειλοιο of P I suggest Τέμβρον καὶ Νείλοιο. Menoetes was wrecked between Tembros, a city of Cyprus famous for the cult of Apollo Hylates (Steph. Byz. Τέμβρος, Ἐρύσθεια) and Egypt.

648, 8 For ἐνστή αὐγάζων read ἐνσταίη νάσσων. An optative is required (ἐσχαρῶν Εὐκίων φαίνονται καὶ ἐν πολυκάει ὄγκῳ Ἐνσταίη νάσσων δαλὸν ἐπescχάριον. *Focus viri bene columnatus extet sitque in abundantī positus strue lignorum, titiōnem in se coaceruans.* ὄγκῳ like ὠγκώθην 651, 6).

662, 2 For πολλῆς ἡλικίης προτέρῃ may be suggested πλείης 'full age,' 'complete adolescence.'

663, 2

Μήδειος τὸ μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ τᾷ ὀδῷ κηπέγραψε Κλείτας.

In spite of Meineke Theocr. p. 407, ed. 3, I feel with Hecker i. p. 154 the enormity, metrically speaking, of the Cretic τᾷ ὀδῷ. It may be true that Archilochus admitted it, but no instance of the kind can be found in Theocritus. I believe the poet wrote Μήδειος μναμεῖον ὀδῷ ἔπι κ. Κλ., recalling Homer's ὀδῷ ἔπι οἰκία ναίων, Il. Z. 15.

729 The peculiarity of the corruption τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ γην αἶδαν βρέφος points not to κατὰ γην ἐν βρέφος, but to βρέφος καταγίχεν, or β. καταγίχ' ἐς αἶδαν.

733, 5, 6

ὀγδωκονταέτις ἐπιλείπομεν ἐς τόδ' ἰκέσθαι
τῆς μοίρης· ἐτέων δ' οὐ φθόνος ἵσσοσύη.

Read αἷς ὅσῃ 'there is no grudging of years
to the religious.'

734, 1 The letters of P suggest Μὴ ξένε
πλάτῃ τυ τεῖδε, if we might suppose a form
πλάτῃ = πλάθε 'approach,' or a perfectly
separate formation from a lost aorist corre-
sponding to τλήθῃ from ἔτλην.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

MÉLANGES WEIL.

Mélanges Henri Weil. Paris, Fontemoing.
1899. Pp. 471. 15 fr.

THIS collection of short papers dedicated to Henri Weil on the occasion of his 'eightieth anniversary' show in the first place how great is his influence and authority in the world of letters. Forty scholars, all of high repute, hailing from France, England, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, have combined to do him honour by publishing snatches of their work in the volume. The result is such a kaleidoscope of philology that no sane critic would attempt to judge either the absolute or the relative value of these essays. All that can here be done is to say a word in description of the subjects which seem to the critic most interesting. Nor is the omission of notice to imply that the rest are not equally good in their way, and perhaps, to another critic, of even greater importance. The scrappy character of such a book seems to be unavoidable, and we have no right to complain of it. Taking the essays in the random order, in which we find them, the notes of Blass on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus seem to be peculiarly appropriate, as a dedication to the best of living editors of Aeschylus.

Not less so is Campbell's most interesting paper on the real crisis of a Greek tragedy. The general scheme being similar to that of a Greek pediment which swells to the middle, and then declines to the end, it is this latter part, in which modern tragedy is supposed to culminate which affords most difficulties to the critic of dramatic art. What is the intention of the poet in this part of his play, as for example in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, in which Jebb places the climax here, whereas Campbell seeks it in the death of Ajax, regarding the rest as but the swell which succeeds the great storm of the piece?

Comparetti argues that the short poems of hitherto unknown form in the collection

of Bacchylides are really *dithyrambs*, and gives good reason for his opinion. If so, we have in these pieces recovered a long-lost species of Greek Literature. Couat argues elaborately that a division of the chorus into two parts was normal in all the comedies of Aristophanes. Alf. Croiset shows that cases of emancipation of slaves in war was antecedent to their service in the land army of their country, and only granted after the victory in cases of naval battles.

O. Crusius's interpretation of a papyrus fragment (Brit. Mus. CCXCV. A) with a reference to the *Melanippe* of Euripides as not from a tragedy, but some lost comedy, such as the *Gerytades* of Aristophanes, seems very plausible, and will convince most readers. Paul Girard's analysis and recension of the well known fragment of Pratinas (from a satyric drama) is very interesting. So is Gomperz' discussion on the relation of Sophocles and Herodotus. We must hurry on to the paper of Homolle, based on his yet unpublished researches at Delphi, regarding the votive offerings of Gelo, Hiero and their brothers. This glimpse into the future publication of the French school is very tantalizing, and for that reason will attract attention. F. G. Kenyon shows that Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLVI is not a fragment from one of the orators, but a rhetorical exercise. Jules Nicole gives an account of another papyrus fragment on the adventures of Leda. H. Omont's Inventory of the treasures of the Monastery of Stronmitza in Macedonia would be most instructive if he had given us the least hint how many, if any, of the books and ornaments are now extant. M. Jules Oppert applies his matchless oriental knowledge to vindicate and explain the account of the Persians in Herodotus, which he regards as perfectly honest and genuine, though the historian was misled by his informants on some points. A vindication of Herodotus by such an authority is very welcome in these latter days of scepticism. Perrot

gives us a general discussion of the place of sculpture in Greek architecture, especially that of temples. The volume concludes with an acute analysis by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff of the real nature of the *versus Phalaeceus*.

These selections will give the reader some notion of the volume, in which, as has already been said, other articles may attract him more than these. The collection is perhaps of general interest as showing what the current studies of the best scholars now

are: and what courses classical philology is now adopting. The predominance of archaeology over pure philology is manifest; nor can this be surprising, seeing that the search for new material, and the sifting of it when found, absorbs the keenest intellects. Palaeography, epigraphy, the criticism of artistic fragments, for which we have not yet a proper designation—these are the branches of classical study which the rising generation should pursue keenly at our Universities.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

COLERIDGE'S *RES GRAECAE*.

Res Graecae. By EDWARD P. COLERIDGE, B.A. George Bell & Sons. 1898. 5s.

A BOOK of this type suggests the question, 'What is its purpose?' The contents are rather miscellaneous. There are chronological tables and historical summaries (carried down, we are glad to see, as far as 146 B.C.) and these should prove a help towards an orderly knowledge of Greek history. But the 'Geographical Index' and 'Biographical Index' seem of little value unless for purposes of cramming. In most cases a more satisfactory idea of the person or place would be obtained by using the indexes of history and atlas, and any substitute that tempts the student to dispense with atlas or history is a hindrance rather than a help. *Res Graecae* further provides a good deal of various information, some of which will be found interesting and useful by those who have few books of reference. The plans of Athens in particular are considerably better than those in Gow's *Companion to School Classics*, a work which is in the main superior to *Res Graecae*, where the subjects of the two overlap. The list of authors is another useful feature. But the historical tables and summaries are the best part of the letter-press; we may mention especially those that deal with the Constitution of Athens (p. 97 ff.), Colonization (p. 72 f.) and the relations between Persia and Greece (p. 78 ff.).

There are unfortunately many inaccuracies, a particularly serious matter in a book intended for those who have little opportunity for testing the information given. τὸ ναυτικόν meant at Athens and elsewhere 'the fleet' and not 'money borrowed or lent on bottomry' (p. 121). δις κράμβη θάνατος

appears (p. 216) with the two last words in reversed order, so that the Greeks would seem to have declared that 'cabbage is death twice over.' The surplus at Athens after Perikles had expended vast sums on beautifying the city was not 'nearly 10,000 talents,' as stated on p. 105, but, as given on p. 125, 6,000 talents; the other sum was the total before the expenditure (Thuc. 2. 13. 3). The number of 18,000 Athenian hoplites at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (p. 113) is probably a misprint for 13,000 which is given on p. 95, in accordance with the statement in Thucydides. Discrepancies between one part of the book and another are numerous, and even in cases where different statements may have equal probability, the inconsistency tends to bewilderment. Thus the Tholos and Prytaneion are identified on p. 179, but marked separately on the plan (p. 168). Kallirrhoe is close to the Olympieion on p. 175; yet Enneakrounos (which is identified with Kallirrhoe, p. 167) appears in the plan to the N.W. of the Akropolis and no hint is given of more than one Kallirrhoe. The date of the law curtailing the power of the Areopagite Council is 462 B.C. on p. 100, in accordance with 'Αθ. πολ. ch. 25; on p. 88 it is 460 B.C. Some statements made are unintelligible or misleading as they stand. The somewhat vague account given on p. 90 conveys the impression that if a charge was declared frivolous (by whom?) and at the same time the plaintiff obtained less than a fifth of the jurors' votes, he would be liable to both the ἐπωβελία and the fine of 1,000 drachmai. This was assuredly not the general rule even if, as some scholars hold, the plaintiff did in certain cases incur the double risk. On p. 224 we find the usual distinction, which

must be approximately correct, assigning the ἐπωβελία to civil suits, the χίλιαι to public cases. The πρόεδροι are brought in on p. 86 without any explanation; and if we turn to p. 232 we find that they are the same people as the πρυτάνεις, which is impossible. In the map of Syracuse intended to elucidate the Athenian operations, the wall of Dionysios which would have rendered those operations impossible is marked as 'Ancient Wall,' and nothing said of its later date. Among the Greek Proverbs appears λύκον ἰδεῖν (p. 216) with the explanation that 'to see a wolf' meant

'to be struck dumb' because that affliction befell a man who did not see the wolf before he was seen. If it is too bold to alter one letter in the text of Theokritos, the proverb would be better away; the belief that a Greek or Roman said 'You saw a wolf,' when he meant 'You did not see a wolf,' flourishes sufficiently without encouragement. The gap might be filled by adding the Socratic σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένω or ἡλιξ ἡλικά τέρπει. And γνῶθι σεαυτὸν ought to be in the list as well as μηδὲν ἄγαν.

M. ALFORD.

BOUTROUX' *ÉTUDES*, DÖRING'S *SOCRATIC SYSTEM*, AND ZELLER'S *ARISTOTLE* (TRANSLATED).

Études d'Histoire de la Philosophie, par ÉMILE BOUTROUX. Paris. Alcan. 1897. Pp. 443. 7 Fr. 50.

Die Lehre des Sokrates als sociales Reformsystem, von Prof. Dr. AUGUST DÖRING. Munich. Beck. 1895. Pp. x, 614. 11 M. 50.

Zeller's Aristotle and the earlier Peripatetics, translated by B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A., and J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A. Longmans. 1897. 2 vols. Pp. xii, 520 and viii, 512. 24s.

HOWEVER dissimilar at first sight, these works have much in common to justify a reviewer in noticing them together. Of the essays on the history of philosophy which M. Boutroux has republished, one half, including a striking estimate of Kant, deal with modern philosophy and do not concern us here. There remains a study of Socrates, which invites comparison with the longer and more ambitious treatise of Prof. Döring, and an encyclopaedia article on Aristotle which may serve as a contrast to the English translation of Zeller.

It is but natural that the personality of Socrates should exercise a perennial attraction, and that from different sides attempts should be made to determine the true character of his teaching. This fascinating problem, never at any time easy, has in our time become almost hopeless owing to the divergent views held respecting the authorities. It has been the fashion to question the integrity of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and most of the chapters have, at one time or another, been denounced as interpolations. Krohn admitted as genuine only 26½ pages

out of 145 (counting by the Teubner text) and of these 17 would be condemned by Hartman, who however takes as his standard of the genuine Xenophontic style two chapters, II. 7 and III. 11, which Krohn has pronounced spurious. Mr. Herbert Richards has lately shown in this review how little the language of Xenophon countenances such violent excisions. Both M. Boutroux and Prof. Döring have our hearty sympathy in their reaction from this mistaken tendency of the higher criticism. Both admit that the *Memorabilia* as an apology for Socrates answers the pamphlet of the sophist Polycrates and not the indictment of Anytus. Prof. Döring thinks he can distinguish in B. II. additions by Xenophon himself of later date, but his careful and elaborate analysis of the whole treatise triumphantly establishes the unity of authorship. M. Boutroux urges that Xenophon brought to his task the fidelity and impartiality which, though often questioned, are nevertheless the characteristics of his other writings.

In their conception of the Socratic teaching our authors greatly diverge. To Prof. Döring Socrates was an ardent social reformer. He had been led from teleology to monotheism: whether consciously or not, he had ceased to be an orthodox adherent of the national religion. The public which Xenophon wished to influence would hardly have understood, much less sympathized with, the martyr in the cause of progress, the regenerator of society. Yet we may gather what Socrates' ultimate aims were from his plain, unassuming talk about

common advantage and public utility, from his anxiety to train promising pupils for public life, and to impart to them the science whereby a household and a state are well administered. In other words, the Socratic society aimed at constitutional reform by means of persuasion: it objected to the appointment of officials by lot and cherished the ideal of a genuine ruler of men, capable of moulding his subjects to his ends. 'A beautiful but unpractical Utopia' is the author's own comment on the picture he has drawn (p. 527).

M. Boutroux regards Socrates as the founder of moral science, and compares his aims (p. 405) with those of Descartes and Kant. Socrates proposed to show that, even assuming the end of human activity to be practical, it cannot exclude science, that in reality it supposes it; similarly the Cartesian doubt became the ground of certitude and Kant's experience is found ultimately to repose on reason. By a careful examination of the Socratic method it is shown that both the outward form—the dialogue, Socratic irony, maieutic art, and personal attachment (*ἔρως*)—and the logical groundwork of elenchus, induction and definition, are primarily applicable to conduct alone and have nothing to do with physics. Even the teleology and theology, Socrates' 'pious opinions,' are but complements, and never essential parts, of his ethical science. But the method reacted on the subject-matter. Socrates was thus led to declare all the virtues forms of knowledge, *i.e.* of practical science, and hence to affirm his famous paradox, which was no denial of free-will, but a hasty assumption of the identity between moral and material good. Virtue is always a man's interest: *οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον φρονήσεως*. Under the principle thus postulated the rules of ordinary morality can

be brought; for they are deductions made by tradition or positive law. It is not true that Socrates tried custom and legality by the standard of abstract reason and justice; it was in the positive and traditional that he sought the expression of the rational. Plato and Aristotle applied the Socratic method to subjects never contemplated by its author; but contemporary ethics may be content once more to return to the limits which Socrates marked out for an independent science dealing with the totality of the ethical facts of human nature.

To present anything but an imperfect sketch of Aristotle's system in a little over a hundred pages is impossible; yet the clear, though condensed, summary of M. Boutroux contains many valuable hints and abundantly testifies to his mastery of the interminable detail. The last section, on the influence of Aristotle, concludes the historical sketch with a few pages of criticism, indicating in a temperate manner, though with something of partisanship, Aristotle's position in regard to Kantianism, evolution, and teleology.

The English version of that part of Zeller's monumental work which treats of Aristotle, supplies a want long recognised. It has been executed in a praiseworthy manner, which, both in accuracy and style, marks an immense advance upon preceding sections. Four-fifths of the *Philosophie der Griechen* now wears an English dress, and from the translators' note it may be inferred that there is at present no intention of adding the last section, treating of Neoplatonism.¹

R. D. H.

¹ The reviewer begs to apologise for the unforeseen delay in noticing these works.

FAIRBANKS'S *FIRST PHILOSOPHERS OF GREECE*.

The First Philosophers of Greece, an Edition and Translation of the Remaining Fragments of the Pre-socratic Philosophers, together with a Translation of the more important Accounts of their Opinions contained in the early Epitomes of their Works. By ARTHUR FAIRBANKS. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1898. Pp. x, 300. Price 7s.

THE idea of this book is an excellent one. For the sources of our knowledge concerning

the Presocratics students have been in the habit of resorting to Ritter and Preller's *Historia Philosophiae*, now in the eighth edition. That invaluable handbook presents in 200 pages a selection of the more important fragments, the biographical and doxographical detail, with a scanty Latin commentary, containing the most important textual variants, occasionally a note or two on the meaning, and a number of parallel passages. So useful is this selection, that once or twice an attempt has been made to

offer a translation of *Ritter and Preller* as an introduction to the history of Greek philosophy. The design of Mr. Fairbanks has been 'to prepare a Greek text of the fragments which shall represent as accurately as possible the results of recent scholarship, and to add such critical notes as may be necessary to enable the scholar to see on what basis the text rests.' If he had contented himself with this, his book would have deserved unstinted praise. Unhappily he was tempted to prepare a translation, not only of the fragments, but of the 'important passages bearing on these early thinkers in Plato and Aristotle, and in the Greek doxographers.' Of this part of his work it can only be said that, if the intention is good, the execution is so faulty that a pupil who followed the translation (especially where the Greek is not appended, as is the case with most of the extracts from Plato and Aristotle) would be liable to serious misconceptions at almost every step. To justify this severe judgment it will be necessary to quote at length some of the incorrect versions, which, for the sake of distinctness, are here italicized.

P. 104, line 12. *To those proceeding after this impossible manner things seem to be one*.] Arist. *Phys.* i. 3; 186a, 4. The Greek is τόν τε δὴ τρόπον τοῦτον ἐπιούσιν ἀδύνατον φαίνεται τὰ ὄντα ἐν εἶναι. Here ἀδύνατον is predicate. If it were attribute of τρόπον we should expect the article, or a participle (ὄντα), with it. The meaning is: 'not only then if we approach (the subject) in this way does it appear impossible that all things should be one.'

P. 104, line 19. *And the same sort of arguments are used by Parmenides, although he has some others of his own*.] Ib. 186a, 22, καὶ πρὸς Παρμενίδην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος τῶν λόγων, καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι εἰσὶν ἴδιοι. Melissus has just been refuted, and Aristotle goes on to observe that 'arguments of the same kind can be used *against* Parmenides, as well as others which apply specially to him' and not to Melissus. The meaning 'by,' which Mr. Fairbanks gives to πρὸς, would only be justified if the genitive followed, and only then in Attic verse or Ionic prose.

P. 104, line 22. *He makes a mistake in assuming that being is to be spoken of absolutely, speaking of it thus many times*.] Ib. 186a, 24, ψευδὴς μὲν ἢ ἀπλῶς λαμβάνει τὸ ὄν λέγεσθαι λεγόμενον πολλαχῶς. With λεγόμενον supply the subject τοῦ ὄντος: 'to be spoken of in many ways' is Aristotelian Greek for 'to be a term of various meanings.' Thus Parmenides 'is mistaken in so far as he

assumes being to be an unequivocal term, whereas it has several meanings.'

P. 104, line 27. *Since neither in the succession of things nor in the argument will whiteness be one*.] Ib. 186a, 28, οὔτε γὰρ τῇ συνεχείᾳ ἐν ἔσται τὸ λευκὸν οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ = 'for then neither by continuity nor by unity of essence will that which is white be one.' Unity, Aristotle elsewhere explains, belongs, not only to continuous things, but also to things which have the same essential notion, ὁ λόγος ὁ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι δηλοῦν. An individual may grow larger or smaller; yet so long as the 'definition of its essence' is the same, we speak of it as one and the same individual.

P. 57, line 19. *For the same thing will apply to good and bad and to good and not-good*.] From Aristotle, *Phys.* i. 2; 185b, 21, ταῦτόν γὰρ ἔσται ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. It is usual with Aristotle to express the abstract notion of a thing—goodness, the being good (of some thing), the notion of good—by the infinitive εἶναι and the dative: ἀγαθὸν <εἶναι> and κακὸν εἶναι are such nominal infinitives without the neuter article more usually prefixed. The sentence becomes more elliptical as it proceeds; with μὴ ἀγαθόν and ἀγαθόν at the end εἶναι must be understood. 'For then to be good will be the same as to be evil, and to be not-good will be the same as to be good.'

P. 215, line 11. *But the gentler concede that these things are always thus, and they say, in part, that sometimes all is one, &c.*] From Plato *Sophist*, 242 E, αἱ δὲ μαλακώτεραι τὸ μὲν αἰεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐχάλασαν, ἐν μέρει δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν εἶναι φασιν τὸ πάν...τοτε δὲ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ. The verb χαλᾶν does not mean 'to concede,' but 'to relax': its object is the nominal infinitive τὸ αἰεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν 'the eternity of this condition,' (the fact) that these things are *always* so. Το αἰεὶ is opposed ἐν μέρει, explained by τότε μὲν...τοτε δὲ. Heraclitus made the unity of opposites an everlasting condition: Empedocles's gentler muse substituted an alternation of the unity of all things (in the sphere) with their dissipation under the dominion of strife. We may render: 'but the gentler muses have relaxed the perpetuity of this relation and make the universe alternately at one time united and friendly, obedient to the Queen of Love, at another disunited and hostile through a principle of strife.'

P. 221, line 11. *Nor does he find in them what has been agreed upon*.] Ar. *metaph.* i. 4; 985a 23, οὐτ' ἐν τοῦτοις εὐρίσκει τὸ

ὁμολογούμενον. The present participle, not the perfect. 'Consistency' is what Empedocles does not 'find' in the use of his two moving causes. We might render: 'nor is he consistent in the use of them.'

P. 78, line 11. *When Lasos, son of Hermiones, called that man a coward who was unwilling to play at dice with him, Xenophanes answered that he was very cowardly and without daring in regard to dishonourable things.* Plutarch *de vit. pud.* p. 530 F: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης, Λάσον τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως μὴ βουλόμενον αὐτῷ συγκυβεῖν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος, ὁμολόγει καὶ πάνν δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἄτολμος. The whole point of the anecdote is that Lasos called Xenophanes a coward for refusing to play at dice with him. Mr. Fairbanks's version would require the article before μὴ βουλόμενον. There is a similar mistake on p. 71, line 21 where a *passer-by* should be 'he,' i.e. Pythagoras, 'passing by.' The name of Lasos's father was not certain in the time of Diogenes Laertius (or his authority) who calls him 'the son of Charmantides, or Sisymbrinus or, according to Aristoxenus, Chabrinus': but Ἑρμιονέως is

genitive of Ἑρμιονεύς which mean 'native of Hermione,' a town in Argolis.

It may be said, in justice to the translator, that these strictures chiefly concern the *testimonia*, and that the general sense of the fragments themselves is fairly given. At all events, this is true of some authors, although a comparison of Mr. Fairbanks's version of Parmenides with that since published by Diels will show divergences of view on every page. And how, in the name of common sense, can any one who claims to furnish his text with critical notes and appraise the value of readings, translate the remarkable variant of Plato *Theat.* 180 E, οἷον ἀκίνητον ἴτελεῖται τῷ παντὶ ὄνομ' εἶναι (which is duly recorded in the footnote on p. 96), where it occurs on p. 103, line 3 as follows: 'the all is alone, unmoved; to this all names apply'? The absence from p. 103 of the text which is translated, makes it uncertain whether Mr. Fairbanks is grappling with παντὶ or πάντ' or πᾶν, but in any case the version *donne furieusement à penser*.

R. D. HICKS.

STOCK'S *BELLUM GALLICUM*.

Caesar de Bello Gallico, Bks. I.-VII., according to the text of Emanuel Hoffmann (Vienna, 1890), with Introduction and Notes by ST. GEORGE STOCK. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Pp. 586. Post 8vo. Cloth. Price 10s. 6d.

'THE main object of this work is to treat Caesar as an historian.' In pursuance of this object Mr. Stock has written seven introductory chapters of considerable length dealing fully and accurately with various topics suggested by the Commentaries, though here and there one feels that the style is not quite adequate to the dignity of the subject, and to these in a second part he has added an uncritical text with a rather uneven commentary. The preliminary chapters occupying 224 pages treat of The Commentaries, The character of Caesar, Wars with the Gauls, Gaul, Britain, Germany, The Roman Army. On these subjects Mr. Stock has read the ancient authorities with care and, as far as I can tell, has omitted nothing of importance. In his second essay he speaks of ambition as the keynote of Caesar's character: 'Caesar was in fact the most

deliberately ambitious man that ever lived.' To be a despot 'was the aim and object of his life and the good that he did was incidental.' Of Caesar as a statesman with definite political aims he says nothing. This cannot be regarded as an adequate characterisation of one who, like Napoleon, was a great constructive statesman as well as a soldier of surpassing genius.

The Essays on Gaul, Britain and Germany contain a great amount of skilfully assorted information, though perhaps nothing distinctly new, and will well repay perusal. The same may be said of the Essay on the Roman army which contains however a new and probably correct explanation of the difficulty attached to the mention of *legio prima* in viii. 54. Mr. Stock suggests that I. was the number this legion bore in Pompey's army and that it afterwards appears as VI. in Caesar's roll of legions. The remarks on the standards in use in the army might be more precise in detail considering the existing sources of information.

Part II. containing the text and notes is less satisfactory. Mr. Stock has reproduced the text of Emanuel Hoffmann (1890) which

is 'prescribed by the University,' and has made no use whatever of the mass of critical material collected since that date. Now and then he speaks vaguely of the MSS. but makes no discrimination between them and apparently neither knows nor cares anything about them; nor are his statements always correct, *e.g.* in the summary prefixed to Book I. he says (referring to i. 53) that the passage 'is rendered uncertain by a difference in the MSS. some of which have "five."' In his note on the passage itself he says more correctly 'the MSS. have *quinque*.' As a matter of fact no MS. has *quinginta*. Even though obliged to follow Hoffmann's text Mr. Stock might with advantage have pointed out some of its failings, but I notice that even *discessu munitioum* (vii. 74) scarcely stirs his equanimity. In the summary to Book IV. he discusses briefly the question of Caesar's place of crossing but is not sufficiently acquainted with the literature of the subject. Generally speaking the editor's explanations of the topography of the campaigns are lucid and interesting, and their value is enhanced by the fact that he has himself visited many of the sites. He gives a diagram of the bridge over the Rhine and translates Caesar's account of it in an appendix with the remark that the difficulty is mainly one of translation. We should have expected however in a work of this kind to find some discussion of the different theories as to the mode of its construction, for there are some points open to dispute and readers of this *Review* are aware that the controversy is not yet closed.

Reference is made (Part I. p. 28) to a model of the bridge made by General de Reffye and now deposited in the Museum of National Antiquities at St. Germain, but the author seems unaware of a model nearer home made by a schoolboy and to be seen in Trinity College Library.

The commentary is sometimes full, sometimes unexpectedly meagre, and I have noticed one or two inaccuracies: the note on *magnopere* (i. 13) is misleading if not meaningless, and *praesentia* in the phrase *in praesentia* (i. 15) is not an accusative. The editor has not made any use, as far as one can tell, of those valuable sources of information on the style and diction of Caesar, the three great lexicons of Merguet, Meusel, and Menge-Preuss, though he acknowledges obligations to Eichert's dictionary.

A judicious selection of maps and plans would have added much to the value of the work, but it only contains one inadequate map of Gaul placed at the beginning of the book with its back to the reader. When will publishers learn that a map should be placed where it is most handy for reference?

On the whole one feels that Mr. Stock would have done better to publish his essays separately or to have collaborated with some other editor more fully acquainted with modern methods of textual criticism, and one cannot refrain from expressing some surprise that a text so devoid of critical apparatus should have been issued by the Clarendon Press especially as the work is constructed on a large and pretentious scale.

A. G. PESKETT.

PAIS'S HISTORY OF ROME.

II.

Storia di Roma, di ETTORE PAIS. Vol. I., Parte II. Critica della tradizione della caduta del Decemvirato all' intervento di Pirro. Torino: Carlo Clausen. 8vo. Pp. xlviii., 748. Price 20 lire.

THE second instalment of Professor Pais's critical history of Rome, a stout volume of 800 pages, carries on his remarkably acute and learned examination of the accepted tradition over somewhat less than a couple of centuries, from the fall of the Decemvirate to the arrival of Pyrrhus. But he by no means finishes with that part of his task in the present volume. We are still referred

for the further discussion of many points to a supplemental volume; and the whole work of reconstruction, so far as it may now prove to be possible, is postponed to the third part. At the present rate four or five thousand pages will be needed to discuss the history of the republic. As Professor Pais is also promising two more volumes of his '*Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*,' he bids fair to challenge the claim even of Mommsen himself, to the title of 'novello *χαλκέντερος*,' which he gives to the German scholar in a passage of graceful eloquence. The method pursued by him in the present volume is the same as that

previously adopted. In each of three chapters he narrates, with a fulness of detail required perhaps by his system, but a little wearisome, the traditional history, noting of course discrepancies in our authorities, but reserving as a rule criticism for the latter part of each chapter, in which it is mercilessly applied. The spell which Professor Pais finds to remove most of the difficulties in the narrative, laid bare by criticism, is that of 'anticipation.' Incidents really belonging to one generation or century are freely transposed with arbitrary changes to another. Conditions are described as existing at one time which certainly could not have come about until much later. The deeds of a grandson are assigned to his grandfather, or to some earlier ancestor. To some extent this may have been done unconsciously, the chronicler finding it difficult to realise surroundings, which in his own time had long ceased to exist: more largely it was deliberate, in order to find in supposed incidents of the past a defence for the policy of the time.

I do not think it can be doubted that Professor Pais has a *vera causa*, which he has, not indeed discovered, for no critical historian ignores it, but employed more thoroughly than any one before him. But doubt will naturally arise as to whether it was always at work, where he finds it. This will probably be felt to be the case especially in his treatment of the constitutional history of Rome. It is obvious even to a careless reader of Livy V—X that there are repetitions of battles, sieges and conquests which cannot be supposed to be faithfully recorded; and that different members of certain families in different generations play parts that are strikingly similar. Professor Pais, while bringing out these repeatedly, goes much further, and where most historians have tried to trace the stages of a gradual constitutional development, finds only anticipations of much later conditions. Thus the surrender of Capua in B.C. 343 is pronounced a deliberate falsification invented after B.C. 211 to defend the Romans against the charge of ruthless severity to their allies by making out that they were rebellious subjects. Similarly the relation of Rome to the Latin towns in early times, it is argued, was described in terms which were borrowed from the state of things existing only after B.C. 340. As to the Licinian laws Professor Pais writes: "That towards the middle of the fourth century there was effected a great reform in the Roman

constitution, in spite of the doubts formulated in our own time, cannot be reasonably denied. But nothing shows that this change was effected as a result of a ten years' anarchy in 377—367, and that the plebeians succeeded in holding the consulship for the first time as a result of a law of 367, which definitely conferred upon them this right, a right which in fact, according to the same tradition, was violated several times in the following years. The examination of various editions of the *Fasti* as of the tradition leads to the result that all that is told us as the decennial sedition and the Licinian-Sestian laws must be received with the greatest caution. It makes it on the contrary probable that the reform, which is asserted to have been effected at a stroke, was the result of a long contest and of concessions obtained by leaps and bounds. There is nothing to prove that the plebeians attained to the consulship in 366 rather than about 362, *i.e.* at the time when we are told that the first military tribunes subordinate to the consuls were created in electoral comitia. There is nothing to show that the first plebeian consul was a Genucius rather than a Licinius or a Sestius, or some one belonging to some other house." Yet the account of the law as to the consulship does contain some element of truth though it was probably falsely assigned to a Licinius. On the other hand "in the account of the Licinian-Sestian laws as to the priests and the five hundred *iugera* of land, all is false, and is based upon historical conditions belonging to a much later age." The Agrarian law presupposes an extension of the Roman territory not existing before the time of M. Curius and Pyrrhus. As Niese has already urged, it points round rather to the time of the Gracchi. The law as to the *decemviri sacris faciundis* may well be an anticipation of the action of a C. Licinius in 196 and of another of the name in 145. The law as to the repayment of loans in three instalments is probably connected with arrangements made towards the beginning or even the end of the third century, and with the transition from the *libras* to the *triental* and *sextantal* as, and its successive reduction to the weight of an ounce and a half-ounce.

These instances will serve to indicate the trenchancy of Professor Pais's criticisms, although, unfortunately, the arguments by which he supports them are largely cumulative, and therefore cannot be fairly represented in brief. It would not be difficult in many cases to urge something in

arrest of judgment, or to suggest an equally plausible explanation, in lieu of that of anticipation. But it is hardly fair to criticise his general view of the course of Roman history before we have it stated as a whole, when negative will be supplemented by positive conclusions. It may suffice to say that the present volume like the previous one may be used with much

profit and not a little pleasure by the serious student of early Roman history. An index is still lacking, but its place is to some extent filled by a good table of contents and a list of the chief subjects discussed in the numerous and valuable footnotes, the latter a welcome addition in the present part.
A. S. WILKINS.

GREGOROVIVS'S *HADRIAN*.

The Emperor Hadrian. A Picture of the Graeco-Roman World in his Time. By FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS. Translated by Mary E. Robinson. Macmillan and Co. 1898. 12s. net.

FEW characters in history are so easy to write on badly, few so hard to write on well, as the Emperor Hadrian. Traveller, connoisseur, minor poet, interested and interesting, such is the old familiar figure. Prince of amateurs, he is a God-send to the amateur historian, who explains, in scamped and parenthetical chapters, that he combined business with pleasure, and in spite of temptations to ponder on the scenery along the road, did his duty in 'that state of life,' and effected some useful reforms in law and administration. The fact is that no first class historian has, either in ancient or in modern times, concerned himself to specialise on Hadrian, and that to find the universal in the particular, to grasp the thread and bind together the inconsistencies and inconsequent details of any period and any character, a first-class historian is at some time or other imperatively necessary. If you cannot secure your Thucydides, fixing at the time and for all time the master idea of Pericles, you must wait for your Mommsen, transforming and illuminating the mass of second class materials which lay at hand for the history of the beginnings of the Roman Empire. For Hadrian there is not even a second class ancient authority. Spartian, Aurelius Victor, Xiphilin, as he presents to us his excerpts from Dio, are all equally meagre, all equally interested in the wrong things. Tacitus and Pliny are dead. Even Suetonius prefers to write of the past. It is improbable that Hadrian's autobiography will ever come to light and settle whether we have there at least a Monumentum Ancyranum. Meanwhile its place has to be

taken by the speech to the legionaries at Lambaesis, excellent and authoritative fragment, but apt to be thrown into the shade as a sketch of imperial policy by 'Animula vagula blandula.' There is indeed plenty of detached evidence, coins, inscriptions, remains of frontier defences. But this is just the kind of evidence which pre-eminently needs that play of the chastened imagination which is the property of the great historian, and the great historian alone. If for nothing else, we should have to thank Miss Robinson for having drawn from Professor Pelham four pages of Introduction that are quite the best thing yet written on the subject. We can only hope that they will stimulate some younger Roman historian to write a new and complete Life of Hadrian. Meanwhile they add considerably to the value of this translation of what even in the German original was a useful work. Gregorovius had not the strength or grip to write a great book. He never faced fair and square the comparative value of his sources, and his judgments lack weight; yet he is throughout honest and unprejudiced, and has the one cardinal merit of giving all his references. The first half of the book is still, after the fifteen years that have passed since the second German edition appeared, the latest detailed account of the events of Hadrian's principate. The second part is an interesting sketch of the general culture of the age of the Antonines. The chapters on Art are the best, especially that on the villa at Tivoli, where Gregorovius's local knowledge makes his touch firmer and surer.

It is curious, however, considering the interest our author takes in the Hellenic life of the time, that he has not hit upon the main significance of the so-called revival of Hellenism. The 'Idolâtrie des talents' marked by the power of the great sophists, the second summer of sculpture

and epigram, the oracle frauds of Alexander of Abonotichus, and the seeking after God of Peregrinus the Cynic, are only some of its aspects, and those not the most important. The real interest lies in the revival of virility and political self respect. The problem that fascinates us is the problem of the "Byzantine Empire," the problem of the rule of the *Ρωμαίοι*, as it comes to us cleared by modern research from the contempt of Gibbon. How is it that a 'Graeca urbs' is a terror to the barbarian? That the 'Graeculus' governs provinces and commands armies?

To say that Hadrian is the key to our answer would be to exaggerate. The possibilities of greater things were never wholly dead. The life of municipal activity which we read of in the political tracts of Plutarch and Dio of Prusa existed even in the days of the early Caesars, and kept alive some sparks of national energy and public spirit. The publication indeed of these very tracts in the period immediately preceding Hadrian shows us that before his accession the low water mark was reached and the tide turning. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* are themselves an explanation of Rome to Greece, a justification of Greece to Rome. The artistic greatness, the literary greatness of Greece have been taken for granted. But its character, its political capacity have been forgotten in the course of the centuries. This in justification of Greece. But there is also explanation of Rome. Plutarch, as he sets the two races man for man over against one another, is not writing a mere apology for Greece. He writes as a citizen of the new cosmopolitan Empire. He shows the Greeks that there is glory to be won in frankly taking their places in it, and the Romans that it is not beneath their dignity to mix on an equality with a conquered race. This indeed is the burden of all his and Dio's political writings. It was not by self-humiliation and flattery that Greece was to win respect again, any more than by impracticable aspirations for national independence. It must be by adapting itself to new conditions, by fitting itself to take its share in the government of the world.

Even our best historians are apt to smile pityingly at Dio and Plutarch, and to sneer at the vapidly and pettiness of the life they counsel. 'The world,' says Mommsen, 'belongs not to reason but to passion.' But it is just the passion which Plutarch throws into the limits of his narrower fate, his finding in it opportunity

for *ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λαμπρὰ πολιτεία*, his search for 'a man of fire' to prove equal to it, that turns the edge of all such criticism. 'For before now a great suit well judged, and a steadfast advocacy of a weak man against a mighty, and a fearless speech to a wicked governor on behalf of justice, has been the beginning to some men of a glorious public life.'¹ If this is bathos, was there ever in the world's history a nobler protest against fortune? But in point of fact there is no bathos, and we may find a truth in Plutarch's words deeper than he dreamed of. For the whole race, and not merely the individual *ἐπιεικής*, it was this deep-seated and indomitable political spirit that made the glorious public life of the Eastern Empire a possibility.

We have only however to read the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan to realise how moderate was the success that attended Dio's efforts to make that excellent emperor rise to the situation. The quaint story of Philostratus (vol. ii. p. 8), whatever its historical value, well illustrates the epoch that was marked by the accession of Hadrian. When Dio returned from the exile into which Domitian had sent him, Trajan received him with effusion, and even took him into the chariot in which he was being borne to the Capitol. But such close quarters proved embarrassing, and the emperor's share in the conversation resolved itself into his turning round at intervals and saying, "What you mean, I do not know, but I love you as myself." Now, not only was Hadrian a Philhellene, but in his interpretation of the Hellenic spirit there was a robustness that pre-eminently fitted him to 'know what Dio meant.' His appreciation of what Hellas could contribute to the Empire was not limited to the lighter side of life, nor was it the outcome of sentimentalism. Arrian's governorship of Cappadocia, and the command of Roman troops by Greek officers in a border war, were things outside the scope of the Philhellenism of the past.

For Miss Robinson's translation we feel unmixed gratitude. It is readable and faithful; and if here and there it strikes the reader as weak, it is generally the fault of the original. If, however, Miss Robinson undertakes, as it is to be hoped she will undertake, more of this kind of work, she will find that it is better to be less literal. In translating from the German, wisdom lies in bold and drastic treatment of the order of

¹ *Reipublicae Gerendae Praecepta*, x.

thought as well as the order of words. A certain number of misprints in Greek quotations should have been avoided. Within five pages (284-288) there are five slips, only one of which is retained from the German. The borrowing of an unlucky quotation of 'ego nolo Florus esse' from Mr. Hodgkin has also introduced a mistake which was not in the original.

'Feel the bossy bowl assail me' (p. 274)

is not the translation of 'culices pati rotundos,' the text printed by Miss Robinson, but of 'calices,' the reading of the second hand of the Codex Palatinus. Curiously enough, I had to correct the identical mistake when it occurred in the first edition of Professor Bury's *Student's Roman Empire*. It is clearly one that dies hard.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

MAURENBRECHER ON HIATUS IN EARLY LATIN POETRY.

B. MAURENBRECHER: *Hiatus und Verschleifung im alten Latein* (Part I. of *Forschungen zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Metrik*). Leipzig (Teubner) 1899, pp. viii. and 270. Price 7s.

DR. MAURENBRECHER has done good service by his laborious collection of the instances real and seeming, of Hiatus in the verse of the Republican Dramatists and the older Dactylic writers. The vexed question of the extent and conditions of this license of the earlier Latin poets (qui, ut versum facerent, saepe hiabant, Cic. *Orator* xlv. 152) required for its settlement a full presentation of the instances supplied by our traditional text of these authors and comparative tables of the occurrences, under the same conditions, of (1) Elision, (2) Hiatus. That Dr. Maurenbrecher has himself succeeded in settling the question, few, I think, will be inclined to admit. Some unfortunate mistakes which he makes, e.g. the scansion of *reliquus* (p. 56 and elsewhere) as a trisyllable in the older drama, shake our faith in his guidance; and the principles which he follows are not, in my opinion, the principles which will lead us to the desired goal. But, if we bear in mind the necessity of caution in the use of his lists of instances, in which uncertain, unlikely and even clearly false evidence stands side by side with more respectable testimony, we shall find them very helpful; indeed, in several minor points, such as the proof that 'sēd' (Reflex. Pron.) should not be allowed a place beside *mēd*, *tēd* in Plautus (p. 127), we shall probably find them convincing.

The MSS. of Plautus (all of them minuscule MSS., dating from the tenth to the twelfth century, with the exception of the Ambrosian Palimpsest, a fragmentary MS. of the fourth century), offer a large number of examples of Hiatus in lines of every variety

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of metre. Until Ritschl made the help of the Palimpsest available, most editors had been content to acquiesce in the traditional text, provided that Hiatus was the sole blemish in the line, and had justified their acquiescence by an appeal to Cicero's words in the *Orator*, quoted above. Ritschl, however, showed by the help of the newly-discovered codex that the 'consensus' of the other MSS. was the mere result of their derivation from a common original, itself in all probability a minuscule MS. of Charlemagne's time or later. In *Trin.* 18, for example, where all these MSS. offer:

Huic nomen Graece est Thensauro fabulae,

with hiatus between *Graece* and *est*, the Palimpsest (A), which is the sole extant representative of another family, i.e. of another ancient recension or edition, exhibits the line in the correct form:

Huic Graece nomen est Thensauro fabulae.

The Hiatus, which had been forced upon editors by the 'consensus' of all the known MSS. turns out to be a mere mistake of a mediaeval copyist. The scribe who penned the common original (P) of our minuscule MSS. had merely fallen into one of the commonest errors of scribes, the transposition of neighbouring words. As common, or nearly as common, an error of the copyists of all Latin texts is the omission of small words, especially words that are not necessary to the sense, and this is an error peculiarly incident to copyists of Plautus, for this writer delights in the otiose use of Pronouns like *tu*, *te*, *me*, etc., or Particles like *pol*, *qui*, and so on. In Pseud. 375 the minuscule MSS. all present the second half of a Trochaic Septenarius in the form *facere officium meum*, with hiatus between *facere*

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and *officiūm*. The Palimpsest, however, reveals the true form of the line:

Si id non adfert, posse opinor facere me
officiūm meum,

and teaches us that the seeming instance of Hiatus is the mere result of the carelessness of a mediaeval scribe who omitted the word *me*. Ritschl, in the first flush of discovery, went too far in defiance of Cicero's express statement about Early Latin Poetry and tried to confine Plautine Hiatus within limits that were more suitable for later Dramatists, like Terence and Afranius. Now that the authority of the traditional text of Plautus has been more minutely appreciated and the relation of the 'Palatine' to the 'Ambrosian' recensions more clearly defined, it ought to be possible to determine which of the cases of Hiatus, offered by our traditional text, are genuine, and which are mere corrupt readings.

We now know that the Ambrosian Palimpsest (*A*) represents one ancient edition or recension of the text, the 'Ambrosian' recension, while our other MSS. (*P*) exhibit a rival ancient recension, usually called the 'Palatine.' Besides these two ancient texts, we get traces of another (or others) in the quotations from Plautus made by ancient Grammarians, Nonius, Festus, Charisius, Priscian, etc. The 'consensus' of any two of these three ancient texts affords very strong testimony indeed to the genuineness of a reading. Any reading, so supported, must have been either the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus, or at least the version that passed current as such in the early centuries of our era.

Unfortunately we have not more than one of the three to appeal to throughout the greater portion of the plays. In the Palimpsest we miss the whole of the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria* and *Aulularia*, nearly the whole of the *Captivi* and *Vidularia*, and a great part of other plays; the best preserved are the *Stichus*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus* and *Trinummus*. Plautine quotations by Grammarians are, of course, few and isolated. In drawing up a list of the examples, real and seeming, of Hiatus in Plautus the obvious thing to be done, a thing which Dr. Maurenbrecher has unfortunately omitted to do, is to begin with those portions of the text for which we have good evidence, the evidence of 'two witnesses,' (*AP* or *P* with a Grammarian); and from this starting-point we must proceed with greater caution to the examples that depend on the unsupported evidence of *P*.

The imposing lists that Dr. Maurenbrecher has compiled of instances of hiatus lose their authority for us when a reference to a critical edition of Plautus shows us that example after example depends on the sole testimony of our minuscule MSS. We cannot avoid the suspicion that they may be all of the same type as the examples quoted above: *huic nomen Graece | est Thensauro fabulae*, and *facere | officium meum*. One instance, supported by *AP* or by *P* and a Grammarian, is worth a dozen such. Of course, I do not mean to say that the authority of *P* alone is worth nothing, nor on the other hand that the united testimony of *AP* is infallible, but what I claim is that the two classes of evidence should not be put side by side as if they were of the same value. Before Dr. Maurenbrecher's lists can be safely used, indication of the nature of the evidence must be added to each example.

Dr. Maurenbrecher follows a principle in the compilation of his lists which I regard as an erroneous principle; indeed, I think the lists themselves furnish proof of its error. He classifies examples of Hiatus according to the nature of the final syllable that is left unelided, (1) syllables in *-m*, (2) syllables in *-ā*, (3) syllables in *-ō*, etc. An examination of the instances shows us that in the use of this license Roman poets were indifferent in respect of these terminations. In their eyes a syllable ending in *-m* was on a par with a syllable ending in a long vowel—any long vowel. Dr. Maurenbrecher rightly insists upon their indifference in regard to the following initial. It was all the same to them whether the next word began with *h* or with a vowel; they leave hiatus in *quī amat*, *dī ament*, as readily as in *quī habent*, so that Birt's recent theory of the fuller sound of initial *h* in the time of Plautus than in the time of Virgil cannot stand. But no more can the theory stand that it was the nature of the final letter which made hiatus permissible or not. A better guiding principle has been suggested by Prof. Leo, the avoidance by the classical poets of Elision. We should note the kind of words in which the classical poets show an aversion to Elision, e.g. monosyllables like *quī* (cf. Gk. *τί οὖν*, an Iambus, etc.), and examine how far these words are left in Hiatus by the dramatists. We may also get some directions from the phonetic peculiarities of Latin words. Thus *cūm*, *dē* are left unelided in *cūm-itium*, *dē-hortor*, but treated differently in *coetus*, *desse*. Beside *circūit* we have *circitor* (Vegetius iii.

8 makes *circumitores* the old form of *circitores*; *domum itionem* furnishes a pun with *Domitium* (Auct. Hereun. iii. 21), while infinitives like *factum iri* were written *factuiri*, etc. Instances like these show us at least that the Latin language recognised the possibility of hiatus as well as of elision and that we need not ascribe to Greek influence all the examples of hiatus in classical poetry. What determined the use of hiatus or of elision was, I fancy, in many or most cases the accentuation of the sentence. In Plautus the pronouns *tu*, *te*, etc., when emphatic, are, as a rule, not wholly suppressed by elision, but stand in hiatus (Prosodic Hiatus), e.g. Men. 1076 :

Tū erus es; *tu* sērvum quaere; *tū* salveto; *tū* vale, and even the disyllabic Possessives, I would leave, when emphatic, in hiatus, e.g. Asin. 147 :

Tūō facit iussu, *tūō* imperio pāret, etc.

Possibly too some less patent motives than the dislike of the suppression of important words may have influenced him. It is conceivable that the retention of the full form of the preposition in *com-itium* as compared with *coetus* was connected with the form of the word (~~~~), and that similar considerations of rhythm impelled a Latin poet to leave *cum*, *de*, etc. in Prosodic Hiatus in one collocation of syllables, while he elided these prepositions in others. That our editors of Plautus go too far in ignoring hiatus wherever the metre does not force them to recognise it, is clear from lines like Cas. 709 *sī effēxis hōc*, Bacch. 989* *ut scias quāē hīc scripta sient* (Glyconic).

The course I would recommend for an enquiry into Plautine Hiatus would be something of this sort. First we should remove from Dr. Maurenbrecher's lists all the instances of certainly legitimate Hiatus, (1) Metrical Hiatus, e.g. Rud. 388 (Iamb. Sept.):

Sed quid flet? Ego dicām tibi: | hoc sēse excruciat ānīmī,

which might be written as two short lines instead of one long :

*Sed quid flet? Ego dicām tibi;
hoc sēse excruciat animi,*

(2) Hiatus with Interjections, e.g. Truc. 161 *O | Astaphium*, like Horace's *O | et prae-sidium*, (3) Prosodic Hiatus of the same type as Virgil's *quā amant* (Ecl. viii. 108), Catullus' *ita me dī qment* (xcvii. 1), Horace's *nūm adest* (Sat. I. ix. 38), and perhaps Virgil's *vale valē inquit* (Ecl. iii. 79), Ovid's *favē Ilithyia*, for these iambus-words are not freely elided by classical poets, (4) Hiatus at change of speaker, antithesis or other marked pause in the sentence, like Virgil's (*Georg.* i. 4)

qui cultus habendo

Sit pecori, | apibus quanta experientia paucis.

Then we should select such instances as are well established, e.g. by the 'consensus' of *AP*, and see how many may be fairly regarded as mere extensions of the forms we have recognized or as justified by features of Latin Phonetics. The remaining instances we must group, so far as possible, round certain types, e.g. Hiatus at the Caesura of the Iambic Senarius, Hiatus where a final *-d* has been lost, &c. After having sifted the better testimony at our disposal, we may turn to the inferior testimony, the unsupported evidence of *P*, and see how far the new material strengthens the groups already formed or suggests additional groups.

After we have by these means roughly sketched in outline the sphere of Hiatus in Plautus we may direct our attention to the most untrustworthy of all our material, I mean the fragments of the older Dramatists, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius and the others, preserved in quotations by Grammarians. This material too has been collected by Dr. Maurenbrecher's industry. I think that an enquiry conducted on these lines will give us enough assurance to reject the sceptical theory of Prof. Leo that the well-established instances of hiatus in our traditional text of Plautus are in great part un-Plautine, being nothing more or less than corruptions in the first collected text of the plays, a text which he refers to the time of Valerius Probus.

W. M. LINDSAY.

RAMSAY ON CHRIST'S BIRTHPLACE.

Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? A Study on the Credibility of St. Luke. By W. M. RAMSAY. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

It is no little tribute to the importance of this book that two writers in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* have referred to it as of authority, Professor Driver in his article on *Jesus Christ* and Mr. C. H. Turner in his on *New Testament Chronology*. And yet to an English mind it cannot seem entirely convincing. In spite of Prof. Ramsay's strenuous argument, the English scholar, content to be regarded as illogical, will refuse to believe that a mistake in a date can damn St. Luke's reputation to be a great historian. The Professor sets out to vindicate, in what he regards as a crucial passage, the trustworthiness of his historian. And it may be said at once that the greater part of his thesis seems to be established: he gives what must be regarded as sufficient evidence (i) that Augustus ordered a system of general census for the Roman world, (ii) that Palestine was a part of that world, (iii) that this census was by households, (iv) and recurred every 14 years, so that there may well have been one in 9-8 B.C., as we have some reason to know there was in A.D. 6-7 and A.D. 20-21. He also gives a possible explanation of why in Palestine on this first occasion the people should have gone to their native cities for registration. Where it appears that the book is unsatisfactory is in its treatment of the last question that arises—how St. Luke comes to make Quirinius *hegemon* of Syria at the time. Much of the Professor's severity (pp. 41, 46-7, 69, 70, 71, 91, 101, 114) against those who find inaccuracy in St. Luke is beside the mark, if the doubt only affects the dating. It is exaggeration, even if we allow that 'he has taken special pains to connect his narrative with the general history of the empire' (p. 70), to say that 'if he allowed a statement on that subject (of the census) to find a place in his book, he makes himself responsible for it in the

fullest sense' and 'if one detail be false, everything is affected'—'he falls below the standard of accuracy demanded from the ordinary historian' (p. 111). When books of reference for dates were not in every one's library, a wrong date can hardly destroy the credibility of an otherwise unimpeachable narrative: such errors are not unknown to-day; and, if the suggestion (p. 74) be sound that Mary the Virgin was St. Luke's authority, his date will not necessarily be more censurable than Tertullian's *per Sentium Saturninum*, and our author allows that the books of distinguished modern classical scholars illustrate the difficulty of accuracy about Roman personal names. Yet St. Luke is, on a fair estimate, as remote from chronology probably as a modern scholar from Roman names: it would be another matter if he betrayed ignorance, as the older critics argued, in points of Roman provincial administration.

Another criticism that offers itself is that the arrangement of the book is somewhat disproportionate,—the title perhaps may pass. Six pages are devoted to an illustration of St. Luke v. § 20 'let him down through the tiles' (pp. 48-54) with references to Roman comedies: and though the separate chapters are given titles clear enough, there is an unfortunate air about the whole of a note-book sifted for matter kindred to the main thesis. Lastly the author refers to Niese for a *brochure* on Josephus' system of dates: it is to be hoped that he has verified that writer's conclusions, but the first thirteen dates of Josephus which I have studied seem to contradict them.

I have tried thus to indicate what weaknesses are in the book; but it will be understood that I have done so, because its main conclusions seem to me to be irrefragably made out, and to be so valuable that discussion of this part of the gospel narrative will always in future have to take account of them.

T. NICKLIN.

HOEUFFT PRIZE EXERCISES.

Pater ad Filium. Amstelodami: Io. MULLER.
1899.

THIS is a collection of five original compositions in Latin hexameters, highly commended by the examiners for the Hoeufft prize. No account is given of the origin or value of this prize, or of the conditions of award, but the reader may conjecture what he pleases from the facts that the prize is won by a Dutchman, that the other four competitors are Italians, that each competitor has his own theme, and that the compositions are printed very handsomely and published in Amsterdam. Mr. Hartman writes an epistle, *Pater ad Filium*; Mr. Carrozzari, a little epic, *Leo Gladiator*; Mr. Rosati, a georgic, on fungi, *Mycetis*; Mr. Zappata, a bucolic on a great eel-catching, *Nox Novembris*; and Mr. Muccioli, a sentimental idyll, *Clytie*. The compositions, which are from 300 to 400 lines long, show both invention and learning: the writers evidently have command of a large vocabulary, and seldom resort to the familiar tags of the *Gradus*. But this originality has also its defects: the expression is frequently bald and there is an absence of style and elegance in the versification. Caesura is frequently neglected: short syllables before initial *sp*, *st*, *sc* are rife, and there are some lines in the second and fifth pieces which do not scan: e.g. *lumina tum his populus qui*

solī integrique supersunt. Of the best passages one could not say more than Boileau said of Addison's Latin verses: 'Je les ai trouvés fort beaux, et dignes de Vida et de Sannazar, mais non pas d'Horace et de Virgile.' On the whole, I think Mr. Hartman deserved his prize. His Latinity is beyond cavil, and, having aimed less high than his rivals, he gets nearer to his mark. Here is his account of what he reads in the papers:

Quid faciant homines, agitent quid mente
animoque,

Scire minor cura est; pervolvensque acta
diurna

Multa quidem iucunda lego sed plura
molesta;

Strenua gens armis opibusque instructa
Britannum

Moribus Afrorum saevis imponere finem
Festinans, spatio paucarum ut miserit Orco
Horum populi nigri non milia pauca,
Fortiter e latebris devastans grandine plumbi
Agmina nudorum, hinc atque hinc indagine
clausa.

Fortior ut populus populum bello minus
aptum

Accusans sociis crudeliter imperitare

Quas ditio tenet gentes sibi tradere cogat,
Splendens si lapis est auri vel vena reperta.

&c.

J. G.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ON HORACE, 'EPODES' IX. 17.

†Ad hunc frementes uerterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Caesarem.

In this notorious passage, a majority of Keller's MSS. and all the principal scholia have *ad hunc*, but some have *adhuc*. The Blandinius vetustissimus, apparently, had *at huc*, and this reading was recorded in the other Blandinian MSS. and occurs elsewhere. Editors read *ad hoc*, *at hoc*, *at hinc*. Doederlein proposed *at hunc*. Prof. Housman *at hunc* and other conjectures have been put forth. Prof. Wilkins, in his recent review of Keller's revised edition, commended me for marking the passage doubtful. I hope I shall not forfeit his esteem by proposing the emendation *at hui*! The interjection *hui*, from a man who is supposed to be looking on at a battle, is especially natural, and it is so rare in poetry that it would easily occasion error.

J. GOW.

ON CICERO, *Cato Maior*, § 28.—*Senescit* would be a simple alteration of *splendescit*. *Eliam*, to my mind, is in its favour. The influence of *canorum*, backed up by the common phrase *splendor uocis*, might have caused the half-conscious change.

J. A. NAIRN.

QUERY—THE GENTILE NAME *Lysiensis*.—Thomas Geminus (Gemini), an engraver, who published 'Compendiosa totius Anatomiae delineatio,' London, 1545, is denoted by the early bibliographers (e.g. G. A. Mercklinus, 'Lindenius Renovatus,' Norimberg, 1676, p. 1018; James Douglas, 'Bibliographiae Anatomicae Specimen,' London, 1715, p. 76) as 'Lyfienfis.' What does this mean?

E. BARCLAY SMITH.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CAESAR'S BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE

MR. ALLCROFT'S views on certain details in the construction of Caesar's bridge as set forth in his review of Lieutenant Zimmerhaeckel's pamphlet seem to require a brief criticism.

Mr. Allcroft says that previous editors and critics with the exception of Mr. Long have ignored four points:—

1. "*sublica* signifies a perpendicular pile"; in proof of this he quotes 17 § 4 *haec... adegerat non sublicae modo directe ad perpendicularum sed prone ac fastigate*. A *sublica* of course remains a *sublica*, whether it is driven in straight or crooked or upside down, but *sublicae* are usually fixed perpendicularly, hence Caesar's remark that his *tigna* were not driven in perpendicularly as piles usually are, but sloping.

2. "*oblique*, does not mean 'slanting from the perpendicular.'" But anything that swerves from a straight line or from what is regarded as its normal line of direction or anything that approaches or crosses such a line from the sides may be said to move *oblique*. When a horse shies it moves *oblique*, and when a serpent crosses one's path (to use Mr. Allcroft's illustration) it is guilty of a similar obliquity. Whether the supposed line of direction is horizontal or perpendicular seems to be quite immaterial, cp. Cic. Fin. i. 20 where atoms are said to fall some *recte* others *oblique*.

3. "*excipere vim fluminis* cannot be made to mean 'resist the thrust of the stream.'" This is an assertion that it is easy to make but difficult to prove. The down-stream *sublicae*, supposing they were arranged as by Cohausen and others, would when united to the piers help to sustain the impetuosity of the current, and this might surely be expressed by *excipere vim fluminis*.

4. "*item* can only mean that the arrangement was in the main the same," or, as Mr. Allcroft expresses it elsewhere, the word denotes 'in exactly the same way.' This is absolutely wrong: *et item* means 'and also' or 'and likewise' as any reader of Caesar or of Latin ought to know.

Mr. Allcroft refers to my edition among others. He says, 'Mr. Peskett only differs in substituting for the V-shaped *pfahlsystem* a single pile slanting up stream—a really ingenious concession to that troublesome *item*!' I can assure Mr. Allcroft that I did not find *item* troublesome for I did not misunderstand it, and therefore had no need to make any concession to the word, ingenious or otherwise. I represented these detached piles on the up-stream side as driven in sloping because I thought that they would fulfil their purpose better so than if they were perpendicular. Whether this was an original idea of my own or borrowed from some one else, I cannot now say. Anyhow I lay no great stress on it.

I come now to Mr. Allcroft's own interpretation of the passage. He has adopted Mr. Long's theory of V-shaped stockades which is intelligible, though I believe erroneous, with a modification of his own which appears to me to be unintelligible. He considers that the V-shaped stockades on the down stream side 'were actually beneath the piers, the latter sloping over and resting upon them, so that the stockade served as a buttress (*pro ariete subiectae*), and pier and stockade could be securely fastened to one another.' Remembering that a so-called pier consisted of two large sloping *tigna* each a foot and a half thick, separated by an interval of two feet, one would like to see a diagram showing how a pier of this kind could slope over and rest on a V-shaped stockade of perpendicular piles. How many piles composed the two arms of the stockade, and on how many of them could these *tigna* have rested?

I believe that the whole theory of V-shaped stockades is wrong, because I cannot conceive that Caesar's powers of expression were so limited that he would have described such an arrangement simply by the words *sublicae...oblique agebantur quae pro ariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis exciperent*. It was for this reason chiefly that I, and no doubt others too, rejected Mr. Long's explanation.

A. G. PESKETT.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

STUDNICZKA'S *SIEGESGÖTTIN*.

Die Siegesgöttin: Entwurf der Geschichte einer antiken Idealgestalt. Von FRANZ STUDNICZKA. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898. (27 pages, 59 figures). Reprinted from the *Neue Jahrb. f. Kl. Alt.* 1898. 2 M.

THIS is an interesting study of the origin and development of the art-type which in Greece was chiefly associated with the goddess Nike. M. Baudrillart (*Les Divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie*, 1894) had contemplated such a study, but was diverted from the monumental evidence to investigate the mythology and cults of Victory. Dr. Studniczka has now filled the gap; and although much has already been written on the type by Langbehn and others, there was ample room for the present monograph. The writer has interchanged views with Dr. Bulle, whose valuable article on Nike has recently appeared in Roscher's *Lexikon*. Taken together, the two scholars have covered the whole ground. Bulle has been able to incorporate Studniczka's original contributions in his article; but the monograph deserves a complete and careful reading, and the argument should be studied in connexion with the admirable series of illustrations which shew the gradual evolution of the type.

The origin of the type was Semitic rather than Egyptian; in Assyria the wings are independent of arms, whereas in Egyptian art arms and wings are joined together. In Assyrian art, however, wings are purely symbolical, being, as Zoëga long ago remarked, only hieroglyphical. Art suggests the attribute of speed, but cannot as yet represent a flying human figure. The solution of this problem was left to the Greeks. Studniczka points out that to us, at the present day, the problem, once solved, seems easy enough: ideal flight for the human form must be modelled on the flight of a bird. But the early Greeks were hampered by the Oriental tradition of useless and conventional wings. Hence in Greek art the first step was to represent the flying figure as running, just as in the Iliad Iris, though χρυσόπτερος, does not really fly, but runs (πόδας ὠκέα, © 425). According to Studniczka, the well-known attitude of flight in sixth-century vases was suggested by the action

of jumping rather than running. In support of this theory, an instantaneous photograph of a jumper is placed side by side with an illustration of the Gorgon on the François vase. The attitudes are certainly similar; but the Greek artist had not the advantage of instantaneous photography, and it seems more probable that the apparent jump is simply a naïve attempt to represent a run at full speed. In sculpture, the oldest example of the attitude is found in the archaic statue from Delos, 'wahrscheinlich von Archermos,' in which Studniczka sees a Nike. Bulle discusses the question of identity at some length, and comes to the same conclusion. The type was followed in a number of later monuments, both in the round and on vases and coins (e.g. of Mallos and Elis). In the Delian statue the face and body are fully seen, but art cannot yet express the attitude of a figure flying directly towards the point of view, so that the 'Nike' appears to be running past the spectator. Studniczka points out that the great innovation was made when the action of a swimmer was borrowed to represent flight. (Exner, *Die Physiologie des Fliegens*, 1882, had previously noted this, but the discovery was independent). The transition is well seen on a sarcophagus of Clazomenae (British Museum), in a scene where two flying figures appear; one lies in the old upright position of a runner, while the body of the other is inclined forward, the legs being thrown back almost horizontally in the attitude of swimming. As far as pictorial art was concerned, the problem was practically solved. But the difficulty was not so easily overcome in free sculpture; it remained even in the Attic art of Pheidias, as may be seen from the stiff archaic pose of the Nike on the hand of the Athena Parthenos. It was not till about 420 B.C. that the great Ionian sculptor, Paeonios of Mende, designed a statue whose pose really suggested rapid movement in the air (see also Bulle, 341 f.). Subsequent developments of the art-type are comparatively unimportant. Both writers, however, point out that later art copied nature more closely, by expressing the 'chiasmus' of limbs, as seen in the beautiful bronze statuette of Nike from Pompeii (Studniczka, Fig. 36, Bulle, Fig. 23). In the last pages of his monograph Studniczka adequately discusses the different types,

especially common in later art, of Nike in positions other than that of flying. On p. 21 he offers a new and interesting explanation (mentioned with approval by Bulle, 308) of the sitting Nike, who appears on coins of Terina and Elis. The goddess, in his view, is waiting to welcome the victor in a race. Pindar was probably thinking of a statue of this type when he used the expressions *Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων* and *χρυσέας ἐν γούνασιν πίτνοντα Νίκας* (*Nem.* v. 42. *Isthm.* ii. 26).

Mythological questions in connexion with Nike do not fall within the scope of Studniczka's work, but here Bulle supplies the deficiency. With regard to the origin of Athena-Nike, Baudrillart and Miss Harrison have advanced a theory that Nike was originally an abstraction or emanation from Athena. Mr. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States* I, p. 311) has recently adopted this view. Bulle, however, (310) quotes and approves of the objections which I urged in the *Classical Review*, 1895 pp. 282f.

E. E. SIKES.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME (SEE *C.R.* 1899, Pr. 184, 232, 321).

During the last five months the Forum has been the scene of an activity far greater than that which prevailed during the spring. The authorities have taken the work of excavation seriously in hand (the number of workmen has been increased from 20 to over 100), and, under the capable direction of Signor Giacomo Boni, great advances have been made, not only in the further exploration of the space previously in possession of the Government, but also in the excavation of the large additional area which has been taken in on the N.E. side. At the same time, there is a most satisfactory thoroughness, and a determination to get to the bottom of everything, which finds a rich reward in the discoveries that have been made. The ancient drainage system is being carefully investigated, and at the same time restored to activity. It is probable that, when it is in working order, the Forum will be much less damp than it has been hitherto.

I will now proceed to give a short description (necessarily incomplete and subject to revision) of what has been done up to the present.

I.—*Clivus Capitolinus*.

Between the embankment of the modern road across the Forum and the N.E. prolongation of the cloaca of the Vicus Jugarius (Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, Forum Plan at end of vol. I.), two drains, precisely similar to that which runs below the front of the Temple of Saturn (*C.R.*, p. 234) have been discovered. The theory advanced in the *Bullettino Comunale di Roma*, 1899, p. 51, that the shelf upon one side of that drain belonged to some earlier building, is thus disposed of, as the two drains recently discovered have the shelf also. One of these drains runs E. and W., and is blocked by remains of structures in yellow tufa, bearing masons' marks similar to, though not identical with, some of those found upon the Servian wall, and also by the concrete core at the steps of the Temple of Concord. Above and parallel to it runs another drain, constructed of large blocks of yellow tufa, with a pointed roof, formed by two blocks of tufa set against one another; it, too, is cut off by the steps of the temple.

The lower drain is entered at right angles on its S. side by another of the same sort, which probably belonged to the Clivus Capitolinus, as it runs under the piece of road paving figured by Middleton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251, and Forum Plan No. 14, which is the only well-laid piece in this part of the Forum. This drain enters the other by a low arch, the top of the voussoirs of which is level with the shelf; the arch is a remarkably neat piece of work. After this drain was disused and partially destroyed, a small square channel of tiles, containing a lead pipe, was taken across it, running in the direction of the E. angle of the temple of Vespasian.

In the course of these excavations, the natural rock of the Capitoline Hill has been laid bare in several places. Behind the hemicycle, known as the Graecostasis, and the Arch of Severus, considerable traces of tufa structures have been discovered, the nature of which is as yet uncertain.

II.—*Comitium*.

The stele discovered under the 'lapis niger' has already become famous. The original publication is the *Notizie degli Scavi* for May of this year (the article has also been separately reprinted), in which the objects discovered in the course of the excavations are described, and good illustra-

tions of the inscription given, though the attempted interpretation which follows can scarcely be treated seriously. Important articles have been written upon the subject by Prof. Comparetti (*Atene e Roma*, July, 1899), Dr. Hülsen (*Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, No. 31/32, 1001 sqq.), and Prof. Pais (*Nuova Antologia*, Nov. 1, p. 120). I shall therefore not do more than note (1) that among the fragments used in repairing the black marble pavement in ancient times there is a fragment of white marble, bearing part of an inscription of the 4th (?) century A.D. (2) that the base moulding of the two pedestals, described *C.R.*, p. 321, does not run round the S. side, and very likely never did. In that case we may suppose that the Rostra Vetera stood to the S. of these pedestals, and prefer the reading 'post rostra' in the quotation from Varro given by the Scholiasts on Horace, *Epod.*, 16, 13.

III.—*Basilica Aemilia*.

When the extension of the area of excavation on the N.E. side of the Forum was begun, the first buildings which came to light were mediæval. Some five yards further on, at a distance of about 20 yards from the N.W. side of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, a splendid monumental inscription was discovered, cut upon three blocks of marble. The lettering is extremely fine.

The text is as follows (see *Bullettino Comunale*, 1899, p. 141).

'L. Caesari Augusti f. Divi n/principi iuventutis cos. desig / cum esset ann. nat. xiiii aug. / Senatus.'

It was at first believed that this inscription belonged to some other building than the Basilica Aemilia. We know of a 'porticus basilicae Gaii et Lucii' which Augustus built (*Suet.*, *Aug.* 29). The basilica is obviously the Julia (see *Monumentum Ancy.*, c. 20, Lat. IV, 12, sqq.), but what was the porticus? Mommsen, commenting on the passage of the *Mon. Ancy.* says, 'Porticus Julia praeteritur in commentario non propterea quod opus alienum fuit . . . sed potius quod comprehenditur basilica Julia' (*Res gestae Divi Augusti*, p. 85). Compare Dio Cassius, LVI, 27, ἡ στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλία (codd. Λιουία) καλουμένη φιλοδομήθη τε ἐς τμήν τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καيسάρων.

Borsari (*Bullettino Comunale*, 1885, p. 87) distinguishing it from the basilica, identifies it with the porticus divorum restored by

Domitian after the fire of 80 A.D. (*Eutrop.*, *Brev.*, VII, 23, *Cassiodorus Chronic.*), and with this view Gatti (*Bullettino Comunale*, 1899, 141, is inclined to agree. It is true that the inscription does not quite square with what Dio says (LIV, 24), ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο (its destruction by fire in 14 B.C.) ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, . . . τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Αἰγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πάβλου φίλων ἀνακοδομήθη. According to the inscription the Senate rebuilt it eleven years after the fire (Lucius Caesar was born in 17 B.C., so that he would have been 14 years old in 3 B.C.). There is, however, practically no doubt that the basilica Aemilia occupied this site; and the other remains which have been found, including the Doric entablature discovered earlier in the year (*C.R.*, p. 234), belong to such a building as we should expect the basilica to have been. Not far from this inscription there has been found a huge base of white marble in situ, which obviously stood at an angle, having an engaged fluted quarter column on the S.W., square fluted pilasters on the S.E. and N.E., and a panel on the N.W. Going N.W. from this is a line of nine blocks of travertine (a tenth, the last but one of the row, is missing), at intervals of about five yards. These blocks supported marble bases, which are now gone, similar to the one already described.

This is not, however, the front line of the basilica. The large inscription which was found near the corner base has fallen face upwards—that is, backwards and inwards from the front of the building. Further, the back wall of opus quadratum of tufa (with a few blocks of travertine) runs further S.E. than the corner base, and, finally, to the N.W. of the line of travertine bases are the remains *in situ* of one of the marble columns of an inner row. This shows that the length of the front was 60 yards at least—its full extent cannot yet be determined. The space between the line of bases and the back wall (which is not the back wall of the building itself, but only of the aisle of it which fronts upon the Forum) is divided into chambers by cross walls projecting from the back wall in correspondence with the bases. Only five of these chambers are however preserved, and beyond them the back wall is only traceable by the marks left by the blocks upon the concrete of a later supporting wall. One of these chambers contains the remains of a fine marble pavement, much injured by fire; two others have marble pavements, prob-

ably of the time of Theodoric, in a style resembling what is generally known as 'opus Alexandrinum.' At a time when a great part of the basilica had already been destroyed, perhaps at the period just mentioned, a line of smaller columns of red granite, upon high, square, white marble pedestals, was erected between the original columns. This fact has apparently caused much confusion in the drawings of the architects of the Renaissance (for which see Dr. Hülsen's article in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1884, p. 323; compare *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1888, 95; 1889, 236, 242; 1893, 281), who seem to have thought that the Doric columns of the basilica stood on high pedestals. It is certain, however, that what they saw was the W. angle and the N.W. side of the building. The inscription they never reached, or we should have had some record of it. The building has been subjected to many transformations in late classical times, and was in fact almost entirely destroyed at a period far earlier than the 16th century.

The excavations are now proceeding in front of S. Adriano (the Curia), and it is intended that the whole area of the Comitium shall be cleared. In front of the Basilica Aemilia, under the road which skirts the N.E. side of the Forum, there has been discovered a brick drain, roofed at a late period with slabs of marble. Two of these were decorative panels set probably in a wall. They have fine acanthus ornamentation, with lions in the spirals. An oblong pillar, with graceful foliage in relief on all four sides, may have belonged to some shrine.

IV.—*Vicus Tuscus and Temple of Castor and Pollux.*

Under the late pavement of blocks of *silex* there has been found a small stretch, about 15 yards in length, of tessellated pavement composed of rough cubes of brick. Such a pavement is apparently unique as a street pavement, and would go to show that the Vicus Tuscus was rather a footway than a roadway. Upon the side of the Basilica Julia it is skirted by a stone gutter, while upon the other side it runs under the concrete of the foundations of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. It is, therefore, of earlier date than the reconstruction by Tiberius.

The stone work surrounding the concrete core of the temple for a width of

about 20 feet has been laid bare on this side, and is a very fine specimen of *opus quadratum*. The holes for the swallowtail bolts, by which the blocks were clamped one to the other, are especially noticeable.

Along the front of the temple runs a drain of *opus quadratum*, with a pointed roof formed by two blocks of stone set against one another.

V.—*Temple of Cæsar.*

The excavations have demonstrated that the temple was longer than had previously been supposed, and did not diverge so far from the normal type. The foundations have now been thoroughly cleared, and many more of the blocks of tufa and travertine which formed the walls supporting the columns have been discovered. It is noticeable how small was the space between this temple and the Regia—only two or three yards.

VI.—*The Regia.*

Excavations have been carried on here with most interesting results. The external walls, which had already been partly cleared by Jordan and Nichols, and then buried again, have been entirely excavated. At the east end the marble steps of the entrance (which was remarkably narrow) have been found. The original north foundation wall of tufa has been discovered, behind, and in a different line from, the travertine steps descending to the road opposite the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The next wall has also been cleared.

Many fragments of a marble cornice (probably of the fourth century) resembling that of the temple of Julius have been identified and brought together.

In the eastern chamber of the building is a kind of square pit, surrounded on all sides (except perhaps the E., which has not been excavated, as it passes under the later marble pavement) by walls of tufa, the nature of which is uncertain.

To the west of this is a round construction of blocks of tufa, about six feet in diameter, and at present only one course high, built upon a square pavement of slabs of tufa. This is believed to be the base of the sacrarium where the *hastæ Martis* were preserved. The pavement is orientated according to the points of the compass, as is the Regia itself.

To the north of this has been found a

subterranean chamber, ten feet in diameter at the bottom, and fourteen feet deep. It is round below, and is of the ordinary beehive shape. Within, it is cemented, with a moulding also of cement, of quarter-circle section all round the bottom. The construction is precisely similar to that of the cistern found in 1896 upon the Palatine, close to the so-called house of Livia. Without it is protected by a stratum of sand; the top of it is on a level with the floor of the Regia. Within it were found some fragments of pottery with inscriptions painted in red, eighty stili of bone, and a wooden writing tablet, also nine fragments of a limestone puteal which surrounded the opening, one of which bore the word REGIA deeply incised in it, in characters belonging to the Republican period.

This chamber probably served, at any rate in origin, as a store for the grain from which the *mola salsa* was made. Whether it was ever converted into a cistern is doubtful. Not far to the west of this, still within the Regia itself, is a small circular well, lined with blocks of tufa, which is still under investigation.

VII.—*Atrium Vestae.*

Further excavations within this building have been and are still taking place. In the room upon the S. (Palatine) side two extremely fine marble pavements have been discovered, about two feet below the level of the later pavements, and on a level with the pavement of the courtyard. The drainage system is also being thoroughly investigated, and the drains are being cleared. They fall into a large drain which runs out at the N. W. end of the building. The remains of the earlier habitation of the Vestals, generally known as the *Domus Publica*, destroyed in all probability by the fire of Commodus, have been traced in the rooms on the N. side, right up to the edge of the courtyard. Many fine mosaic pavements have been uncovered, though for the most part not for the first time (see Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, I. 303, and *Archaeologia*, xlix, pp. 391 sqq.). It is, however, possible to gain a far clearer idea than before of the extent of the building.

VIII.—*Via Sacra.*

In front of the W. angle of the basilica of Constantine the pavement of the earlier

Via Sacra has been discovered about six feet below the level of the later pavement, which has now been removed. It is in very fine preservation, the polygonal blocks still have sharp edges, and are well laid. One is the largest I have ever seen—about eight feet by six by two thick. The road curves gradually towards the S.W., evidently making for the arch of Titus. The drain continues under the pavement.

The pavement of the road is cut across by two massive foundation walls of concrete, not level, but following the slope of the ground, which are parallel to the Basilica of Constantine, and belong in all probability to the Porticus Margaritaria (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 209). When this building was erected the road was re-made at a higher level, and instead of winding up the hill, ran straight up between the Basilica of Constantine and the Porticus Margaritaria, and then turned at right angles to reach the arch of Titus.

These concrete foundations are sunk to a great depth, and cut through drains and remains of buildings orientated on the old line of the road.

One of the most interesting discoveries made was the finding of a fragment of a curved epistyle of white marble, with the latter part of an inscription deeply cut upon it . . . toninus | . . . imp. ii. | . . . estituit | .

The letters were of bronze, and the holes for their attachment are still visible. Prof. Gatti (*Bull. Comunale*, 1899, p. 147) restores the name of Antoninus Pius. To what building it belongs is quite uncertain.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

POSTSCRIPTS.

The pavement of the Sacra Via of a still earlier period has just been discovered under the nave of the church of S. Francesca Romana, at a depth of seven feet. This proves that at one time it ran straight across the Velia ridge; to whom the alteration in its course is due is as yet uncertain.

In speaking of the Basilica Aemilia, I attributed the inscription in honour of Lucius Caesar to 3 B.C. But the words 'cos design. cum. esset ann. nat. xiii' only give a 'terminus ad quem,' so that it may have been erected a few years later.

T. A.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—The large tank adjoining the Regia has been cleared, and is shown to have been circular, with a conical roof. It contained vases painted with the names of the owners, and over eighty *styli* and a wooden tablet supposed to belong to the *scribae librarii* attached to the Regia. On the mouth of the well is inscribed REGIA, in letters of the late Republican period. The tank was probably used for storing wheat (cf. Festus, ed. Müller, p. 186).¹

On the Via Labicana have been found remains of a fine circular tomb of the time of Augustus. It belonged to the Sergian family, two of whom married respectively an Antistia and a Sextilia. The name of Audia Petronia also occurs.¹

Part of the pavement of the Via Claudia has been laid bare, 3½ miles outside the Porta del Popolo. It was lined with sepulchral monuments, one raised by Cornelius Gaetulicus in memory of his infant daughter.¹

In 1883 an inscribed pedestal was found in the House of the Vestals, with a laudatory inscription to a Vestal Virgin, but with the name carefully erased. It was supposed that she had become a convert to Christianity but that the fact had been concealed. Recently a statue of a Vestal has been found, which had been carefully buried with every precaution of secrecy, and there is reason to suppose that it represents the Virgin referred to in the inscription. The theory of her conversion thus receives additional support.²

Pompeii.—In the house marked No. 3, Insula IV., Reg. V., a wooden cabinet has been discovered, with a drawer containing 87 silver denarii of the later Republic and 43 of Imperial times, ranging from Augustus to Domitian, but mostly of Vespasian; also 54 copper coins from Augustus to Vespasian. Among the latter, a *dupondius* of Nero gives a new type. In the same cabinet were a gold earring, a silver spoon and simpulum, several Larcs of bronze, a marble statuette of Venus Anadyomene, with traces of colour and gilding, and some toys in amber.²

Piacenza.—A stone slab in the pavement of an old chapel being raised, it was found that the underside bore an inscription mentioning L. Caecilius Flaccus, his wife Petronia, and his sons Lucius and Quintus. The father had filled the offices of quaestor, tribune, and curator of the Temple of Jupiter; the sons had distinguished themselves, one in a legal, the other in a military career. It appears from this inscription that Placentia was a *municipium*, not a colony, as had been supposed.²

Aosta.—The Therae of Augusta Praetoria, occupying one of its sixteen *insulae*, have been investigated. An inscription to Marcus Aurelius and an altar to Fortune were found, also many coins, ranging from A.D. 86 to 383.²

At Carpena near Forlì, at *Gioia dei Marsi* (in the Samnian territory), and at *Monte d'Oro*, Contigliano (Sabine territory) hoards of silver denarii and other coins have come to light. None of those at Carpena are later than B.C. 80, and it may be supposed that they were hidden at the time of Sulla's hostile return to Italy in 83 B.C. In the other two hoards were three rare coins, of the *gentes* Apulcia, Egnatia, and Numonia.²

Benevento.—Reports have arrived of the discovery

of a splendid Roman theatre, a few stones of which had always been visible, but had never aroused any interest. Investigation of these revealed an entrance-archway of the theatre, composed of enormous blocks of travertine. It is expected that the theatre will prove to be one of the most perfect and important known; it is about the size of those of Pompey and Marcellus, and in better preservation. The entrance to the precincts, immense ambulatories, lower rows of seats, stage and orchestra (measuring 300 feet) all appear to be perfect.³

GREECE.

Naxos.—Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has found and presented to the local museum a marble base inscribed to 'bow-bearing' Apollo. [The Greek word is not given, but is presumably *τοξόφορος*, which is used by Nonnus, *Dionys.* 37, 720.] It is stated that this epithet has not been hitherto found in inscriptions. The base formerly supported a statue of the god. A white marble *stèle* has also been found, with inscription mentioning the cult of the *νυμφέων μυχίων*.⁴

Siphnos and Syra.—M. Tsountas has brought to light on these islands numerous tombs of a very old and primitive culture; the pottery is almost entirely confined to that with geometrical decoration. Some fragments bear the oldest known representations of ships in Greek pottery. He has also discovered the oldest acropolis of the two islands.⁴

Thera.—Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has found in the agora of the city an archaic female head and an archaic lion. Dr. Zahn has discovered in a chamber south of the temple of the *Θεὰ βασίλεια* a collection of 'island-vases' and other objects of the so-called 'Cycladean' civilisation period. The former investigator in the course of his excavations has also found a series of reliefs cut in the natural rock, and inscriptions with numerous references to Artemidoros of Perga, an officer of Ptolemy III.'s army of occupation.^{4 5}

Thermon.—M. Sotiriades has found a large number of painted terra-cotta pinakes, and on the supposed site of the earlier Thermon an inscription *τὰς πόλιος τῶν Θεσπέων*, which militates against the view that the site is to be looked for on this spot.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

NOTE.—In the *Classical Review* for October, p. 372, in describing one of the vases (No. 2) acquired by the B.M. from the Forman Collection, I gave one of the inscriptions as $\text{KOM}\backslash\text{O}\varsigma$, explaining the word as referring to a female deity, possibly an Eriny. Further investigation of the vase shows that the third letter is a M ; hence the above explanation falls to the ground, and the word must be read as $\text{KOM}\text{.os}$. Moreover, it seems more likely from its position that it is the name of the charioteer, and that part of a letter visible below ($\backslash$) belongs to the name (now obliterated) of the winged female deity. It is therefore suggested that the former name may be read as Kóμιδος , an appropriate name for a driver, if philologically possible; also that the name of the goddess may be ATE , Ἀτῆ , the A being the letter of which part remains.

H. B. W.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 30 Sept.

² *Ibid.* 21 Oct.

³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 Nov.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 14 Oct.

⁵ *Ibid.* 28 Oct.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). Part 2, 1899.

Earle Fox. 'The Duoviri of Corinth.' Mr. Fox contributes a good list of names of the Duoviri found on coins of Corinth, and shows that many of the names recorded in Mionnet and repeated even by later writers are due to mis-readings or wrong attributions.—J. Rouvier. 'Les ères de Gêbal-Byblos.' According to Rouvier, Byblos employed two eras on its coins, i. the Seleucid, ii. probably the Actian.—G. Habich. 'Hermes Diskobolos auf Münzen.' On Imperial coins of Amastris (Paphlagonia) and Philippopolis (Thrace) bearing this type.—M. P. Vlasto. 'Tarente; additions et corrections.'—J. N. Svoronos. *Τὴς ἡ νῆσος Συρή τοῦ Ὀμήρου* (concluded). The view maintained is that Συρή is to be identified with the island of Ceos.—J. N. Svoronos. *Χρῶσα νομίσματα καὶ εἰκόνες τῶν βασιλευσάν τῆς Αἰγύπτου* (with four plates). Svoronos proposes to distribute the well-known gold coins inscribed ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ among various Egyptian queens of the period B.C. 277–116.

Part 3, 1899.

J. N. Svoronos. *Χρῶσα νομίσματα*, &c. A continuation of the paper in part 2.—E. J. Seltman. 'The Vettian Picture.' A reply to Blanchet who thinks that this mural painting represents a jeweller's

workshop and not a mint.—L. Forrer. 'Monnaies grecques et romaines coloniales.'—J. N. Svoronos. 'Ein altes griechisches ἀργυροκομείον.' Remarks suggested by the Vettian painting.—E. D. J. Dutilh. 'Vestiges d'atelier monétaire.' Notes on coins, &c. found in Egypt.—J. N. Svoronos. 'Νομισματικά εὑρήματα.' On various finds made in Greece in recent years. These include a series of Lycian coins discovered in the island of Lemnos; a large find of Alexanders, &c.; a new gold stater of Lampsacus with the youthful head of Pan, and a bronze coin of Aegium with the figure of ΖΕΥC ΠΑΙC.

Revue numismatique, Part 3, 1899.

O. Vauville. 'Inventaire de monnaies gauloises trouvées dans les départements de l'Aisne et de l'Eure.'—E. Babelon. 'Charac-Moba.' This town (cp. *Isaiah*, xv. 1) has been identified with *El-Kerak* east of the Dead Sea and south of Rabbath-Moab. Two of its coins are now for the first time made known. They are bronze pieces struck under Elagabalus with reverse type, Tyche. It is noticeable that the coinage of Syria and Palestine seems to have been especially abundant under this Emperor.—Rostovtsew and Prou. 'Catalogue des plombs antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale' (continued).—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Rome pendant la période constantinienne.' A chronological classification.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xx. 2. Whole No. 78. 1899.

The Greek Verbal in -TEO, part ii., C. E. Bishop. *Further Remarks on the Dirae and Lydia*, Robinson Ellis. *The Locution infinitis it, and the -nt- Suffices*, E. W. Fay. *Notes on Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon*, A. Leeper. *Tennyson and Virgil*, W. P. Mustard. *The Use of the Infinitive in Silius Italicus*, W. K. Clement.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.—Bennett's *What was Ictus in Latin Prosody?* (G. L. Hendrickson), Usener's *Die Sintfluthsagen* (B. L. G.).

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 54. Part 4. 1899.

Der Inhalt des Georgos von Menander, K. Dziatzko. An attempted reconstruction of the Geneva fragment with reference to the editions of Nicole and Grenfell and Hunt. *Zu Plautus*, C. F. W. Müller. Critical notes, concluded. *Die Tributeinnahmeordnung des attischen Staates*, W. Bannier. On the details we cannot get beyond conjecture, but we are sufficiently informed how the Athenians regarded the relation between themselves and the allied states. *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros Timaeus*, C. Fries. Maintains against Hochdanz that the Timaeus is a genuine work by Cicero and not by Tiro. *Zur griechischen Satzrhythmik*, W. Crönert. With special reference to rhythm and avoidance of hiatus. Holds that Norden's work on ancient artistic prose is deficient in not taking account of Diodorus, Strabo, and Philo. *L. Verginius Rufus*, L. Paul. A sketch of his life from the ancient sources. The panegyric of the younger Pliny is his lasting monument.

MISCELLAN. — *Die Lebenszeit des Theodektes*, F. Susemihl. The probable dates of his birth and death are 382 B.C. and 340 B.C. respectively; his career as a tragic poet began about 353 B.C. *Ein Phoibammon-Fragment*, H. Rabe. From the quotations of the commentary of Christophoros on Hermogenes. *Verschränkung von Redegliedern im wiedererzählten Dialog*, H. Schöne. Most of the exx. are from Plato, but many are also given from Latin authors. *Ὀῤωσί*, L. Radermacher. Mentions passages in which *Ὀῤωσί* has been displaced by *Ὀῤωας* ἡ, e.g. Ar. Rhet. 1420a. *Mantiscinor und mantisa*, O. Plasberg.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. xi. Part 3. 1899.

Die Appendix Probi, W. Heraeus. A new edition is here given. *Lucius, Lucuntulus*, W. M. Lindsay. *Lucius* is probably a loan-word from Greek *λυκείος* (in the sense of *λυκοειδής*); *lucius* is the older form. *Donec* and *Dum*, J. H. Schmalz. A valuable historical article. *Glossographisches und Linguistisches zum Thesaurus glossarum*, M. Pokrowskij. An appendix to Goetz's *Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum* (a–d). *Moraculum*, L. Havet. In Pl. Trin. 1108 proposes *moraculi* for *moracii* of codd. where usually *morae* is read. *Zur Latinität des Jordanes*, E. Wölfflin. To illustrate J.'s Latin we must not only have recourse to the colloquial language of the time, but much more to school-instruction, i.e. the reading of Vergil. *Zur Geschichte der Pronomina demonstrativa*. I. Meader-Wölfflin. (1) *is*, *ca*, *id*. (2) competition of *hic* and *is*. (3) *iste*. (4) *ipse*. *Zeugma*, R. Fuchs. An ex. from the logicus (§ 65)

of the physician Theodorus Priscianus. *Quotiens, quotiensounque, quotiensque*, Long-Wölflin. *Die mit tamquam und quasi eingeleiteten Substantivsätze*, C. E. Bennett. This usage is found in silver Latin, *tamquam* after verbs, substantives or adverbial expressions, *quasi* after verbs of accusation and a few others, and after substantives: *quasi* also occurs in substantial clauses after *simulo*, *adsimulo*, *dis-simulo*, in Plautus and Terence. *Velim*, E. Nestle. This word early passed into the East and appears in the 6th ch. of Baruch *προσενεγκάμενοι τὸν Βῆλον ἀξιοῦσιν φωνῆσαι*. *Diploma femîn.* E. Wölflin. This is found in the abl. in Wilmann's *Exempla inser.* lat. N. 589, v. 6 (=Corp. inser. viii. 1027), and other exx. are given of Greek neuter nouns treated as fem. in Latin.

MISCELLAN.—*Die Neuen Juvenalverse*, M. Maas. Considers them genuine on the whole. *Laetodorus?* E. Wölflin. Should probably be written *Letodorus* from *Leto*=*Latona*. *Was bedeutet rephumbar?* H. Blümner. *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, O. Schlutter. *Leosefrüchte*, J. Denk. On the words *adbitare*, *devotiosus*, *Latino* and *latinizo*, *medica*=*obstetrica*, *bestiosus* and *serpentiosus*. *Em*, F. Skutsch. Support is given to the conjecture of Stowasser that *em*=*eme*, like *dic* *duc*, &c. *Praedo* 'Jäger,' F. Skutsch. An ex. from Claudian. *Almen*=*alimentum*, F. Skutsch. *Eine 'echt taciteische Wendung'*, E. Wölflin. Tac. Hist. i. 81, *cum timeret Otho, timebatur*. Several other instances are given of this rhetorical point. *Simulter*, W. Otto. This word is found in Plaut. Pseud. 362 acc. to Nonius, also in late Latin. In the Taurinensis olim Bobiensis (K) of the 5th cent., we read in Mark xii. 22, *si mulier mortua est et mulier sine filis*, the right reading is *simulter mortua est*, &c.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899.

11 Oct. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'épopée homérique* (A. Holder), very favourable. K. Robert, *Kentauren-Kampf und Tragödienscene* (L. Ulrichs), favourable. O. Riemann et H. Goelzer, *Grammaire comparée du Grec et du Latin. Syntaxe* (H. Ziemer). 'The appearance of this book is an event of the first importance.' Lucreti *De rerum natura libri vi.*, ed. A. Brieger. Ed. emendator (O. Weissenfels). 'Has done much for the text of Lucretius.' *Horati opera*, rec. O. Keller et A. Holder. I. Iterum rec. O. Keller (W. Hirschfelder). 'An indispensable aid to the study of Horace.'

18 Oct. G. Brambs, *Studien zu den Werken Julians des Apostaten*, II. (R. Asmus), very favourable. F. Vollbrecht, *Wörterbuch zu Xenophons Anabasis*. J. A. von W. Vollbrecht (J. Sitzler), favourable. E. Koch, *Unterrichtsbriefe für das Selbststudium der altgriechischen Sprache* (J. Sitzler), favourable. A. Harkness, *A complete Latin grammar* (H. Ziemer). 'Deserves to be known in Germany.' K. Regling, *De belli Parthici Crassiani fontibus* (A. Höck). 'Shows diligence and care, and knowledge of the latest literature.' J. Schwab, *Nomina propria Latina oriunda a participiis praesentis activi, futuri passivi, futuri activi*, and G. Otto, *Nomina propria Latina oriunda a participiis perfecti* (M. J.). 'Two careful and useful works.'

25 Oct. Xenophons *Anabasis*, herausg. von J. Werra (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. Euripidis *Iphigenia Aulidiensis*, ed. N. Wecklein (E. Holzner). C. Niebuhr, *Die Amarna-Zeit, Ägypten und Vorderasien um 1400 v. Chr.* (V. Präsek). 'A successful picture of antiquity.' J. B. Mispoulet, *La vie parlementaire à Rome* (W. Hirschfelder). 'A very interesting work.' J. Hidén, *De casuum syntaxi Lucretiana*, II. (O. Weissenfels), on the abl. case. 'Careful, but on much too large a scale.' W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen* (P. Wessner). 'Deserves the thanks of specialists.' Gius. Civitelli, *Il suffisso del superlativo latino* (H. Ziemer), favourable.

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8 Nov. Xenophontis *expeditio Cyri*, rec. W. Gemoll, Ed. maior (F. Reuss), very favourable. G. Lauer, *Lucianus num auctor dialogi 'Epwtēs existimandus sit'* (P. Schulze), favourable. A. Arendt, *Syrakus im Zweiten punischen Kriege*, I. (A. Höck), favourable. J. Kržanić, *De Ciceronis philosophiae studiis* (Hoyer). 'C. would scarcely have been grateful for this justification of his claim to the title of philosopher.' H. Cuers, *Bildung und Bedeutungswandel französischer Infinitive beim Übergang aus dem Lateinischen* (H. Ziemer), very favourable. Ch. Bally, *Les langues classiques sont-elles des langues mortes?* (O. Weissenfels). 'The aim is only to excite interest.'

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Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. 1899.

August. Koetschau's *Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' exhortatio*, etc. (P. Wendland). The review is a rejoinder to Koetschau's reply to Wendland's criticisms in the *Göt. Gel. Anz.* for April (see C. R. p. 424). It concludes with a censure of the 'Pseudowissenschaft' of a certain school of recent critics and editors unfortunately too long to quote here. Th. Zahn *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. With this work dedicated to the University of Cambridge the famous Erlangen Theologer completes one of his most important contributions.

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